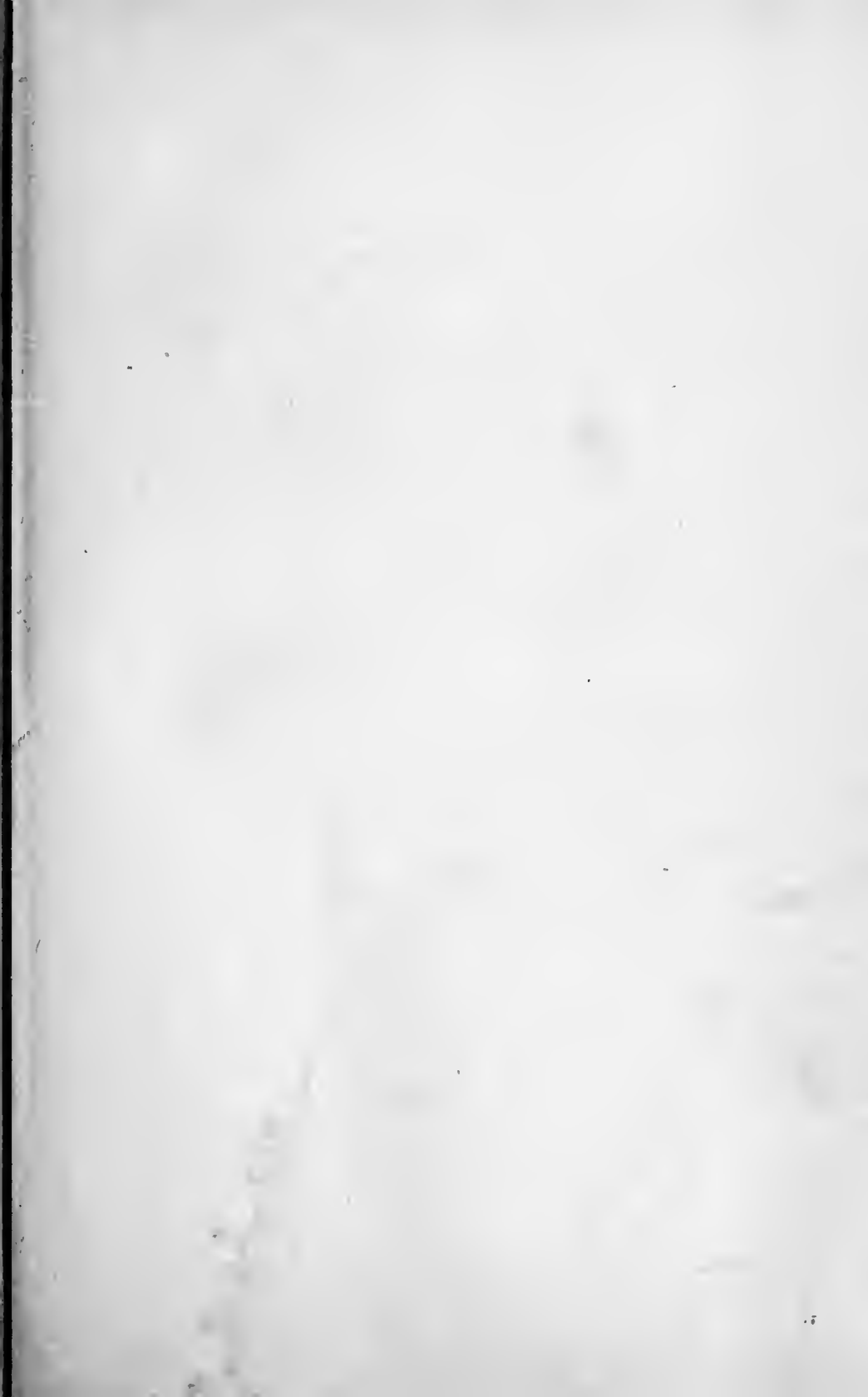
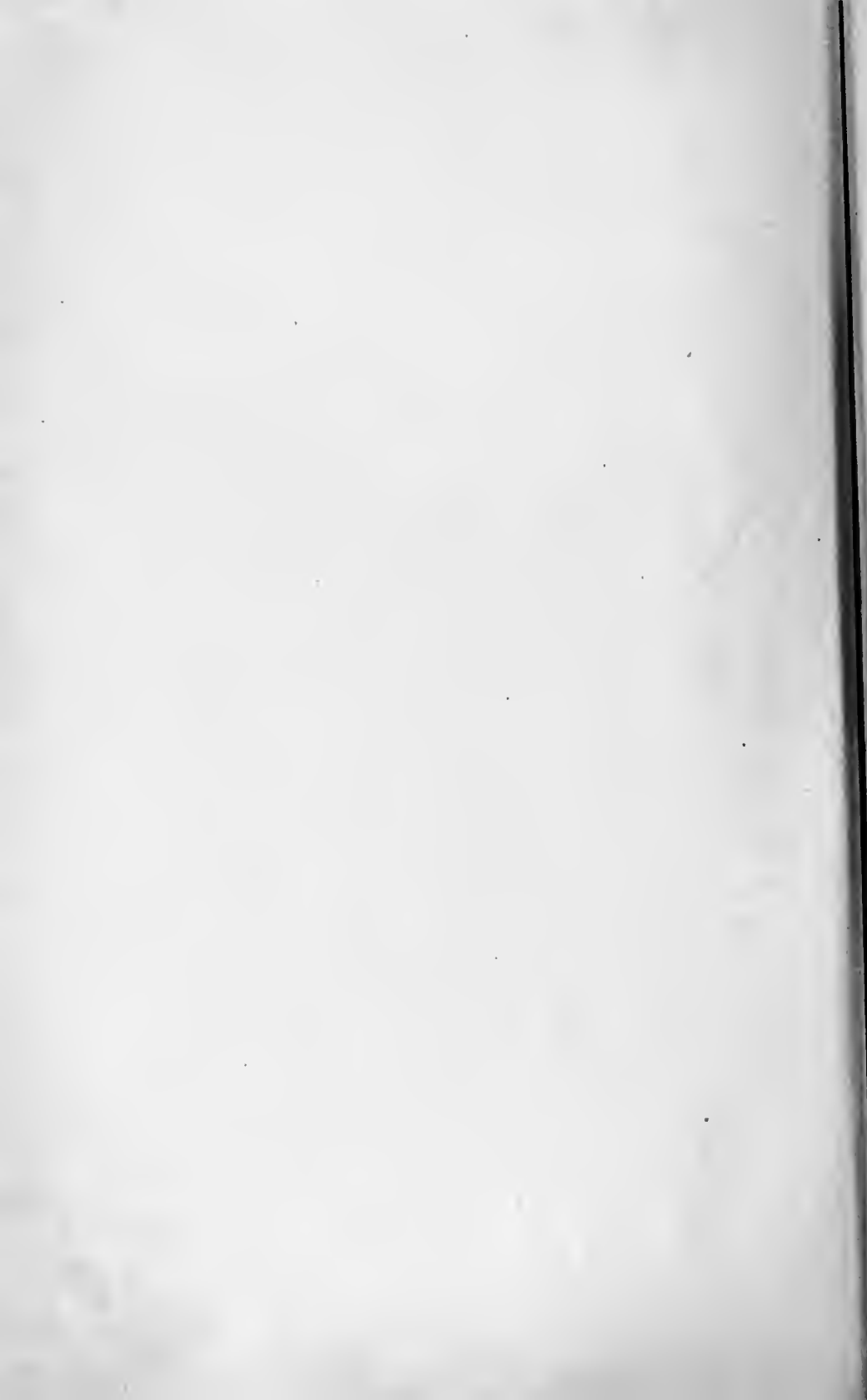




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— OF THE —

Mississippi Historical Society

Volume VII.



~~U.S. Hist.~~
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THE MISSISSIPPI
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY
FRANKLIN L. RILEY
Secretary.

VOL. VII.

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PREFACE.

In this volume of the *Publications*, the Mississippi Historical Society presents to the public several new contributions to different phases of State history. A cursory glance at the contents will show that work has been done during the current year in practically all of the fields of investigation hitherto entered by contributors to these *Publications*. The numerous articles dealing with military, political and local history, as well as the large collection of valuable biographical and genealogical material here published, will doubtless be of widespread interest. The volume also devotes much space to the literary, social, religious and aboriginal history of the State. The first fruits of work in two new fields of investigation, the history of epidemics and of philanthropy, are here presented to the public. It is hoped that further work of this nature will be done in the near future. The value of the contributions to the local history of reconstruction will suggest to many readers the possibility of further work in this important field, and will doubtless lead to the preparation of many other interesting monographs of a similar nature.

The Society is very fortunate in being able to publish, in this connection, two valuable posthumous contributions from the pen of Dr. Monette, the pioneer historian of the Mississippi Valley. It is interesting to note that recent events have greatly increased the value of these carefully prepared contributions, which have been preserved in manuscript form for more than half a century. The reader may expect to learn, in a future volume of the *Publications*, more about the career of the remarkable scientist and historian who is the author of these interesting articles.

F. L. R.

University, Miss., November 1, 1903.

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OFFICERS FOR 1903.

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PROFESSOR GEORGE H. BRUNSON, of Mississippi College, Clinton,
Mississippi.

All persons who are interested in the work of the Society and desire to promote its objects are invited to become members.

There is no initiation fee. The only cost to members is, annual dues, \$2.00, or life dues, \$30.00. Members receive all *Publications* of the Society free of charge.

Address all communications to the Secretary of the Mississippi Historical Society, University P. O., Mississippi.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY FRANKLIN L. RILEY, SECRETARY.

The sixth annual meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society was held in the Citizens' Opera House in Yazoo City, Miss., on April 23 and 24, 1903. Gen. Stephen D. Lee, the President of the Society, presided throughout the meeting. The first session was held on the evening of April 23, beginning at 8 o'clock. The exercises were opened by Hon. W. A. Henry, who announced that through the liberality of the citizens of Yazoo City the Opera House had been procured for the use of the Society during the entire meeting, and that a reception would be given its members in the home of the Elks Club, at the conclusion of the first session. He then introduced Hon. John Sharpe Williams, who had been appointed to deliver the address of welcome to the Society. After indulging in an interesting and instructive discussion of the meaning and importance of history, Mr. Williams extended the hospitality of the city to the visitors in a few well-chosen words, which left no doubt as to the cordiality of the welcome which he had been instructed to extend.¹

After listening to the beautiful strains of Dixie, which were delightfully rendered by the orchestra, Gen. Lee introduced Supt. E. L. Bailey, of Jackson, who made an able response to the sentiments of hospitality and good cheer that had been extended to the Society. Dr. C. H. Brough, of Clinton, Miss., then read a valuable contribution on "Historic Clinton" (see p. 281). The following papers were presented by title, the contributors being absent: "A Mississippi Brigade in the Last Days of the Confederacy," (see p. 33), by Hon. J. S. McNeilly; "Reminiscences of a Service with the First Mississippi Cavalry" (see p. 85), by Prof. J. G. Deupree; "Confederate Cemeteries in Mississippi"² by Dr. R. W. Jones; "Expedition from Mississippi to Pensacola in 1861,"² by Judge Baxter McFarland.

¹ A copy of this address will be found in the Appendix to the Proceedings (see p. 13).

² This paper was not submitted to the editor in time for insertion in this volume of the *Publications*.

The Society then went in a body to the beautiful Elks Building, where its members were delightfully entertained. After the lapse of an hour or longer, spent in pleasant intercourse and in partaking of the delightful spread which had been prepared for the occasion, Gen. Lee introduced Miss Margaret McRea Lackey, of Clinton, Miss., who read a beautiful poem, based upon the sentiment of defiance uttered by Col. Autry in his reply to Farragut's demand for the surrender of Vicksburg. Shortly afterwards the reception was brought to a close.

The second session of the meeting was called to order at 10:30 o'clock on the morning of April 24. An interesting paper by Miss Mary J. Welsh, of Shuqualak, Miss., on the "Makeshifts of the War between the States" (see p. 101), was read by the secretary, the author being detained at home on account of ill health. Gen. Lee then made some pathetic remarks concerning the sufferings and privations of the women of the South during the war. Judge Robert Bowman, of Yazoo City, Miss., presented a paper on the subject of "Reconstruction in Yazoo County" (see p. 115). As Bishop Chas. B. Galloway, of Jackson, Miss., whose name was next on the program, was unavoidably prevented from attending the meeting, his paper, entitled "Thomas Griffin—a Boanerges of the Early Southwest" (see p. 153), was read by Rev. J. M. Weems. The following papers were then presented by title: "Recollections of Reconstruction in East and Southeast Mississippi" (see p. 199), by Capt. W. H. Hardy, of Hattiesburg, Miss.; "Life of Greenwood Leflore" (see p. 141), by Mrs. N. D. Deupree, of University, Miss.; "Cotton Gin Port and Gaines' Trace" (see p. 263), by Geo. J. Leftwich, Esq., of Aberdeen, Miss.; "Senatorial Career of J. Z. George" (see p. 245), by Dr. Jas. W. Garner, of Columbia University, New York; "The Administration of Winthrop Sargent,"³ by Supt. J. N. Powers, of Grenada, Miss.; "Documentary History of the Arrest by the Authorities of Mississippi Territory of Aaron Burr,"³ by Dunbar Rowland, Esq., of Jackson, Miss. The Society adjourned to meet at four o'clock p. m.

The third session was held at the time appointed. A valuable paper, entitled "The Rank and File at Vicksburg" (see p. 17), by

³ This paper was not submitted to the editor in time for insertion in this volume of the *Publications*.

Col. J. H. Jones, of Woodville, Miss., was then read by Gen. Stephen D. Lee, who made appropriate remarks thereon. The following papers were presented by title: "Yellow Fever Epidemics of Mississippi,"³ by Dr. Waller S. Leathers, of the University of Mississippi; "The Cholera in 1849" (see p. 271), by Maj. Wm. Dunbar Jenkins, of Natchez, Miss.; "History of Levee Legislation and Levee Building in Mississippi,"⁴ by Hon. J. W. Cutrer, of Clarksdale, Miss.; "Schools in Mississippi during the War between the States," by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, of Santa Fé, New Mexico; "Some Historic Homes in Mississippi" (see p. 325), by Mrs. N. D. Deupree; "Lowndes County, Its Antiquities and Pioneer Settlers" (see p. 351), by Col. William A. Love, of Crawford, Miss.; "The Archaeology of Yazoo County,"⁴ by Hon. R. L. Bennett, of Yazoo City, Miss. The Society then adjourned to meet at 8.30 o'clock p. m.

The fourth and last session of the meeting was held on Friday evening, April 24, at 8.30 o'clock. Dr. Franklin L. Riley, of the University of Mississippi, presented a paper on "The Life of Col. J. F. H. Claiborne" (see p. 217). Rev. Ira M. Boswell, of Port Gibson, Miss., then entertained the Society with an interesting account of "La Cache" (see p. 313). Dr. P. H. Saunders, of the University of Mississippi, read a valuable sketch of the life of Col. Felix Labauve (see p. 131). Prof. P. H. Eager, of Clinton, Miss., presented a paper, entitled "Lafayette Rupert Hamberlin, Dramatic Reader and Poet" (see p. 171), which adds an important chapter to the literary history of Mississippi. The following papers were presented by title: "Mingo Moshulitubbec's Prairie Village" (see p. 373), by Col. William A. Love; "The Chroniclers of DeSoto's Expedition" (see p. 379), by Prof. T. H. Lewis, of St. Paul, Minn.; "British West Florida" (see p. 399), by Peter J. Hamilton, Esq., of Mobile, Ala.; "Antiquities of Pascagoula River,"⁴ by Peter J. Hamilton, Esq.; "Origin of Mashulaville" (see p. 381), by H. S. Halbert, of Meridian, Miss.; "Notes on Tristan de Luna's Expedition of 1559,"⁴ by Mr. H. S. Halbert; "Col. George S. Gaines and the Choctaw Exploring Delegation of 1830-31,"⁴ by Mr. H. S. Halbert; "Choctaw Mission Station in Jasper County" (see p. 349), by Capt. A. J. Brown, of

⁴ This paper was not submitted to the editor in time for insertion in this volume of the *Publications*.

Newton, Miss.; "Location of the Home of Pushmataha in Lauderdale County,"⁴ by Supt. J. R. Ellis, of Meridian, Miss.; "Location of the Choctaw Agency in Clarke County,"⁵ by C. B. Wier, of Quitman, Miss.; "The Choctaw Commissioners at Yazoo Town in 1843,"⁶ by G. C. Tann, Esq., of Hickory, Miss.; "The Choctaw Land Claims,"⁶ by Dr. Franklin L. Riley; "Origin of French Camp,"⁷ by Prof. Jackson Reeves, of Lynnville, Tenn.; "History of the Young Men's Christian Association Movement in Mississippi,"⁸ by Supt. J. R. Dobyns, of Jackson, Miss.; "History of the Temperance Movement in Mississippi,"⁹ by Hon. C. H. Alexander, of Jackson, Miss.

Rev. Ira M. Boswell presented the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the thanks of the Mississippi Historical Society be tendered to the citizens of Yazoo City for their generous hospitality, and their liberality in providing for the comfort and convenience of the members of the Society collectively and individually.

"Resolved further, That the Society express its gratitude to the various committees of ladies and gentlemen who so kindly contributed to the pleasure and success of the members of the Society and to the Manager of the Citizens' Opera House Company and to the order of Elks who have so generously tendered the use of their respective halls to the Society."

The president then made some appropriate closing remarks, in which he spoke of the cordial reception that had been extended to the Society, and expressed the sentiments of its members in many complimentary references to the hospitality of the citizens of Yazoo City. The resolutions were then unanimously adopted and the Society adjourned, subject to the call of the Executive Committee.

⁴ This paper was not submitted to the editor in time for insertion in this volume of the *Publications*.

⁵ This paper was not completed in time for insertion in this volume of the *Publications*.

APPENDIX TO PROCEEDINGS.

Address of Welcome, by Hon. John Sharpe Williams.

Mr. President and Members of the Mississippi Historical Society: It is my pleasant task, if task indeed it, in any sense, can be called, to welcome you to the hospitalities and the freedom of our big little town. The occasion is twice blessed: blessed in the giving and in the receiving of your presence. The task is twice pleasant: because I know it will end by your falling in love with our people for the same reason that all others that have known them have fallen in love with them because they couldn't help it. It is pleasant also because of the general character and local significance of the study to further which your Society was organized and exists.

There is no study more interesting certainly and probably none more important than that of history. "I know of no light to guide my footsteps other than that of the past," said Patrick Henry in effect. The study of history furnishes us with that light and makes us acquainted with its use. There has long been and long will be a discussion—somewhat academic—of the question: "Which is of the greater utility, the man of action or the man of study"—the man who *makes* history or the man who *writes* it? A young lady once asked one of my little boys: "Which of us is the sweetest?" and he replied with singular frankness "Bof of us." So both of them are the most useful. The man of action—whether on the field, in the cabinet, in legislative hall or on the bench—the man who makes history; we cannot do without; his the initiative and his for the greater part the plaudits of mankind. But if it were not for him who records what has been done—the things accomplished and the things attempted, which were failures—the world would have to live its life, virtually, over again every generation or two; most of the conquests of man's brain and the lessons of his experience would be constantly in a state of being forgotten and relearned. Continuity in progress would be destroyed. We can not build a Pyramid of Cheops to-day because after the work of its erection there was no recorder of the manner of its doing. The world has lost Tyrian purple and for a long time had lost the art of making glass because no record of the processes came down to us. Progress in civilization is first the work of individuals in a given generation; then comes the work of conservation, without which there could be no great development, improvement or extension—one generation building on the foundation, or post-foundation structure of another. This is the "mounting on our dead selves to higher things" of which Tennyson speaks. It is thus only that "through the progress of the suns one increasing purpose runs." It would not run very far nor increase very much except for the labors of the Muse of History—the muse conservative of human progress. The whole discussion is best relegated to the debating societies, however, for the simple reason that there are no two such distinct classes as are here assumed—they intermingle always, and, as enlightenment goes on, more and more. The men of action write history and write it most interestingly and instructively—witness: Sallust, Caesar, Thucydides, and Froissart, and Gen. Dick Taylor; and those known best as historians only were yet men engaged in large affairs of state or of industry—making history as members of parliament, colonial administrators, soldiers or diplomats, witness: Macaulay, Motley, Bancroft, Guizot, etc.

Out of this comes this lesson—the historian must know much of many things, certainly much of the thing or science whose history he undertakes to write; because history-writing is the art conservator of all the arts.

Hence too the truth which Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, wrote and which has been read without digestion and quoted without understanding by so many since. After telling us that reading makes a full man, speaking a ready man and writing an accurate man, he adds: Poetry makes a man witty, mathematics makes him subtle, philosophy makes him grave and *history makes him wise*. History is necessarily written, whether by pictures or hieroglyphics on the eternal rocks, or by printed words still more imperishably on perishable paper and because it is written cultivates accuracy in the writer and reader. Then "history makes a man wise." Why? Is it not because the historian *must* keep in his mind's eye many peoples, many times and many sciences? Breadth is almost wisdom; narrowness is almost its opposite. Old Homer attributed the wisdom of the wisest of his Grecian chieftains to the fact that he had seen "many cities and many men." The historian cannot be a mere specialist, who *may* have much knowledge, or many knowledges, with little wisdom. A specialist may emerge from among details about which his "knowledges" are wonderful, like one who walking in a great beautiful forest and examining there with a microscope, bark and leaf and acorn, comes out with no correlation of the whole, "no bird's eye view," and who, once in the open, says he did not see the forest for the leaves or the bark—like Yankee Doodle, who "couldn't see the town for the houses."

Thus in *space*, comprehension is necessary for the historian—he can not be a mere "chronicler of small-beer"—a mere "classifier of chalks." And in *time* duration,—long-sightedness—is necessary for him. His is not the work of a mere to-day; it is the work of recording the work of many yesterdays; and, if wisely, well or interestingly recorded, recording the work of many yesterdays with a view of hastening and well-ordering the work of to-day and of to-morrow.

"Knowledge comes but wisdom lingers." Waits or "lingers" on what? *On the generations and the lessons of the generations.* On the slow processes of material, intellectual, social, political and racial evolution; hence wisdom comes especially from history, which study alone presents *in one view* these slow processes. Out of the confusing maze of the many knowledges of to-day and yesterday—the many sciences—*scientia*—history gathers wisdom—the fruit—that which has fructified—that which has ripened—that which is digestible for man in the building up—culturing—his social system for further growth. This then is civilization. Is it not?

It is said that a pygmy on the shoulder of a giant can see further and in a wider horizon than the giant. Thus a historian of to-day, though a pygmy, can see further into the future than a giant of Napoleon's day—of which day he was—by the way—himself *the* giant—further than Solon who made laws, as he fondly imagined, for many generations, or Lycurgus, who still more fondly fancied that he had moulded institutions for all time.

There will always be two classes of historians and much discussion which class writes history best. One class consists of those who tell "a plain unvarnished tale," "as they themselves have heard it;" "naught extenuating, naught setting down in malice" and naught explaining either. Some of them mere wonder-eyed children, like Heroditas, as much astonishing themselves, as others, by the stories they repeat; some mere chroniclers, like the old monks, mere "Dry-as-dusts" as Carlyle called them, though, by the way, much of Carlyle's best work had been left perforce undone, but for the previous labors of these same "Dry-as-dusts;" others of them, like old Froissart, stirring your soul as with a trumpet blast out of the past. Then the second class consists of those who "point a moral," as well as "adorn a tale;" some of them beautifully keeping the thread of the story, like Von Sybel, Carlyle, Gibbon, Macaulay, Hume, and Tacitus; some, like Bunsen, for example, with so much pointing of morals and so much philosophizing about causes, that there is scarcely any tale told at all, becoming rather narrative metaphysicians, theologists, or politicians than

History writers—producing a result like Wagner's music with so many variations of sound that there is no tune or melody left. It must ever be remembered that the word history means, etymologically, "*a story*"—a tale told—only it must be a true tale, that is all. The first class simply pictures the moving panorama of facts—*facta*—things done—collated, proportioned and, in a way, made dramatic—leaving the reader to read *into* the book between the lines by the application of his own intellect, with its peculiar coloring or light derived from his own peculiar place, time, individuality and heredity, his own lesson or philosophy; the other class furnishes the lesson, as seen in the writer's light or coloring, "ready-made," teaching "*Geschichtliche-wissenschaft*," as the Germans word it, the "philosophy of history," as we phrase it. Which class writes history best? The answer is again "bof of us." Both are necessary. The chronicler, indispensable and first in order of time, is perhaps the most instructive and pleasing, if he tells his tale eloquently and well, to those few, who are able to do their own digesting and whose intellectual light is strong enough to enable them, without help from others, to illumine the page with its lesson. The second class is equally, but later indispensable, and more instructive, perhaps, for that "*wider many*" who must have their food cooked for them and who read only *out of* a book and never anything *into* it.

So much for the importance of the study of history generally.

A few words as to the local significance of its study—its bearing upon us as residents of a State and a section. The history of Mississippi—in fact, of the whole South—has yet to be written. Indeed, the history of no one Southern State can be written except as a part of the History of the South. In many fields even the local chronicler has not yet done his first work. Much of the material has been lost and will never be regained. Let us save what is left. Then let the broad chronicler, with his "plain unvarnished story" come next. And then in God's own time, will come the historical philosopher, he who can draw for all men *the lesson*—huttressing it with the admitted or proven facts. I believe, that when the time and the man shall have come, the philosophy of our sectional history—the purpose, conscious or unconscious, of our sectional strivings,—will be shown to have been always consistent, always at one with itself and with the eternally right—one "*increasing purpose*" running through it all—a purpose divinely unvarying. And that purpose—whatever shiboleth of the hour, whether States' rights, secession, sanctity of slavery, equal citizenship in the territories, anti-reconstruction, or what not, may more or less have obscured it to the eyes of others and for a time to our own—that unvarying purpose being this; the preservation of our racial purity and racial integrity—the supremacy in our midst of the white man's peculiar code of ethics and of the civilization growing out of it—equally peculiar to him. It will show that there has been no "*lost cause*" but a *preserved cause*, though many things thought at many times to be a necessary part of the cause have been lost. For example secession has been lost, but it was never our *Cause*. It was the remedy resorted to in order to assert the *Cause*. Slavery has been lost, but it was not our *Cause*, though we thought so once and fought for it among other things. But why? Was it not because our people thought that with the enfranchisement of the negroes would necessarily come the downfall of the white man's civilization and the destruction of his family life, whence is evolved his code of ethics and upon which is based his civilization? The event has proven that the *apprehended* result was not a *necessary* result, but how well founded was the apprehension, judging by San Domingo, Mexico and South America whose experience alone history had then furnished us! Moreover how hardly did we escape it! Would we have escaped it at all, but for the fortitude, patience, constancy, self-discipline, self-command, and solidarity and *capacity for organization* learned during four years of hardship and war?

But we, the people of Yazoo, "came not here" to talk but to welcome you and to listen, and I can not therefore go into all that I have suggested. History will go into it. The world has yet a lesson to learn from us and from our struggles, has yet to learn our part in the "increasing purpose" of "the God in History." Never fear; the world will learn it. "Wisdom lingers" but it comes after a time. Only save the material—the "knowledges"—the quartz; the miner will come and then the smelter and then the purifier. Perhaps he is here already though we do not know it. Your Society and others like it throughout the South,—all doing noble work,—can furnish the opportunity, perhaps the man. Mr. President, we welcome you with hand and tongue and heart to our "City of Beautiful Roses," where you will be so much more sweetly welcomed, later on, by the scarcely less beautiful women, who grew the beautiful roses.

THE RANK AND FILE AT VICKSBURG.

By J. H. JONES.

The siege of Vicksburg, one of the most memorable in the annals of modern warfare, and far-reaching in its results, has passed into history. But this history has been written of it as a whole, and from the viewpoint of elevated rank, as it should be. I now propose to write of it in its details, as we of the rank and file saw it and shared in it, and I hope to present some incidents worthy of preservation.

A great battle is made up of many varied events, of many component parts; each brigade and each regiment is more or less an independent factor in it, and these must be studied in detail to understand properly what a battle is.

It is now conceded that the fall of Vicksburg in the West and the defeat of Gettysburg in the East marked the beginning of the end of the Southern Confederacy. After these twin disasters its progress was steadily downward to Appomattox. Of the two tragedies, that of Vicksburg, though of less degree, was more momentous in its results. It severed the Confederacy in twain, gave the enemy complete control of the Mississippi river, and the secure possession of every town and city on its banks; and enabled the foe to establish himself in the very vitals of the South and to gnaw it to death from within. I do not propose to write of general results, but to confine myself to the breastworks in which some of us spent forty days and forty nights under a downpour of lead and iron.

My regiment, the 38th Mississippi Infantry, formed a part of Gen. Louis Hebert's brigade, of Forney's division. During the winter and spring preceding the siege this division was stationed at Snyder's Bluff, on the Yazoo river, and was charged with the duty of defending a raft closing the river, and the batteries erected at that point. These defences were important, and were designed to prevent the Federal gunboats from ascending the Yazoo

¹ A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VI., p. III.—EDITOR.

river, from which Vicksburg drew its supplies. Here the division remained in idleness, guarding a no longer useful defence, while the fate of the city was being determined by Grant in his masterly campaign in its rear. In order to hold us at this point, and to prevent our strong division from reinforcing General Pemberton, Grant sent Sherman to make a feint against it. This had the desired effect. General Pemberton has been harshly criticised for his conduct of this important campaign, and even his patriotism was doubted at one time; but those of us who fought under him knew him to be a soldier, brave and true; but we also knew this to be one of the long list of military mistakes which shortened the life of the Confederacy. The final result must have been the same in any case, and it matters but little now. It was not the will of God that the Union should be destroyed, and He used both its friends and its foes to preserve it. It was remarkable how accurately the rank and file would take the measures of their commanders. They were not, as individuals, possessed of any especial military knowledge beyond the drill and the manual of arms. They knew only how to obey orders; how "to do or die," without troubling themselves about the "reason why;" but still the general consensus of opinion among the soldiers hardly ever erred in its estimate of their leaders. The judgment of these humble critics, in the aggregate, was almost infallible. And this habit of taking the measure of their officers had much to do with the results of the battles they fought. The men learned to trust and to follow certain officers with blind confidence; while they distrusted others, often with disastrous consequences. I doubt if the soldiers of Lee and of Jackson ever entered into a battle with a thought of defeat; I doubt if the soldiers of Pemberton ever entered into one with a hope of success.

I am unable to classify properly General Pemberton as a soldier, never having attained to the dignity of a military critic, but he impressed me as a man who would have been valuable as a chief of staff. I well remember when he was in the very thickest of the campaign which drove him into Vicksburg he sent out a general order, which was read to us at dress parade, prescribing the manner in which communications should be folded and addressed, and gravely assuring us that none others would be considered. Nero fiddling during the burning of Rome affords a

parallel instance of frivolity in the midst of tragedy. What manner of man was it who could act thus under such circumstances?

The battle of Big Black Bridge may have been planned according to the most approved military rule, so far as I know, but we of the rank and file could not understand why a beaten and retreating army, more or less demoralized and facing heavy odds, should have taken position in a level plain, with a deep stream in the rear, and only a pontoon and a trestle bridge as a means of escape in case of further disaster. It was not surprising that some of the rank and file should have deemed it wise to withdraw to the other side of that stream while the way was yet open, and that the others should have followed after upon the first assault, leaving many guns and prisoners in the hands of the enemy. This may have been war, but to us of the rank and file it seemed somewhat deficient of common sense.

On the evening of May 18th Forney's division took the position assigned it in the defences around Vicksburg. Hebert's brigade, of which my regiment was a member, held the fortifications from the Cemetery road south, across the Jackson road and immediately in the rear of the city. The first position held by the 38th regiment was immediately north of a deep ravine, which cut the breastworks between these two roads. In front of us the timber had been cut down for several hundred yards. About sunset the enemy appeared in the edge of the woods, and soon after a shell was fired at our position. This was probably the first shot fired during the siege. I heard no other that evening.

During the evening of the 19th, after a sharp cannonade, an assault was made upon our front, which was easily repulsed with heavy loss to the enemy, but with little to us. The result of this attack must have been disappointing to General Grant. The Confederates had been beaten in a number of engagements, and after the rout at Big Black had been driven into the defences of the city in a presumably demoralized condition. It was not unreasonable in General Grant, therefore, to believe that the garrison would offer but a feeble resistance, and that his victorious troops would carry the works with a rush. His orders, since published, make this delusion plain. He gave elaborate instructions as to what his troops were to do on entering the city. General Sherman was even more sanguine. He forbade the wagons to enter the city

with his storming columns; officers were ordered to charge on foot, and to leave instructions for their servants to bring the horses to them as soon as the place was captured. And his troops were further cautioned to "keep close at the heels of the enemy" when they fled, "and not to permit them to rally inside the works." Very many of those brave fellows never entered Vicksburg at all until they were laid in their final resting place in the National Cemetery, where 16,000 of them are waiting the final roll call of the nations.

Admiral Porter, alone, seems to have understood properly the situation. Writing to General Hurlburt on the 18th of May, the day before the first assault, he said:

"I am not authorized to say so, but my opinion is that General Grant should be reinforced with all dispatch; he will have the hardest fight ever seen during the war."

General Grant did not know, or did not consider that Forney's division, which held the weakest part of the Confederate line, had taken no part in the previous campaign, and were fresh troops, as were others; and that the survivors of that campaign, though defeated, were not demoralized.

The failure of his first attack did not convince or discourage General Grant, and he made more elaborate preparations for another and more formidable assault. On the night of the 21st of May preceding this assault, the fratricidal feature of the war was called to our attention in a most pathetic manner. Just on our left was Green's Missouri brigade, and, by the irony of fate, a brigade of Missourians, on the Federal side, was directly opposed to them. They discovered this in some way, and until late at night we could hear the Confederates calling to their old neighbors and asking of the loved ones in their far-away homes. The former had followed Price from Missouri, and of all who shared the fortunes of the Stars and Bars none offered up a more heroic sacrifice than they.

Before daylight on the morning of the 22d the enemy began a tremendous cannonade on our front. It was the grandest and most awe-inspiring scene I ever witnessed. The air was ablaze with burning and bursting shells, darting like fiery serpents across the sky, and the earth shook with the thunderous roar. The scene recalled descriptions of the meteoric shower of 1833, only

these meteors were too close and too solid for pleasant contemplation. I do not hesitate to assert that coarse print could have been read by the light of these blazing missiles. It would appear almost incredible that but little harm was done by such a fierce cannonade, but so it was. A ditch is almost a perfect protection against a shell fired across it, provided one sits against the side next to the battery. Its momentum carries even the fragments of an exploded shell forward, and there is little danger from it. It is only when the messengers of death are dropped from above, or when they enfilade a line of breastworks that they get in their deadly work.

When the cannonade ceased the Federals formed three lines of battle, near the woods, and began a steady advance upon our works. Their lines were about one hundred yards apart. They came on as rapidly as the fallen timber would permit, and in perfect order. We waited in silence until the first line had advanced within easy rifle range, when a murderous fire was opened from the breastworks. We had a few pieces of artillery which ploughed their ranks with destructive effect. Still they never faltered, but came bravely on. It was indeed a gallant sight though an awful one. As they came down the hill one could see them plunging headlong to the front, and as they rushed up the slope to our works they invariably fell backwards, as the death shot greeted them. And yet the survivors never wavered. Some of them fell within a few yards of our works. If any of the first line escaped, I did not see them. They came into the very jaws of death and died. The two other lines of battle, when they recognized the impossible, sought refuge among the fallen timber, but held their advanced positions tenaciously during the day, and next morning were intrenched not far from our front, where they remained. Surely no more desperate courage than this could be displayed by mortal men. On our left a battle flag was planted upon the walls of a fort held by the 36th Mississippi, and it was waved there defiantly all day until it was carried off at night by its owners, who had found shelter in the ditch outside. This gallant deed was accomplished by an Ohio regiment, one of whose officers I met recently while marking the position of my command at Vicksburg.

When civil war was being preached by the politicians we were

encouraged with the assurance that an average Southerner was more than a match for half a dozen Yankees. I had learned already to discount this estimate a few hundred per cent., but after Vicksburg my faith in it was utterly destroyed and I was only too glad to catch one of these same Yankees by himself. In truth I heartily approved of General Forrest's favorite plan of "getting there first with the most men" when he desired to win. The truth is the American people are a warlike race; and it matters not from what section they come. They are a nation of fighters. At the outset of the war the soldiers from the South, on one side and those from the West on the other, being familiar with firearms, were the better troops; but training and discipline made soldiers of all. It is undeniably true, however, that the armies of the South always enjoyed some advantage over those of the Union side in being composed of the very flower of Southern manhood, and in fighting a defensive war for their homes and firesides.

In front of our regiment the Federal dead were strewn thickly where they fell. No attempt was made to bury them until the evening of the 25th, when General Pemberton asked for a truce for that purpose. General Grant's action in this matter has always been incomprehensible to me. His dead lay for a part of four days decaying under a burning sun. The stench was unbearable. The sight was horrible. The reeking bodies lay all blackened and swollen, and some with arms extended as if pleading to Heaven for the burial that was denied them by man.

After that General Grant settled down to a regular siege, and no further attempt was made to take the city by assault. For several weeks the garrison lived the routine life of a siege; but with us it was by no means a dull routine. The thunder of the cannon greeted us by day and by night; the sharp crack of the rifle, the hiss of the minie ball; somebody wounded; somebody dying—all the time.

At the end of two weeks the 38th was removed to a position south of that first held, with its right resting on the Jackson road, immediately in front of the place now marked by a cannon, to designate the place of meeting between Pemberton and Grant. Immediately to our left was the 3rd Louisiana, a splendid regiment, which held an earthwork along the Jackson road, and the lines beyond. This position was probably the most difficult of

defense on the entire line, and it was constantly and vigorously assailed all the time. The enemy approached the fort, and the point where our own line crossed the Jackson road by means of saps, until a common breastwork lay between us. Every day hand grenades were thrown across from one side to the other, often with fatal results. It had the appearance of a ball game, only the players never caught the balls, but fled from them. One day our neighbors tossed over a dead rattlesnake, and occasionally a cracker would come over with a polite inquiry as to the condition of our larder. At another time a courteous inquiry was made as to whether it was true that General Pemberton had been superseded in the command of Vicksburg by General Starvation. Grim visaged war has its humorous side at times.

On the right of my regiment the Federal lines were about one hundred yards down the hill, and every night "Johnnie" and "Yank" would call a truce and meet between the lines in friendly intercourse, and thus the 38th and the 17th Illinois became good friends. On parting the "boys" would shake hands and caution each other, in all seriousness, to "keep heads down after daylight," when they would shoot at each other's heads with the eagerness of sportsmen. This practice seems to have been common all along the line. At the meeting of the Commission appointed to designate the positions occupied by the several Confederate commands, the late Colonel Power mentioned an incident worth recalling. After a truce had been called the opposing troops amused themselves by propounding conundrums to each other, an officer on each side being selected as spokesman. The "Yanks" had gotten the advantage of the "Johnnies" for several nights, and an earnest effort on the part of the latter resulted in this poser: "Why are greenbacks like the Jews?" Of course the "Yanks" had to "give it up." The answer was "Because they have Abraham for their father and no redeemer." Not bad for a conundrum evolved from shot and shell.

What a study is human nature, and how seemingly contradictory. Here were men, one moment engaged in deadly strife, and the next meeting as friends. Here was bloody tragedy changed to laughing comedy in an instant. But there was a rational cause for this seeming incongruity. Day by day, as the siege progressed, it was the sole business of the soldier to kill or be killed.

Day by day some friend or comrade died, and "who next?" was on every man's lips and in every man's heart, only to be answered by the thud of a bullet or the crash of a shell. The mental strain became awful under such conditions. I know that the men would have gladly relieved it by rushing over the works, and settling the harrowing question of life or death with the bayonet. The cord became too tense and had to be relaxed, else it would break, and in this anomalous way relief was sought in enforced amusement when the shadows of night permitted.

A few incidents of our every day life will better illustrate this. The Federals had placed a 10-inch gun in position, near the Jackson road, and about three hundred yards from my regiment, and on its flank. There was nothing to prevent this, as our artillery had all been silenced at this point. The fire of this gun enfiladed our entire position, and as a protection against it a traverse was built at the upper end of it. Every morning the enemy would begin to batter down this protection, knocking off the top, foot by foot, and often in the evening the shells would be rushing down the ditch very close above our heads. Sitting with my back to the battery I could feel the windage of the passing shells, and see them distinctly as they receded. To see a cannon ball in motion it must be very nearly in the line of vision—going directly from, or coming directly to the observer. This was dangerously close, but there was no escape from it. Often these shells would be exploded right in the works, and then the destruction was dreadful. One night I saw one coming down the ditch like a rocket in appearance, and just had time to throw myself on my face when it expanded into a globe of fire with a deafening roar about thirty yards away. Four men were killed outright, and four others were seriously wounded, and all dreadfully mangled by that bursting shell. A bit of warm, quivering flesh fell on a soldier's hand a hundred yards distant. What a gruesome messenger of death that was.

We had two lines of parallel breastworks, connected by ditches, using the inner line as a sort of sitting room when off duty. Being somewhat luxurious in my taste I had excavated a sort of open grave in one of these cross ditches, and covered it with poles, sunk below the natural surface, and upon these earth was thrown as a protection against the hot sun. I was lying comfortably in

my den one evening reading the New Testament, copies of which had been supplied us by some good Christian people. I had observed that shells and minie balls exerted a fine missionary influence on most of us; and that language was less strenuous, and that Bible study and devotional exercises were much more common under these conditions. At all events I was reading the writings of St. Paul when suddenly, in the midst of a most horrible uproar I found myself buried alive. On digging my way out and clearing my eyes and mouth of dirt, I discovered that the shell had ploughed along just below the surface, struck my house top, buried me in the ruins, and exploded not over thirty feet from my lair. I confess to being somewhat demoralized. In fact, some of the boys insinuated that I was badly scared. It was a close call.

But the shells were much less dangerous than the bullets, which daily got in their deadly work. A tower was erected from which our men were picked off in their trenches, and an improvised wooden mortar threw little shells continuously upon our heads. Even in the matter of sharpshooting we were at a great disadvantage, because our works were located above those of our foes. One would think this gave us an advantage, but it was not so. The firing was done through port holes, and ours, being depicted against the sky, revealed the sharpshooters instantly, and exposed them to the fire of their opponents. Those of the Federals on the other hand were invisible and could not be easily located. To use one of these ports meant instant death, and the men preferred to stand up boldly and fire over the breastworks at the enemy, and risk the chances of a return fire. After the surrender a Federal soldier explained to me that the men would get the range of one of our ports and lash the gun securely, so as to preserve it. When a hole was darkened by a Confederate head, the trigger was instantly pulled and a bullet was put through it with unfailing accuracy.

In addition to our other troubles the Commissary Department was in a bad condition. At first we had a scanty ration of cornbread and beef, and finally were regaled on "pea bread," a most villainous invention of General Pemberton's, and even this was measured out in ounces. I was credibly informed that this bread consisted of ground cow peas, a little cornmeal, a little salt, and water, *ad lib*. It was baked long enough to cover it with a crust

sufficient to hold it together. Inside was an acrid, raw, glutinous mass, which we were forced to swallow nightly—that is, those who survived; the dead escaped this infliction. On the night of July 2d we banqueted gloriously on our quartermaster's pet saddle mule. His master loved him even as honest Sancho loved Dapple, and supplied him abundantly with some of our peas. But the peas proved his undoing. As soon as he waxed fat and edible he attracted the notice of our enterprising commissary, and was sent to the regiment in small pieces for our delectation. "Bill" met with an enthusiastic reception, and we said of him, as the cannibals said of their beloved missionary—

"While we deplored him,
We loved him dearly live and well,
But roasted we adored him!"

The 3rd Louisiana was the fortunate possessor of a Glee Club, and the members had good voices which were fairly well trained. It also had a sort of poet who would compose songs adapted to popular melodies which the Club would sing. These songs were sometimes humorous, often satirical, but more commonly sad and sung in a minor key. After nightfall the club would entertain both friends and foes with their music. I have heard good music in my day, but I do not think I ever listened to singing that impressed me as that did. Everything was in favor of the performers. The stage-setting was uncommon, and the boom of artillery and the constant hiss of minie balls by day prepared the audience to appreciate the beautiful in the peaceful songs by night. Both the Blue and the Gray enjoyed these serenades, and during their continuance a deep hush fell upon the contending forces. The effect of such music, heard, in a living graveyard, in the shadow of night, was as weird as it was exquisitely beautiful. I remember a few fragments of the songs. The refrain to one ran thus:

"We may some of us sleep 'neath the hill-side sod,
We may none go back to our homes, my boys,
But the hearts that are true to their country and God,
Will all meet at the last reveille, my boys."

Everyday somebody was being laid to rest "neath the hill side sod," and each singer knew that he might be singing his last song. This consciousness lent a pathos to their voices that was inde-

scribably tender. Sometimes the young fellows would display a touch of humor in their songs. One ended this way:

"Swear, boys, swear Vicksburg shall ne'er surrender,
Swear, boys, swear that not one Vandal foe,
Shall e'er tread her soil while one arm can defend her
Unless her rations shall get demnition low."

This was a most timely reservation, as it turned out.

It was very remarkable that in a civil war like that, where a nation was divided against itself, there should be found a feeling of jealousy, and almost of dislike among the troops of the different States. It was true, to some extent, in the Southern armies, and I presume in the armies of the North. It seems that the pressure of a common peril and of a common suffering would have welded the military organizations into homogeneous masses, regardless of the States from which they came. But such was not the case; and at the reorganization of the Southern armies regiments from the States were brigaded together when practical.

This feeling displayed itself in our brigade at Vicksburg. The Louisianians never fraternized with the Mississippians, and frequently made us the butt of their ridicule. Their poet produced a parody on "Maryland," dedicated to Mississippians, but not in praise of their valor, as the chorus shows:

"You all will stay at home and blow,
You will not go to meet the foe,
For fear you might get hurt, you know,
Mississip'! Oh —————! Mississip'!"

The last line rendered with a wail, long-drawn-out, as if from a lost soul in Hades. "Our friends the Enemy" enjoyed this more than we did, and frequently applauded the singers.

For all that, the 3rd Louisiana boys were gallant fighters, and I trust it is well with all who survive, and better with those who have crossed over the river.

On the 25th of June the enemy blew up the fort occupied by the 3rd Louisiana, immediately on our left. Troops that were massed just outside charged through the crater thus made and attempted to capture the Confederate works. But the gallant Louisianians had thrown up temporary works in the rear of the fort, and met the assaulting column and held it in check until reinforcements arrived. It was here that Colonel Irwin, a grandson of Henry

Clay, was killed while leading his Missourians into the breach. This defence was a most desperate one, and was most desperately maintained, and it saved Vicksburg for the time. It was a bloody hand-to-hand fight over a common earthwork. General Grant afterwards stated that he massed two regiments in this crater.

On the 30th of June I was absent from the works, for the first time, to bury a brother who was killed. The gallant boy still sleeps in the city he died to defend. While in the city I was amazed to meet everywhere refined, delicate ladies ministering to the sick and the wounded, and perfectly indifferent to the shells Admiral Porter was constantly raining upon the devoted city. There was something peculiarly unnerving about these huge missiles. They appeared to climb to the zenith slowly, and reaching their highest point, would come rushing down with a noise that was simply appalling. I confess I was somewhat demoralized by this unaccustomed but noisy danger, small as it really was compared with that I daily encountered; but the calm courage of these tender women made me blush for my own fears. There was no hesitation, no shrinking, no bravado. Theirs was but that lofty type of heroism, born of a sense of duty to be performed, which lifted them above all consciousness of personal danger. What a splendid type of truest womanhood the old South did produce, and how worthy they were of the chivalric devotion its men accorded them. May the daughters of the new South ever be worthy of such mothers.

On the morning of July 3rd an officer in full uniform, mounted on a gray horse and attended by a courier, appeared suddenly on the right of our regiment. He was promptly fired upon by the Federals, who were just down the hill in his front. The courier had neglected to display his flag, which was still rolled up on the staff. The officer turned deliberately to the courier and caused him to unfurl the flag, leaped across the ditch and rode rapidly down the hill to the Federal lines. I was impressed with his gallant bearing and soldierly indifference to danger. It was General Bowen, the hero of Port Gibson. After that the firing ceased on both sides. In the evening a group of officers, Union and Confederate, met under an oak tree on our right front, where the cannon now stands. Shortly afterwards two of them separated themselves from the group and walked up the hill towards our

lines and seated themselves side by side. They were not over thirty yards from our works. I knew General Pemberton and recognized General Grant by descriptions I had seen of him. He was dressed in a plain uniform that had seen service, while General Pemberton's was new and elegant. General Grant wore a full beard cropped short, and I could see that it was sprinkled with gray. General Pemberton's was long and flowing, and he pulled it nervously during the entire interview. General Grant had a cigar in his mouth, but he was not smoking it, and appeared calm and stolid.

They sat thus for about an hour, when they arose and returned to the group under the tree. We knew then Vicksburg had fallen. The wonder is it held out so long. The troops were so weak from starvation that they staggered like drunken men as they walked.

General Pemberton had submitted to each brigade the possibility of cutting our way out. As regimental commander I was present at the council called by General Hebert, and the unanimous decision was that the men could not march to Big Black if unopposed. Sickness and casualties had so thinned our ranks that there was not more than one man to six feet in the works. The men were so worn out and exhausted, never having had one day's relief, that a sudden rush at night would have swept them away like chaff. No doubt the heavy loss incurred in every former attempt deterred General Grant from risking another assault.

On the morning of the 4th of July, the anniversary of the nation's birthday, the garrison of Vicksburg marched out of the works it had so heroically defended, and stacked its arms. To their great surprise all the prisoners of war were paroled. This had not been the policy of the United States Government for a long time, and we confidently expected to be sent to Northern prisons. General Pemberton was always silent about it, and General Grant assigned other reasons, but I have always believed we owed our escape from prison to the surrender on that day. To General Grant it added to the glory of his victory, and he granted a substantial consideration in return for it. It is significant that the day before that memorable interview between the two commanders General Grant had peremptorily declined General Pemberton's proposition that the garrison be paroled.

The very last casualty, as death in military parlance is described, occurred while we were in the act of stacking arms, and under circumstances of peculiar sadness even for war. The regiment was in line in front of the works, standing at "attention" and waiting orders, while a "detail" of men was gathering up the guns left in the trenches by the wounded and the dead, and placing them in piles on its front. One gun, carelessly handled, was discharged and killed a soldier in the act of surrendering. There was something peculiarly pathetic in such a death, and it touched deeply the grim soldiers who witnessed it. To have survived the dangers and horrors of the siege to die thus, how pitiful?

On the night of the 3rd no rations were sent to us, and it was not until the evening of the 4th that General Grant supplied us. A fast of forty-eight hours in our already starved condition made us ravenous. Our friends of the 17th Illinois fraternized with the 38th and aided us greatly by many acts of kindness. They would go out to their sutler's tent with the greenbacks we had borrowed from their dead comrades and purchase food for us, and doubtless many a starving "Reb" felt that his life was thus saved.

I shall never forget an incident in which I was chief actor. The Federals established a line of sentries in our former works, and I went to a lieutenant in command and begged him to see me under guard to one of their tents to purchase food. His reply, as a matter of course, and as I well knew it would be, was that he had no such authority. He offered, however, to forward an application to post headquarters for the desired permit. I replied that he must know, from my appearance, I would be dead some days before its return, to which he laughingly assented. He suddenly remembered that he had some "trash" in his haversack and offered it. The "trash" consisted of about two pounds of ginger snaps and butter crackers; luxuries I had not seen for three years. I was struck dumb with amazement. "Trash," quoth he? And straightway I remembered poor old Sancho's simple expression of astonishment when Cammacho's cook fished him out some "skimmings" from a pot—a capon or two—in response to his piteous pleading. I fell upon that "trash" like a hungry wolf and devoured it. A bystander afterwards declared that it disappeared

in my mouth like grains of rice before a Chinaman's chop stick. Be that as it may, the memory of that sumptuous feast still lingers, and my heart yet warms with gratitude towards that good officer for the blessing he bestowed. Could we meet, how gladly would I kill a fatted calf and prepare a feast for him, but I am sure it could never equal the luxury of the repast he afforded me.

In a few days the garrison bade farewell to Vicksburg, which its valor had made heroic, and one of the saddest epochs of our Civil War had come to a close.

A MISSISSIPPI BRIGADE IN THE LAST DAYS OF THE CONFEDERACY.

By J. S. McNEILLY.¹

The eventfulness of the tragedy on which the curtain fell at Appomattox was so overwhelming that its preceding and proximate incidents have been in a great measure obscured in history. And as the struggle drew near the last ditch, for a whole year prior to the end, the field operations were so numerous and exacting that the usual reports of engagements and casualties were pretermitted by most Confederate subordinate commanders. Many missing links, comprising important and heroic deeds, live only in the memories of survivors who have had scant "leave to print," from arduous life duties that span the years backward to the war time. And it is to contribute a mite in filling the void that this sketch of the Griffith-Barkesdale-Humphreys brigade, the 13th, 17th, 18th, and 21st Mississippi regiments, in the "last days of the Confederacy," has been prepared. This was one of three Mississippi brigades that partook of the fortunes and fate of the army of Northern Virginia. All were alike worthy, and deserving of a share in its fame, and so far as data has been obtainable the sketch includes the brigade of Davis and Harris.

In the beginning of the last of our campaigns Humphreys' brigade was posted on the army's extreme left, in front of Richmond. The other two Mississippi brigades were located across the James, —Harris on the line between Richmond and Petersburg and Davis near the extreme right of the line. The brigade ranks presented a sad contrast, indeed, with their muster of a year before. Of the 1,000 men that Humphreys led in the victorious repulse and attack on Grant's column in the Wilderness battles, the 6th of May, 1864, less than half as many were with their colors at the close of the year. Their general was away wounded, and every field officer of the four regiments save two was absent for like cause, a prisoner of war, or in the grave. By the last official re-

¹ A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VI., p. 129. —EDITOR.

port, February 28, 1865, the skeleton organization was commanded as follows: Lieut. Col. W. H. Fitzgerald of the 21st regiment was in command of the brigade; Capt. H. D. Cameron, of the 13th regiment; Major G. R. Cherry, of the 17th; Capt. J. F. Sessions, of the 18th; and Capt. W. P. McNeely, of the 21st. There were present for duty about 400, officers and men. By the best obtainable information each of the other two Mississippi brigades was but little stronger. The army, generally, had been similarly reduced in numbers. And when Lee's thirty odd miles of battle line was strained to the snapping point, April 2nd, 1865, it was being held by only thirty-three thousand infantry, and a little over a third as many artillery and cavalry.

The numbers here quoted are somewhat less than half the whole engaged in the preceding eleven months of unrelenting and usually victorious activities. A summary of the numbers and losses of that period may not be strictly pertinent to the title of this paper. It is included, however because the story of Grant's attrition tactics which overcame our otherwise invincible Southern army, with a disclosure of the numerical disproportion of the contending hosts in 1864-1865, embraces the most impressive chapter of the whole war. No other modern military annals, of our war or any other, approach in this respect. Writing to his adjutant general, Col. W. H. Taylor, shortly after the close of the struggle, Gen. Lee said:

"I am desirous that the bravery and devotion of the Army of Northern Virginia shall be correctly transmitted to posterity. This is the only tribute that can now be paid to the worth of its noble officers and soldiers, and I am anxious to collect the data necessary for the history of the campaigns in Virginia from the commencement of its organization to its final surrender. I am particularly anxious that its actual strength in the different battles it has fought be correctly stated."

The admonition in the last sentence Col. Taylor faithfully fulfilled, in his little book, *Four Years With General Lee*. And on this feature of the bloody campaign of 1864-1865—the vastly superior forces of Grant that he beat and baffled so long—is founded most securely Gen. Lee's title to highest renown as a master of the art of war. No tribute to the instruments with which he wrought such deeds of valor is complete if it omits the vast odds against which they strove and the rivers of blood they exacted before succumbing. On this point there has hinged the most of the contro-

versy in the literature of this war. Northern writers have persistently, and some of them unscrupulously, sought to refute the Confederate records herein. But they have failed,—the research and conclusions of real truth-seekers of their own side dispel the perversions. And in the following comparisons of the numbers of Lee and Grant the figures are taken from *Virginia Campaigns of 1864-1865*, by Gen. A. A. Humphreys, the accomplished chief of staff of the Army of the Potomac. There is no material variance between his statement of the Confederate numbers, and the tables of Col. Taylor.

According to this authority Grant's total "present for duty" when he crossed the Rapidan, May 4th, 1864, of infantry, artillery, and cavalry, was 122,146. As Gen. Humphreys explains, this is exclusive of details, arrests and sick, which if counted raise the total to 141,160. Lee's total as tabulated by Humphreys was of infantry 49,770, artillery 4,854, cavalry 8,394; total 61,953. This comprises the two main contending forces, which were engaged almost continuously for the ensuing four weeks; from the Rapidan to the Chickahominy. There were besides two subordinate armies coöperating in Gen. Grant's "on to Richmond" attempt. One of these two, 20,000 men, moved up the valley, toward Lynchburg, under Gen. David Hunter. Until reinforced from Gen. Lee's main army, that expedition was opposed by less than 5,000 Confederates under Gen. W. E. Jones. At the same time and under Grant's orders, Gen. Butler advanced south of the James with 38,638 men. He was opposed by Gen. Beauregard with a total of less than 20,000. In July the Federal valley army was reinforced by the 19th corps, from New Orleans, 13,000 strong.

The following is the sum of these various forces :

Grant's main body,	122,146
" Butler's army,	38,638
" Hunter's army,	20,000
" 19th corps,	13,000
Grand total,	193,784
Lee's main body,	61,953
Under Beauregard,	20,000
Under Jones,	5,000
Grand total,	86,953

There was besides under Gen. Grant's command a force kept in the Washington defenses. In serial No. . . . , *War of Rebellion Records* this is stated at 31,231. But these statements of forces do not begin to tell the whole story of the inequality of the two armies. A fact of utmost moment that has been scarcely, if ever, noted in all its significance by writers on this campaign, Federal or Confederate, is that Grant's ranks were kept filled by drafts and bounties; though to what extent there is no exact or full statement, up to the close of the war. But this is signified in a letter from Halleck to Grant dated June 15th, 1864, from which this passage is quoted:

"General—I enclose herewith a list of regiments and detachments forwarded to the Army of the Potomac from May 1st to date, making in all 55,178 men. This is exclusive of those sent to Gen. Butler. I do not know the amount of its losses, but I presume these reinforcements will make the army as strong as at the beginning of the campaign. * * * As nearly all our resources for supplying the ranks of our armies are now exhausted, I have urged the resort to a new draft."

The draft, for 500,000 men, was made as soon as full statement of the losses from the Rapidan to the James was received.

Gen. Lee's grand total comprises the whole of his strength during the entire campaign. There was absolutely no reserve to recruit from or draw upon—not even the usual returned, exchanged, prisoners. The Federal policy on this question was thus enunciated in a dispatch from General Grant, dated City Point, August 18th, 1864:

"On the subject of exchange, however, I differ from General Hitchcock. It is hard on our men held in Southern prisons not to exchange them, but it is humanity to those left in the ranks to fight our battles. Every man released on parole, or otherwise, becomes an active soldier against us at once, either directly or indirectly. If we commence a system of exchange, which liberates all prisoners taken, we will have to fight on until the whole South is exterminated. If we hold those caught they amount to no more than dead men. At this particular time, to release all rebel prisoners North would ensure Sherman's defeat, and would compromise our own safety here."

He said on another occasion: "The Confederacy had robbed the cradle and the grave." Mr. Davis expressed the same truth, saying: "We are grinding our seed corn." A few hundred boys drifted to the front in the war's last year, but the most were needed for defense nearer their homes.

There is no statement in the *War of the Rebellion Records*, or

elsewhere, of full Confederate casualties in this campaign. Either the reports were lost or many commands failed to make the usual returns. The latter is most probable, as the field duties, the battles and marches, were so unresting that no one had time to tabulate the killed and wounded. But it is enough to establish the achievements of Lee's army to give the Federal losses, and these are not only stated in detail and fully in the records, but some years ago the same were compiled by the late C. A. Dana—assistant secretary of war during the campaign of 1864 and 1865—for *McClure's Magazine*. It was called "the first complete table ever published" of the losses of armies named. It is here appended:

Grant's losses from May 5th, 1864, to December 31st, 1864:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total
May 5 to June 14, north of James,	7,621	38,339	8,966	54,926
May 5 to June 14, south of James,	634	3,903	1,678	6,215
June 15 to July 31,	2,928	13,743	6,265	22,936
August 1 to December 31,	2,172	11,138	11,311	24,621
January 1 to April 9,	1,784	10,625	3,283	15,692
*May 5 to December 31, in the valley, ..	1,856	10,099	3,474	15,785
Totals,	16,995	87,847	34,977	130,175

After June 15th Grant's and Butler's forces, north and south of the James, were united and operated as one army. The last line of the table to which the star is affixed, Mr. Dana omits. It is compiled from the casualty lists of the valley operations and battles, in serial Nos. 70 and 90, *War of the Rebellion Records*. That the valley losses belong in the same table, with the rest, is plain matter of course. Why they were omitted by the assistant secretary of war, can only be inferred. A stated purpose of his compilation of casualties was to refute an assertion that Grant had lost more men in his campaign against Richmond than had been inflicted in all of the preceding attempts upon the Confederate capitol. To prove his case the omission of the valley losses was essential—to include them left a balance against Grant of 13,000 killed and wounded. His totals are that much in excess of the whole of McDowell, McClellan, Pope, Burnside, Hooker, and Meade. To state the fact in all of its impressiveness, in one week after General Grant had crossed the Rapidan Lee's 50,000 infantry killed and wounded more of his men than he lost at Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Champion Hills, Vicksburg and Missionary Ridge. In the four weeks from the Wilderness to Cold Harbor,

his killed and wounded exceeded those of the main Union army of the West for the whole year's campaign from Chickamauga to the capture of Atlanta inclusive.. From the Wilderness to Appomattox his killed and wounded exceeded by many thousands Lee's totals of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. These comparisons are asserted after a careful investigation and summary of the casualty lists as contained in the *War of the Rebellion Records*.

The coming of winter added its wasting hardships to the battle ravages of this great campaign. The privations of Lee's army suggest comparison with Valley Forge,—“the times that tried men's souls.” His correspondence with the Confederate authorities on the question of supplies bears a strong resemblance to Washington's with the Continental Congress, on the same subject. Washington wrote, “provisions are scarce, clothing worn out, so badly off is the army for shoes that the footsteps of many might be tracked in blood. Pay is insufficient and many officers have resigned in consequence. A part of the army went a week without flesh of any kind.” Such trials, and more, the army of Northern Virginia passed through in the winter of 1864-1865,—those dark and lurid last days of the Confederacy. As soon as supplies could be transported the extreme sufferings of the Continental army were relieved. They were in winter quarters, far removed from the enemy—affording rest and quiet and permitting the men to spend their whole time in making themselves comfortable against the cold. Lee's “people” hungered and shivered to the end of the winter. They were under the guns of a vastly superior enemy, whose unrelaxed menace kept them on the *qui vive* day and night. Grant had so extended his encircling fortifications that Lee's 40,000 infantry were strung out from the Chickahominy to Hatcher's run—forty miles long and crossing the James and the Appomattox rivers. The picket details for such a line were proportionately very heavy. In some commands the men had to carry firewood a mile after chopping it down.

The tax of such labors upon physical and moral energies may be imagined. The soldiers were sustained on a daily ration of a quarter pound of meat, usually “blue” beef or rancid bacon, and a pound of flour or corn meal. This was rarely supplemented by a modicum of sugar, molasses or cow peas. There was no coffee or vegetables. On January 11th Gen. Lee wrote the war secretary:

"There is nothing in reach of this army to be impressed and we have but two days' supplies."

On February 8th he wrote:

"Yesterday, the most inclement day of the winter, the disposable force of the right wing had to be retained in line of battle, having been in the same condition the two previous days and nights. I regret to be obliged to state that under these circumstances, heightened by assaults and fire of the enemy, some of the men had been without meat for three days, and all were suffering from reduced rations and scant clothing, exposed to battle, cold, hail and sleet. The physical strength of the men, if their courage survives, must fail under this treatment. Our cavalry has to be dispersed for want of forage. I had to bring W. F. Lee's division forty miles Sunday night to get in position."

The president's endorsement on this letter reads:

"This is too sad to be patiently considered, and cannot have occurred without criminal negligence or gross incapacity. Let supplies be had by purchase, borrowing or other possible means."

At the period of Gen. Lee's letter the writer of this sketch remembers that his left wing, which was not "in the line of battle," was without a ration of meat for a full week. As for the stipulated monthly wages, pay day had become but a reminiscence. This mattered little though, as such small sums as a private's pay had lost purchasing power.

More severely straining physical endurance and fidelity to a cause than the privations and labors noted, was the appearance, at last, in the ranks of the Army of Northern Virginia of the shadow of despondency. This feeling grew not so much from the scant supplies and unresting service, as contagious gloom from the calamitous failures in the West—the rout of Hood's army and the onward march and ravages of Sherman. Nothing but the impassioned devotion inspired by Lee's grand and matchless personality kept the most resolute from the infection of despair. But in spite of this the extent of desertions during the months of February and March were alarming and distressing. It was as pitiful as lamentable that men who had been so faithful and true, soldiers of an army that had won imperishable renown, should weaken and fail at the last. This nobly pathetic confession occurs in passages of Gen. Lee's correspondence with the Secretary of War January 27th, 1865:

"I have the honor to call your attention to the alarming frequency of desertions from this army. I have endeavored to ascertain the causes, and

think that the insufficiency of food, and non-payment of the troops, have most to do with the dissatisfaction. There is suffering for want of food. The ration is too small for men who have to undergo so much exposure and labor."

On February 24th complaint is repeated. Gen. Lee wrote on that date:

"The desertions are chiefly from the North Carolina regiments. It seems the men are influenced very much by the representations of their friends at home, who appear to have become very despondent."

The subject is referred to in a letter of February 8th, when Gen. Lee submitted a list of 1,094 desertions in the ten days preceding. He wrote:

"These men generally went off in bands, taking arms and ammunition, and I regret to say the greater number among the North Carolina troops, who have fought as gallantly as any soldiers in the army. I shall do all in my power to avert the evil, but I am convinced, as already stated to you, that it proceeds from the discouraging sentiment out of the army which, unless it can be changed will bring us calamity. This defection in troops who have acted so nobly and borne so much, is so distressing to me that I have thought proper to give you the particulars."

As there was no firing on the outposts, desertion by men on picket detail was easy and safe. Raised high above the sally port of the Union works, was an arch, topped with lighted lanterns bearing the words: "While the lamp holds out to burn, the vilest rebel may return." Night after night throughout the winter the odious beacon glared out, attracting like moths the faint of heart. Plans were discussed and devised for breaking up desertions—a number who were captured were court-martialed and shot. But the evil was a symptom of decay that was resistless. Among the methods considered for reinforcing the army was the curious one of organizing and arming the slaves. The government took this up as a *dernier* resort. It was thrown out as a feeler in a public speech by Secretary of State Benjamin, early in February. It was objected that the army would be averse to serve with negroes. Gen. Lee was advised with, and the suggestion submitted to him that an expression be obtained from the different army divisions. The proposition was transmitted accordingly, receiving the following unfavorable comment from Longstreet in submitting it to his divisions:

"It may not be amiss to say that the opinion of the lieutenant general is that the adoption of such a measure will involve the necessity of abolish-

ing slavery entirely in the future, and that too without materially aiding us in the present."

It was none the less endorsed by the army through brigade popular meeting. The following resolutions, adopted by Humphreys' brigade, are now published for the first time, from the original manuscript, curiously preserved with a batch of contemporary camp papers:

"*WHEREAS*, The opinion exists in the minds of certain members of the Confederate Congress that the arming of our slaves for the defense of Southern independence, is a measure distasteful and revolting to the soldiers of the Confederate army, is a reflection on honor, and manhood, and a degradation of our superior birth and social standing.

"*Resolved*, That the time has come when the South is imperatively called upon to put on the whole panoply of her strength that every element of her power, all her undeveloped resources should be immediately brought into action, to enable her to carry out to a successful end the great contest between despotism and right of self-government.

"*Resolved*, That in our judgment our slave population is emphatically an element of mighty strength and should no longer be permitted to lay dormant and unapplied: That their employment as soldiers is sound and practicable in policy, free from prejudicial influence upon the minds of the soldiers in the field, and that nothing but the most beneficial results can accrue from its adoption.

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this meeting, immediate steps should be taken by the congress of the Confederate States for the early passage of an act authorizing the President to procure, organize and arm for active service in the field any number of slaves that in his judgment the exigencies of the service may require.

"*Resolved Fourth*, That the efforts of the Hon. A. G. Brown and others in behalf of the measure to raise an army of negroes meet with our entire and hearty approbation.

"*Resolved Fifth*, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to our representatives in Congress to be used by them at their discretion."

Sustained by such expressions of army sentiment, a bill was passed and approved by President Davis, March 13th, 1865. But it was never operated—the collapse came on too soon after.

The "peace conference" came and went to bear no fruit, good or bad. It left only a seed of wrangle in the after years. The army heard of and discussed the vain thing, but gave little credence to the expectations and hopes of accommodation which exercised and deluded the politicians. The soldiery wanted no settlement or compromise involving surrender of any material issue of the war. This state of feeling was thus testified to by the late Judge J. A. Campbell one of the peace commission, in a conversation held in 1869, and which has been recently republished:

"If we had made terms of surrender at Hampton Roads, however favorable the conditions, ten to one the men in the ranks would have seized

us as soon as we reached the Confederate lines and strung us up to the nearest limb as traitors. While ragged and hungry they were not whipped and didn't intend to be."

Thus the days passed, with the camp hardships greatly alleviated by the passing of the winter cold and the hard labor of getting firewood. Hopes were indulged of getting out of intrenchments, and into the open where our trusted commander might raise the drooping fortunes of the Confederacy by another of his daring and masterly moves on the campaign chessboard. But after the disastrous repulse of the assault on Grant's line in front of Petersburg, March 25th, the faith of the most sanguine was tried. The days thence to the calamitous close were few and fleeting. The final act in the pathetic, tragic struggle of 40,000 half-starved Confederates against the Federal host of 130,000 perfectly equipped men began April 1st. Aggressive to the last, Gen. Lee assaulted the head of Grant's column, moving to envelop his right, on Hatcher's Run. At the start his success was brilliant and promising. But the odds were too overwhelming, and the day closed in the repulse and rout of Pickett's and part of Johnson's divisions. Their failure cleared the way for the assault on the Petersburg lines, the following morning, April 2nd. Three columns of attack, embracing practically the entire Federal army, were formed. Falling on a line attenuated to the last degree by detaching the force that was beaten the day before, all were successful.

The attack on Gen. Lee's right involved Heth's division, including Davis' Mississippi brigade, commanded by Col. A. M. Nelson, of the 42nd regiment. The position to be held by the brigade, which necessitated a very thin line, was menaced as early as midnight. An attempt to force one point was foiled. But by drawing away from the left all of the brigade except the battalion of sharpshooters, they were assailed by a large force just before day, and after a courageous fight, driven from the works, and the position was uncovered. The enemy passed through the gap, hemming in the brigade on three sides. As there was a pond separating the right from the rest of the division, the position was completely enveloped. Of his situation Col. Nelson was advised by Gen. Heth through a courier, telling him to get out if he could. But this was impossible, and after sustaining and responding to a

heavy fire of infantry from the left and rear, and artillery from the front until a number of the brigade were killed and wounded, the officers ordered their men to cease firing and surrender. Only about fifty escaped—some by swimming the pond which had been their trap.

But the Mississippi brigade was not sacrificed vainly. Its struggle caused a delay in the attack that enabled Gen. Heth to extricate the remainder of his division from a perilous position and an overwhelming force.

The position immediately in front of Petersburg was forced just as Harris' Mississippi brigade, drawn from the Confederate left, arrived on the scene. Here occurred one of those heroic episodes that rise above the battle surface—conferring immortal renown upon particular commands. Called to the front by the clamor of conflict, Gen. Lee looked out upon a scene that he had doubtless long foreseen. "It has happened," he is reported to have said, "as I told them at Richmond it would. The line has been stretched until it is broken." The hopelessness of the situation was apparent at a glance. All that was left for him to do was to notify the authorities at the Confederate capital and effect an orderly withdrawal of the troops from the no longer tenable position. In this emergency, the delay of the advancing Federal line while the broken Confederate commands could be extricated, depended on holding two isolated earthworks in rear of the line from which they had been driven, called Forts Gregg and Whitworth. Harris' men were hurried into these defenses which they were told to defend to the last extremity. How they obeyed their orders to "hold the fort" is thus told in a pamphlet print of the "diary of Gen. Nat H. Harris":

"The enemy pressing on the brigade slowly and far outreaching on both flanks, the command with great steadiness gradually retired, Gen. Harris placing the 12th and 16th regiments, numbering about 15 muskets in Battery Gregg—the first under command of Lieut. Col. James H. Duncan, of the 19th, who had been assigned to the command of that regiment, the latter under the command of Capt. A. K. Jones; Col. Duncan, being the ranking officer, was placed in command of Battery Gregg—and the 19th and 48th regiments, the first under command of Col. R. H. Phipps, the second under command of Col. Joseph M. Jayne in Battery Whitworth. In Battery Gregg there was a section of Company 3, Washington artillery, commanded by Lieut. Frank McElroy, and in Whitworth four rifle guns. Ammunition was brought in and preparation made for the deadly struggle to ensue. The enemy made disposition for the assault. At the moment Capt. Walker, A. A. General of Gen. Walker, chief of artillery of the third corps, came with orders to withdraw the artillery; the execution of this

order Gen. Harris protested against, but it was of no avail. The four guns were withdrawn from Whitworth, but the enemy had approached so close that guns in Gregg could not be withdrawn. Perceiving the guns leaving Whitworth, the enemy at once moved to the assault on both works; he assaulted column by brigades, completely enveloping Gregg, and approaching Whitworth only on the front.

"Gregg repulsed assault after assault—the two remnants of regiments that had won honor on so many fields fighting this, their last battle, with terrible enthusiasm, as if feeling this to be the last act of the drama for them; and the officers and men of the Washington artillery fighting their guns to the last, preserved untarnished the brilliancy of reputation acquired by their corps. Gregg raged like the crater of a volcano emitting its flashes of deadly battle fires, enveloped in flame and cloud, wreathing its flag in honor as well as the smoke of death. It was a glorious struggle. Louisiana represented by these reliable artillerymen, and Mississippi by her shattered regiments, stood there side by side holding the last lines around Petersburg. The enemy continued to press forward fresh troops. Whitworth gave Gregg all the assistance possible by pouring a heavy flank fire on the assailants.

"The enemy did not approach Whitworth nearer than forty paces, nor in much force, as the capture of Gregg insured the fall of Whitworth. For two hours this bloody work went on, the assailants falling like leaves of an autumn forest swept by fierce winds, before the accurate and deadly fire of the defenders. In close array the enemy push forward against Gregg, constantly filling the gaps in his ranks with fresh troops. Once gaining a foothold, he is driven out with butt of the musket and bayonet; but like some ocean wave, that falls back from the decks of a stranded vessel to gather renewed strength, the enemy, gathering in numbers, again reach the ditch, climb the parapet—and overpowered by the numbers, their ammunition expended, the noble little band of heroic defenders are compelled to surrender, after inflicting a loss seven times their number on the enemy.

"The enemy now prepared for a final assault on Whitworth, massing his troops in front, and moving to envelop it; but before his dispositions are completed, Gen. Harris received orders from Gen. Lee to evacuate Whitworth, as time had been gained for Longstreet to arrive from the north side of the James and an inner line formed. Sir Francis Lawly, an Englishman and impartial observer, in his *Dying Hours and Struggles of the Confederacy*, says 'Fort Gregg, manned by Harris, Mississippi brigade, numbering 250 undaunted men, breasted intrepidly the tide of its multitudinous assailants. Three times Gibbons' corps surged up and around the works—three times with dreadful carnage driven back. * * * In those nine memorable April days there was no episode more glorious to the Confederate arms than the heroic self-immolation of the Mississippians in Fort Gregg to gain time for their comrades.'"

Thus is noted how two of the Mississippi brigades of Lee's army acquitted themselves in the last days of the Confederacy—how careers of renown were closed in deeds of heroism and surpassing sacrifice. The hour of final trial in the crucible of battle for Humphreys' brigade had not yet struck. All was quiet yet along the Richmond defense lines, which it held, while the final scene of the act that ended at Appomattox was ushered in around Petersburg. But the atmosphere was dark and heavy with the

sounds and visions from the southward. These came forth vague of form but none the less filled with portents of ill. The distant artillery firing would have passed unheeded, but for the oppression in the moral atmosphere which conveyed it as a precursor of evil. As the sun declined to the horizon the noise of the strife swelled to a steady roar. At the same time adding confirmation that events beyond the James were drawing to a crisis, an already thin line was elongated to take the place of Field's division, with which Longstreet hurried on a night march to Petersburg. This left only Kershaw's division, three brigades of less than 2,000 men, and about 3,000 local defense commands, in front of Richmond.

At the close of a day that was ominous in its stillness the pickets were detailed and posted under extra injunction of watchfulness. But the night passed without movement from the greatly superior force in front. The din of artillery from Petersburg was kept up late, with a great outburst at daylight. This all knew signaled the assault upon our lines. While uninformed of the dire result, dread apprehension filled all minds. The men turned out at reveille call under an intense strain of anxiety. Though there was no sign of demoralization or thought of despair, they had been made familiar with difficult situations, and taught reliance by the hitherto unfailing triumphant emergence of their great captain, from seemingly inextricable environments. So hope sustained, and every man was resolute for anything the future might have in store for him. But unsustained by soldierly fortitude, the non-combatants of the city being evacuated were pitifully oppressed by the sounds and signs that drove sleep from their eyes on that "noches triste" which went before the *dies irae* of the Southern Confederacy. Their agony as the temple of their hopes and sacrifices toppled to its fall passes descriptive power. History relates how the direful tidings reached Richmond in a dispatch from Gen. Lee, delivered to President Davis while attending divine service. That message, heralding a nation's downfall, read thus:

"Petersburg, April 2nd, 1865.—It is absolutely necessary that we should abandon our position to-night or run the risk of being cut off in the morning. I have given all the orders to officers on both sides of the river, and have taken every precaution that I can to make the movement successful. It will be a difficult operation but I hope not impracticable. Please give all orders that you find necessary in and about Richmond. The troops will all be directed to Amelia Courthouse.

"R. E. LEE.

"To Gen. Jno. C. Breckenridge, Secretary of War, Richmond."

The commotion and confusion in the departments of the civil government consequent upon this dread bulletin has been often described, and exaggerated. With all allowance for the exaggeration, it is true that there had not been the preparation of a wise forethought for the evacuation of Richmond that the situation dictated. This was largely on account of the implicit faith in the genius of Lee and the invincibility of his army,—a faith so blind that it had not sufficiently taken account of the wear and waste of men in the previous year. Hence in the hurry of leaving the sinking ship, details that involved the most distressing consequence were omitted. While the situation in the city verged on panic, among the troops in its front the Sunday passed without excitement or stir. Orders came during the day to prepare three days' rations and get ready to march. For the last time sentries were set on the lines of the beleaguered capital. The withdrawal of the troops began after midnight. Beginning with the right, Humphreys, being on the extreme left of the line, was the last to move; at half-past two. The march was taken up in the darkness lit up by the baleful glare of the burning shipping on the James. But there was no light for the gloom in the hearts of the marchers. It needed "no muffled drum or funeral note" to tell that a career of glory was overtaken by the cross of failure. In sombre silence the line drew away from the line of defense, leaving the way open at last for the long deferred "on to Richmond."

As we drew toward the city, just before day dawn, there came from behind a flash so blinding that every man faced about. For an instant it shone upon surrounding objects bright as midday. A full minute passed before the vibration and sound of the explosion came—exceeding while it prevailed, in volume of din, the chorus of the 300 cannon at Gettysburg. "It is Drury's Bluff Magazine," was the spontaneous interpretation from every tongue. The march was resumed under a feeling of awe inspired by this fitting and dreadful knell of the downfall of Richmond. But the time was charged too heavily with stirring incidents for much reflection. At the rear of the column, we entered Richmond, passing through its streets to Mayo's bridge, just as the sun rose. The indescribable distress and disorder of the inhabitants produced a picture of confusion never to be effaced from memory. A detail was made for suppression of the plunder and arson that was rife.

But the bridge across the James being set on fire prematurely, through error or design, the hindmost men had to double quick to avoid being cut off. It is a thing to be noted, that this brigade of Mississippians were the last of the Army of Northern Virginia to march through Richmond—the passing of their waving banners was the visible emblem of the fall of the Confederate capital. For four years the renowned city had, from its throne on the hills of the James, proudly defied the armed hosts of a great nation. But the dread hour of destiny that Cassandra had prophesied for Troy, was knocking at the heart of the dying Confederacy:

"The day shall come, the great avenging day,
Which Troy's proud glories in the dust shall lay,
When Priam's power and Priam's self shall fall,
And one prodigious ruin swallow all!"

Halting in the hillside street of the little town across the river, there was a brief rest for breakfast. Looking back upon Richmond it seemed doomed to utter destruction from the dozen fires raging. Thus it passed from sight, as with hearts crowded with mingled emotions, and many a longing, lingering look behind, the march was taken up toward Amelia Court House. That was the point where junction was to be effected with the main army, retreating from Petersburg. Under the stimulus of action, the elixir of the air and scenes of the open country, beautiful with the spring time woodlands, depression quickly subsided. It was such an infinite relief to be free again from the trenches; where we had been more or less closely "cabined, cribbed, confined," for the past five or six months. The first two days the march was hastened but uneventful. The column consisted of Kershaw's three brigades, and two rather miscellaneous brigades of local defense, heavy artillery, naval battalion, and dismounted cavalry under Gen. G. W. C. Lee. Unused to marching, his 3,000 men dwindled to half as many, or less, in the three days after leaving Richmond. The two divisions were commanded by Lieut. Gen. R. S. Ewell, though Kershaw belonged to Longstreet's corps.

The junction of the forces at Amelia Court House was made memorable to Humphreys' Mississippians by a last sight of Gen. Lee. They marched past him, on his famous horse, "Traveller," standing at rest on a little elevation to the left of the road. He was seemingly noting the appearance and condition of the men

who, as they filed by, greeted him with the familiar Confederate yell. Encompassed though he was by the tightening cords of fate's inextricable web, his presence was as imposing and dauntless as when guiding his "people" to victory. If the gloom of despair had settled upon his heart, it was hidden from those who looked up to and leaned upon him, by a serenity that marked a brow grand and regal as the Jove of Phidias. The column passed on from the last review by its great commander, cheered and buoyed up on the fast falling tide, by the momentary light of Lee's majestic countenance. If it be true that the gods are glad when they see a great man in adversity, they must have rejoiced exceedingly then. For before them was the sight of

"A brave man struggling in the storms of fate,
And greatly falling, with a falling state."

Being delayed in crossing the Appomattox, from its swollen condition, Ewell's command did not reach Amelia Court House until the morning of the 5th. The troops from Petersburg had arrived the day before, closely followed by Grant's advance. Here a misfortune befell the retreating Army of Northern Virginia that may well be styled fortune's crowning blow—it hastened if it did not cause the end of the war. It is thus related by Gen. Lee, in his letter communicating to President Davis the surrender of the army:

"Upon arriving at Amelia Courthouse on the morning of the 4th, and not finding the supplies ordered to be placed there, nearly 24 hours were lost in endeavoring to collect subsistence in the country. The delay was fatal and could not be retrieved."

This dire mischance has been the subject of much controversy and the revelations of its whys and wherefores are contradictory. The fact has been made clear that the proper officials never received any specific order to the end Gen. Lee states. Proof of this was made in repelling an attempt to make a scapegoat of President Davis. But the responsible person has never been located. Gen. Lee had probably had reference to his communication to the Secretary of War above quoted. In his haste he considered, and reasonably, that notification of concentration at Amelia Court House, was direction for supplies to be sent there. Certainly some one blundered, for there was a great store of rations left in Rich-

mond, and an ample supply, besides, at Danville. In the woeful slip the superstitious may read the hand of fate. Whatever success there was in gathering subsistence in the country, little of it fell to the men of Humphreys' brigade. It was "first come first served," and they were the last. Their portion was a scrap of blue beef and no bread. The march was resumed soon after dark and kept up all night. But delayed by transportation trains, artillery, and the attempts of the Federal cavalry to break in on them, daylight found the command only a few miles from Amelia Court House.

The morning of the fateful 6th of April found the retreating troops in pretty bad shape—tired, sleepy, and oh! so hungry! In such condition the straggling was bad, and would have been worse but for the proximity of the Union cavalry and the apprehension of Northern prisons. Early in the day the presence of the enemy on the rear and flank became serious. Fitz Lee's cavalry did its best, but overworked as it had been, and vastly outnumbered, the infantry had to protect its own trains and line of march in great measure. Ewell's force, though Gordon was in the rear, was more than once forced to form in battle line to meet threats of attack. These movements of the enemy were only demonstrations for delay and harassment, in which they were eminently successful. They indeed wore upon the wornout and half starved Confederates more severely than actual battle.

Early in the evening word was received from Gen. Gordon that the enemy was pressing him heavily. To cover the wagon train and prevent Gordon from being cut off, battle line was formed and a strong line of skirmishers thrown out, which drove back the enemy's skirmishers and held him in check until Gordon came up. This halt caused two or three hours' delay, which gave the Federal infantry time to get up, and Gordon having moved by a road to the west, out of the track of the storm, Ewell was closed in upon and compelled to give battle. A defense line was formed on the south side of Sailor's Creek, across the Deatonville road. But the pursuit was so close that to give time for the alignment Gen. Kershaw stationed the Mississippi brigade, now of less than four hundred men, commanded by Lieut. Col. Fitzgerald, on some high ground north of the creek, to check the enemy's advance as long as possible. This rear guard was assailed immediately and vig-

orously in front and on both flanks. Here there were a number of casualties, including two of the four regimental commanders, Maj. Cherry, of the 17th, and Capt. Sessions, of the 18th, severely wounded. When the brigade was forced back, Col. Fitzgerald took another position, where, with a few men, he held back the advance until surrounded and captured, that the brigade might withdraw across the creek without disorder or disaster. In the formation on the south of the creek, Custis Lee's division was on the left and Kershaw's division on the right of the road. Col. Crutchfield, with the heavy artillerymen from the Richmond defenses, and the marines from the gunboats, formed Lee's right, resting on the west side of the road, and the Mississippians connected with them on the east. On the right were Kershaw's other two brigades, Georgians, commanded by Gens. Simms and Du Bose.

The Federals lost no time in attacking, especially as there was no Confederate artillery to reckon with. First the position was thoroughly shelled. On Kershaw's line there was some protection afforded by the scrub pine that covered the gully-scarred hill slope, which was almost precipitous where the Mississippians stood on its brow, to the creek bank. On the other side of the road, with Commodore Tucker's naval battalion, the ground was different. The creek bent to the east, forming a bottom on the south side, and the line was naked of cover. There the punishment was cruel. But no veterans ever bore pounding more heroically than those marines and heavy artillerymen, who had never been under fire before. Fortunately, time was held valuable by Grant, and the infantry columns quickly formed for the assault. They came down the bare hillside of plowed ground and then Humphreys brigade had an inning. The line was dense and the mark fair. The Confederate fire, which was held until the Federals got in good range, made them flinch and cower, and caused some disorder, but the men in blue held steadily to their work. When they reached the creek, which was waist deep, and had steep banks, they would have been beaten back but for the fact that our line was little more dense than for skirmishers. Once across they re-formed under cover of the steep bank, and came on with a determination that was met with resolute steadiness. On the roadside the line did not recede until the firing was almost muzzle to muzzle. The contact was so close that a Federal officer rushing

to the front to seize the colors of the 21st Mississippi, fell, as he was shot, at the feet of the slayer. Fortunately at this point there was a ravine and thick woods to retire through, and the pursuit was not immediate, or the losses would have been more severe. The attacking force at this point, where Gen. Kershaw stood with his men, to the last, was a brigade of Wheaton's division of the sixth corps. It lost in killed and wounded 373, or quite as many as there were of Humphreys's brigade in line. Another brigade of that division, with Custer's cavalry, turned and enveloped Kershaw's right. Seymour's division of the sixth corps and one of the second corps formed the right of the Federal attack, and overwhelmed Custis Lee.

As absorbing as were the happenings with our own command, a scene was enacted by the troops on its left, who were having their first and last baptism of fire, than can never be forgotten. How these men had stood the artillery fire has been stated above. When the infantry advance came on they lay in ranks on the ground motionless. They did not fire a shot until the Federals had crossed the creek in fifty feet of them. Then they rose, took aim and fired by volley, at the word of command. Following up the volley by a rush, they drove the Federals in front of them into and across the creek. In the charge their brigade commander, Col. Crutchfield, was killed and his men were shortly afterwards surrounded and captured. But there was no more thrilling and gallant act during the war.

Gen. Custis Lee, with his division, was captured at the creek. A part of Kershaw's shared the same fate. Others retired in groups until they ran into Custer's cavalry drawn across their further retreat. The last fighting, probably, was done by some of the Mississippi brigade who tried to get around the cavalry line. They were brought to bay on a hillside of scrub pine growth. By a bold and surprising dash a Federal officer rode down on them and captured the 21st Mississippi's colors. But in getting off with his trophy he encountered "a man behind a gun." Putting on a bold front, flourishing a cocked pistol he called out "throw down your gun, you d—d rebel." The reply, "My gun is loaded, you d—n fool," took all the starch out of him. Crying "don't shoot," he turned and spurred his horse. Lying flat the rider escaped the bullet but the horse dropped dead. (The colors were

recovered by color bearer Trescott and burned by him that night, as were the colors of the 13th.) At this juncture Maj. Costan, of Gen. Kershaw's staff, rode up and called for the firing to cease, as all were surrounded and had been surrendered. The last shot that was fired at this group severely wounded Capt. W. P. McNeely, who was commanding the above regiment. Captain H. D. Cameron, of the 13th regiment, and the only one of the four regimental commanders unwounded, commanded the brigade when it was finally rounded up. When the sun sank on the Sailor's Creek rear guard, the sole ray of light that relieved the gloom of being prisoners of war, was that we were also "prisoners of hope"—the hope of a square meal. But that hope was dissolved in disappointment and a rainy night. The Federals were not to blame, for their rations were all needed at the front.

Thus was fought the battle of Sailor's Creek, in which Humphreys' brigade was extinguished. Because it was so quickly overshadowed by the crowning climax of Appomattox, this battle has had a smaller place in history than is due what is recorded as the last battle between the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia. It has been quite slurred over by some with an ignorant disregard for truth and justice. Long's *Memoirs of Gen. Lee* disposes of Sailor's Creek in three or four lines, saying that "Ewell's troops were so worn out with hunger and fatigue as to be dilatory in complying with orders," and "as a consequence were surrounded and captured with but little opposition."

It is not easy to excuse such a perversion of history. Gens. Custis Lee and Kershaw, who ordered and saw things from the firing line, gave quite a different version. Said the former in his report: "I cannot too highly praise the conduct of my command." Kershaw, certainly an authority on good fighting, reported: "On no battlefield of the war have I felt a juster pride in the conduct of my command."

In a realistic description of these days of wretchedness and wrath, the Federal war correspondent and historian, Swinton, says:

"The misery of the famished troops passed all experiences of military anguish since the retreat from the Beresina. Toward evening of the 5th and all day of the 6th hundreds dropped from exhaustion. * * * Thus pressed upon, with blazing wagons in front and rear, amid hunger, fatigue and sleeplessness, they fared toward the setting sun."

The imagination may comprehend the extreme state of physical exhaustion caused by the strain here described. But it is not so easy to understand that fortitude and pluck survived. And in proof that this was so, the following further quotation is made from Swinton's *Army of the Potomac* in depicting the Sailor's Creek fighting:

"But even while thus environed, these men showed that they could still exact a price before yielding. And when an advance was made by a part of the sixth corps they delivered so deadly a fire that a portion of that veteran line bent and broke under it. But the numbers were too unequal and overwhelming."

The night of the 6th was passed in the "bull pen," surrounded by our captors. Before setting out on the backward march to Petersburg there was a serenade by Custer's division band, in lieu of breakfast. In the condition then prevailing the music did not "sooth the savage breast"—throbbing over famished stomachs. Rather ungenerously, it seemed, Custer rode up with an attendance of officers bewildering in numbers and deckings. His fine band played Yankee Doodle, which the audience received without giving out sign or sound. Then came Dixie, as a spiritual test. It was received with a roar of cheers that sent the brilliant cavalcade and the big band away laughing heartily, but evidently chagrined by the evidence that the pluck of their captives survived their luck. Custer was not viewed with favor by the author of this sketch. He had seen the young spectacular general do a shabby thing the evening of the Sailor's Creek round up. One of his men rode up to him with Gen. Ewell as his prisoner, announcing himself with pardonable pride as the captor of the grim old Confederate fighter. Hearing this Custer rebuked the boast and ordered it not to be repeated, saying, "I want you to understand that I captured Gen. Ewell."

There was an early halt for camp at the end of the first day's backward march to Petersburg, a camp made memorable by the issuance of a ration of United States beef, but no bread. The next evening it was shelled corn, for parching, but no beef or other food. On the 9th we were told that rations would be issued in plenty when we got to City Point, that night. But, *miserabile dictu*, there came the stunning news of Lee's surrender—driving even hunger out of thought. It is hard in the light that history sheds on an utterly desperate and hopeless condition, to realize

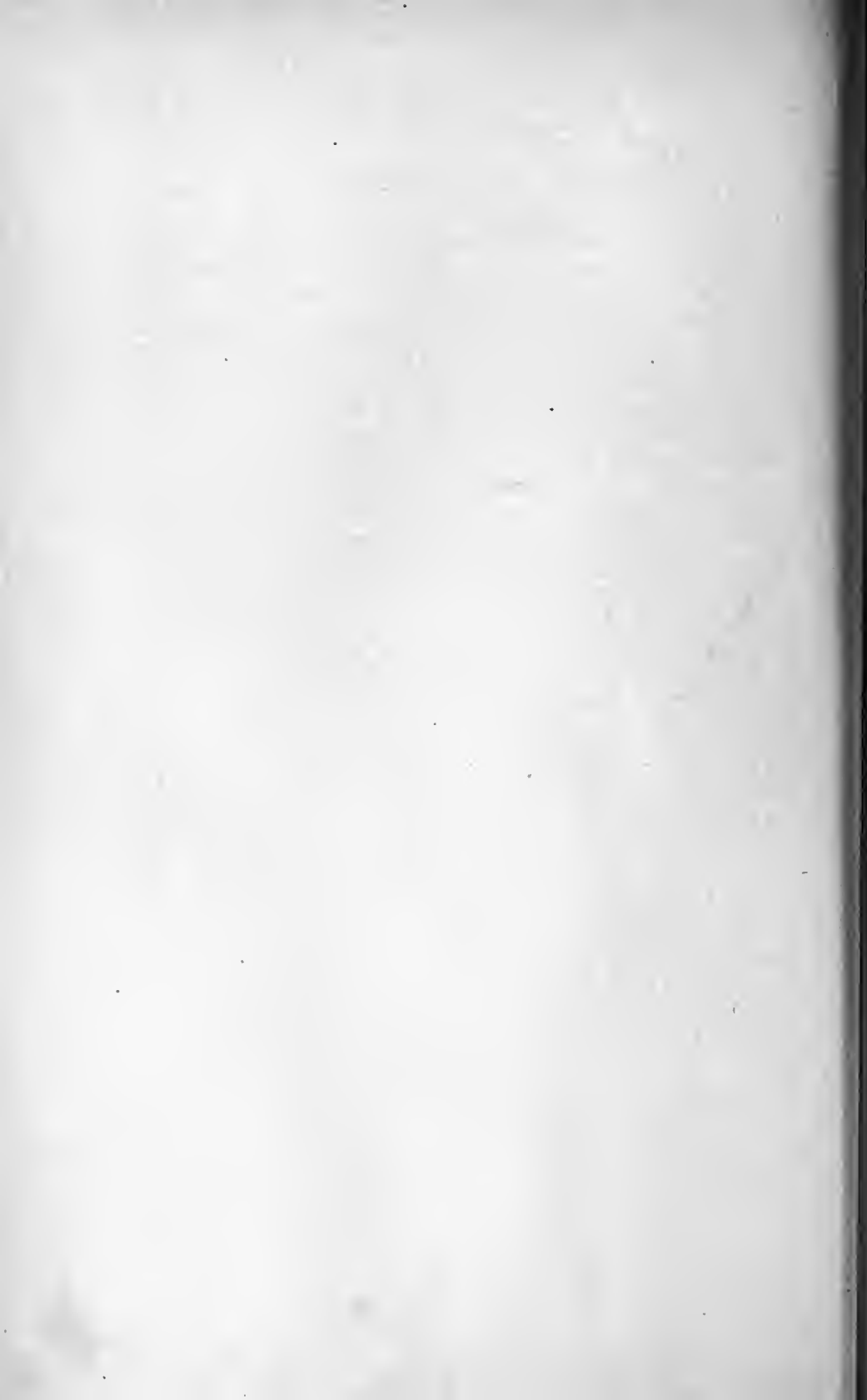
that the story was received by this band of travel worn, hunger stricken prisoners, with derision and rejected with scorn. Such an exhibition of grit and obduracy of faith in Lee exasperated the guards almost beyond endurance. But when the column was passed through Petersburg the evidences of the final calamity, the old men with despair on their faces, the weeping women, carried the dread conviction to the soul. Thence to City Point the march was a procession of sullen silence and funeral gloom. The unutterable depression was set off by an April shower that poured all night, and no supper. But the next morning, the 10th, the sun came up bright and beaming. If it did not make glorious the winter of our discontent, with an issuance of rations at last, it lifted some of the fog—the world was not quite so black as it had been the preceding day. Transports were at hand on which the men were crowded and taken to northern prisons.

In the final round up at Appomattox Mississippians were woefully scarce even where the army was a skeleton. It had fallen to the lot of each of the three brigades to be sacrificially assigned, in as many different crises of the culminating struggle. They, therefore, made a far more beggarly showing, numerically, than any other three brigades in the army. Their total number when paroled was 698 of a grand total of 27,000. This included details in the departments, the hospital, quartermaster, commissary, ordnance, transportation, prisoners, provost guard, band services. Of the 698 there were 75 of Davis', 382 of Harris', and 257 of Humphreys'. About 800 more of these commands were in Northern prisons and wounded hospitals. They were released two months after Appomattox, and, like their more fortunate comrades paroled there, wended their ways homeward. And hard ways they were. But home and loved ones awaited them, and this went far to compensate for the rest. The prevailing conditions and scenes of desolation and despondency, and how the duties they presented were discharged by the returned Confederates, is all familiar general and history.

These fifteen or sixteen hundred Mississippians in at the death, were the scant remainder of about 16,000 sent by the State from first to last, to the Army of Virginia. Unfortunately the numerical record is not complete. When the lines were broken at Petersburg the late Col. J. L. Power was engaged in making a roll

of all the State troops, under a State commission. He had finished with the brigade of Humphreys', and nearly completed Davis'. By his tabulated statement the grand total of the four regiments of the former was 5,615. Of these 783 died of sickness, and 842 were killed or died of mortal wounds; 1,908 received wounds not mortal. Thirty-one of forty companies in Davis' brigade, which were listed, sustained a loss of 483 died from sickness, and 502 were killed and died of mortal wounds. The "killed and wounded" does not include the losses of the two brigades from Petersburg to Appomattox. Nor do the figures for Davis' brigade exhibit a true proportion. Of the 502 killed or died of wounds 290 were from twelve companies of the 2nd and 11th regiments, and only 212 from nineteen companies of the 26th and 42nd. The two former had been a part of the Virginia army from the first Manassas, while the 26th and 42nd had served with it one and two years, respectively. Harris' brigade may be assumed to approximate in numbers and losses that of Humphreys'.

The proportion of killed and wounded to the numbers present for duty on the battle fields was greater than the face of the figures tell. There was no such thing as physical tests—all was grist that offered for enlistment in the Confederate mill. This led to a tremendous shrinkage when the camp fare and campaign trials sifted the grain from the chaff. Very nearly all the 783 of Humphreys' brigade who "died from sickness" passed way in the early months of the war—before ever firing a cartridge. In the same way, largely, 1,412 who were "discharged or dropped" are to be accounted for. Then 568 "deserted"—that is came home and never returned. Then at least 500 were detailed in necessary, but bomb proof places. It is safe to assume that not more than two out of three enlistments ever got on the firing line. This assumption suggests the true basis for calculating a percentage of the killed and wounded.



YAZOO COUNTY IN THE CIVIL WAR.

BY ROBERT BOWMAN.¹

Yazoo county was a prominent factor and an active participant in the Civil War. According to the census of 1860 its white population, embracing men, women and children, was 5,657, and its slave, or negro population, was 16,716. In 1866 its white population was 5,015 and its negro population 11,248. After the close of the war in 1865 and early in 1866 many white people from the North and a large number with their families from the interior counties, located in Yazoo county. A majority of the merchants in Yazoo City in 1866 were Northern men. This immigration

¹ Robert Bowman, son of Richardson and Nancy (born Riley) Bowman, is a native of Pike county, Miss. When an infant scarcely two months of age, his parents moved to Yazoo county and that county continuously through a long life has been his home. His father was a native of North Ireland, and in his boyhood with an elder brother, named Robert, engaged in the celebrated Irish insurrection of 1803; and to escape the vengeance of the British government emigrated to the United States the year following. The elder brother settled in Pennsylvania. Richardson Bowman came south and was for a time clerk in a store and then enlisted in a military company in Gen. Ferdinand Lee Claiborne's brigade and was promoted from private to the rank of lieutenant and served on the staff of Gen. Claiborne as assistant adjutant. (See Claiborne's *Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State*, pp. 320 and 329.) He served in the War of 1812, and was at the battle of New Orleans. The grandfather of Robert Bowman was a South Carolinian and served as a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and some time after the independence of the colonies was achieved, moved to Mississippi, and his daughter married Richardson Bowman. The father of Robert Bowman died at his plantation home in Yazoo county in 1834, and his mother in 1840. Of their marriage five sons and five daughters were born, of whom all are dead except Robert and one brother and one sister. Robert Bowman at a very early age was left an orphan, and under the kind tutelage of his oldest brother, Claiborne (named for Gen. Claiborne), and his sister, Virginia (named for a member of Gen. Claiborne's family), he had the watchful care and tender, regardful attention as of devoted parents. After attending the county schools in the vicinity of his home, he became a student at the academy of Dr. Thornton, in Jackson, Miss. After leaving this school he entered the sophomore class of Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky., of which Rev. Dr. Henry B. Bascomb was then president.

Three years later he was graduated with the degree of A. B., being selected by the literary society of which he was a member as valedictorian. Returning to his Yazoo home he began the study of law, which he was forced by continued ill health to discontinue for about two years. In

accounts for the comparatively small diminution of whites in the county from 1860 to 1866.

From the beginning of hostilities in 1861 continuously to the end of this gory conflict no county in the State responded more promptly and freely to the call for men and munitions of war for the Southern army than did Yazoo.

The first company was organized in March, 1861, by S. M. Phillips, a lieutenant in Company A of Jefferson Davis' regiment in the Mexican War, who distinguished himself for gallantry at Buena Vista. This company was incorporated in the 10th Mississippi regiment as Company K and assigned to duty under Gen.

1853 he was associate editor and owner with S. M. Phillips (who as colonel of the 10th Mississippi Regiment died in the Confederate service at Pensacola in 1861) in the *Yazoo City Democrat*. At the end of about six months Robert Bowman sold out his interest in the newspaper and began the practice of law in Yazoo City. The so-called Know-Nothing party carried Yazoo county by an overwhelming majority in 1856, and its dominant organization was intact until 1857. In that year during his absence from home Robert Bowman was nominated by the Democratic party as one of the candidates for the Legislature. Upon his return, believing that his election was hopeless he wrote a letter positively declining the nomination. The committee refused to accept the declension and urged his candidacy, to which he at last assented. His colleague, Dr. Thomas, was well known and was personally the most popular man in the country. The opposing or Know-Nothing candidates were a young lawyer of Yazoo City, John Armstead, and a popular planter named Johnson. Armstead and Bowman canvassed the county, speaking in every precinct. The contest was animated, and as a result Thomas and Johnson were elected by a meager majority. This broke up the Know-Nothing party in Yazoo county.

In 1858 Robert Bowman became a candidate for Probate Judge against Judge Robert B. Mayes, who had been elected to this office on the Know-Nothing ticket in 1856 by a very large majority over an able lawyer and popular citizen, Judge Geo. B. Wilkinson. Bowman defeated Judge Mayes by something like one hundred votes, and was inducted into the office, January, 1859. He was again re-elected in 1860, and after the commencement of the Civil War in 1862 resigned the office of probate judge and entered into the military service of the Confederate army as captain of a battery of light artillery, known as Company I, 1st Mississippi Light Artillery. He and his battery actively participated in the battle of Chickasaw Bayou and other engagements around Vicksburg. His company was in the siege of Vicksburg.

In 1863, after a malignant attack of typhoid fever of more than two months' duration, contracted in the service, which was followed by gastritis, Robert Bowman was advised by his surgeons that further service in the army would be at the sacrifice of his life and that he could be of no benefit in the field. He resigned as captain and was not long after appointed Confederate States District Attorney for Mississippi. In the last year of the war this was an important position. His duties were to see that the laws of the Government were enforced against blockade runners, traitors to the Confederacy, etc., etc. He was also in many cases advisory counsel of the Military Department of Mississippi. After the close of the war he returned to Yazoo City and resumed the practice of law. He was

Bragg at Pensacola, Fla. Capt. Phillips was elected colonel of this regiment and died in the service in 1861. This company numbered on its roster 89 men in the rank and file. The other companies of infantry that enlisted and served until the close of the war were:

Capt. W. H. Luse, Company B, 18th Miss. Reg., enlisted April, 1861, 88 men, rank and file.

Capt. C. F. Hamer, Company D, 18th Miss. Reg., enlisted April, 1861, 112 men, rank and file.

Capt. G. B. Gerald, Company F, 18th Miss. Reg., enlisted April, 1861, 80 men, rank and file.

Capt. J. R. Bell, Company I, 12th Miss. Reg., enlisted April, 1861, 123 men, rank and file.

The four last named companies were assigned to the North Virginia Department and were in all of the leading battles from the first battle of Manassas, or Bull Run, to Gen. Lee's surrender at Appomattax. They saw service in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. The following other infantry companies from Yazoo county were organized and enlisted in the regular service and served until the final surrender in the Western and Southern Departments.

S. M. Dyer, Capt., Company I, 3rd Miss. Reg., enlisted August, 1861, 91 men, rank and file.

J. B. Hart, Capt., Company E, 4th Miss. Reg., enlisted September, 1861, 88 men, rank and file.

J. M. Subtlett, Capt., Company C, 46th Miss. Reg., enlisted March, 1862, about 80 men, rank and file.

Q. D. Gibbs, Capt., Company E, 30th Miss. Reg., enlisted February, 1862, 108 men, rank and file.

R. G. Johnson, Capt., Company H, 29th Miss. Reg., enlisted ———, 1862, about 102 men, rank and file.

excepted from the amnesty proclamation of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, and had to obtain a pardon before he could engage in his profession as a lawyer. His home has been uninterruptedly in Yazoo City since the war, and he has been president of the Yazoo Bar Association for about twelve years.

On December 9, 1859, Robert Bowman was married to Bettie Lester, at the home of her father, Col. Sterling H. Lester, near Jackson, Miss. His wife was a cousin of the late Maj. Ethel Barksdale, a member of the Confederate and United States Congress, and long editor of a Democratic newspaper organ at Jackson. His grandfather Riley was a soldier of the Revolutionary War, his father, Richardson Bowman, of the War of 1812, an elder brother, Edward Bowman, of the Mexican War in Jeff Davis' regiment, which achieved fame and renown at the battle of Buena Vista, and Robert Bowman and a brother were in the Civil War and in the service of the Confederacy from April, 1862, to the surrender.—EDITOR.

Yazoo county also furnished the following batteries of artillery :

J. B. Herrod, Capt., Company B, 1st Miss. Light Artillery, enlisted January, 1862, 174 men, rank and file.

Robert Bowman, Capt., Company I, 1st Light Artillery, enlisted April, 1862, 127 men, rank and file.

Herrod's battery had six, eight and ten pound guns; Bowman's had four guns of six pounds each. In September, 1861, Dr. J. W. Barnett raised a company of cavalry, consisting of 124 men, rank and file, which was mustered in as Company K of Wirt Adams' cavalry regiment. At a later date this company was largely augmented by recruits and was formed into two companies. W. S. Yerger, the first lieutenant, was elected captain of Company K, and Lient. A. B. Johnson, of the other company, which was known as Company A. Capt. Harrison, who had this latter company, was transferred to the Trans-Mississippi Department. Capt. Yerger's company contained 102 men, rank and file, and Capt. Johnson's, 94. Dr. Barnett was assigned to the Medical Department, and for sometime was Surgeon of the Post at Vicksburg, with the rank and pay of a major.

In 1861 Wm. F. Gartley raised a company of cavalry, consisting of about 80 men, who served as independent scouts, but were never regularly enlisted. They were mounted and equipped at their own expense. After serving a few months under Gen. Price in Missouri and Arkansas they disbanded and joined other companies.

S. M. Phillips' company enlisted for twelve months, and at the expiration of its term, Thomas W. Richards, who was then its captain, organized with some of its members, and other recruits from 10th Mississippi regiment, a company of cavalry with a muster roll of about 85 men. This company was attached to a battalion which was under the command of Major Jas. R. Chalmers. Capt. Richards' command acted as scouts for Chalmers' regiment and brigade. Sixteen Yazoo companies with rosters or muster rolls of more than 1,400 men, were organized in the county for the Confederate service. They were as follows: Ten of infantry, two of light artillery and four of cavalry. In addition to these, which were in the regular service, there were several militia organizations, composed of old men and boys under eighteen years, who did active home service and participated in the engagements

between the contending forces in the county and sometimes unaided by regular troops they encountered and did battle with the invading Yankee spoilers and drove them back from their forays. Capt. Wm. H. Luse, of Company B, for meritorious service was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel, and Capt. G. B. Gerald, Company F, for bravery on many battlefields and exemplary soldierly conduct, was raised to the rank of major of the 18th Mississippi regiment.

At Gettysburg Col. Griffin, of the 18th Mississippi regiment, was so severely wounded that he was disabled for future service. Lieut. Col. Luse was captured there and imprisoned at Johnson's Island until after the close of the war. The command of the regiment after the battle of Gettysburg, on July 3, 1863, devolved on Major Gerald. Gen. Benj. G. Humphreys, commander of the brigade, was severely wounded at the battle of Berryville, Va., and Major Gerald became acting brigadier general. Capt. S. M. Dyer of Company I, 3rd Mississippi regiment, was promoted to lieutenant colonel, and J. R. Bell, of Company I, 12th Mississippi regiment, became its major.

The last five named infantry companies, the two of artillery, and the four of cavalry, were in the Western and Southern Divisions of the Confederate service, and actively participated in nearly every important engagement in Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, Tennessee and Kentucky. Some of them were with Gen. Bragg on his invasion of Kentucky; some with Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston; others with Joseph E. Johnson in his retreat through Georgia; and others with Hood in his Tennessee campaign. All of the Yazoo companies suffered great losses by death and wounds and by incarceration in Federal prisons, and by the disease incident to soldiers' life. Only a small remnant of those who enlisted survived to the close of the war. Death on the battlefield, death on the march, death in the hospital, and death in Federal prisons had depleted the ranks of every company. Often sergeants or corporals as senior officers would be in command of companies. W. L. Taylor, corporal of Company B, 18th Mississippi regiment, was the only officer of that company when Richmond was evacuated. All the other members, who were only a few men, were captured at Taylor's Creek on the retreat except one, and he, overcome with exhaustion, was left on the roadside to die. Corporal W. L. Tay-

lor alone of the rank and file of his company surrendered at Appomattox. He is a native of Yazoo county and still lives within its borders.

Company E, 30th Mississippi regiment (Gibbs' company), was almost annihilated at the battle of Franklin, Tenn. Its captain, Silas McBee, was severely wounded, and three lieutenants, Geo. W. Grubbs, Wm. Gill and William Simmons, and all the non-commissioned officers were killed or wounded. The loss of life was so great that not enough survived to keep up the organization, and the few survivors joined other commands. Company C, of Yazoo, 45th Mississippi regiment, by loss from killed and wounded in previous engagements and from sickness, had at the battle of Franklin, not one commissioned officer able for duty, and only two non-commissioned officers, Sergeant Blackman and Corporal Chew and three privates, five in all. In this battle Corporal Chew was killed, Sergeant Blackman, privates W. B. Hagatt and Jas. Cottleworth were seriously wounded, leaving at the time only one man for duty, private John Bonan. S. S. Griffin, formerly orderly sergeant of this company who had been promoted to rank of sergeant major of the 46th regiment, was also wounded in this deadly battle. These companies were among the greatest sufferers, and are here given simply as an illustration of the losses suffered by other Yazoo troops. At the end of the war each company was only a fragment of its original enlistment. Herrod's battery was in the siege of Port Hudson and Bowman's was in the siege of Vicksburg. Both of these companies were captured in the battle of Blakely, near Mobile and suffered many hardships and much torture as prisoners on Ship Island until after the surrender of Gen. Richard Taylor, on May 8th, 1863.

Yazoo had perhaps the oldest and the youngest soldiers in the State. Jonathan Vancleave, for many years before the war a citizen of that county, enlisted in Capt. Phillips' company in March, 1861, being then in the 74th year of his age. He served 12 months, the term of his enlistment, and then joined a company of the 4th Louisiana regiment. On scout duty near Clinton, late in the summer of 1863, he was captured, carried to Vicksburg, condemned by Commandant Chas. A. Dana as a spy, and ordered to be shot. But before the day of execution Gen. Warmouth succeeded Dana, reprieved, pardoned and sent him to Jackson, Miss.

Alex. Bailey, an orphan boy about 13 years of age, born and reared in Yazoo City, ran away from his relatives early in 1862 and united with Barnett's cavalry. The men of the company obtained a small mule for him and equipped him with a little sabre and uniform, and in every engagement this soldier boy was in the front line of battle. Often clad in rustic garb, with a sack of corn on his mule, under pretext of going to mill, he would enter the enemy's line and gain valuable information as to their movements. When a little over 14 years of age Alex. Bailey was mustered into Capt. A. B. Johnson's cavalry and served in it until the close of the war.

In the early days of the Confederacy the government was deficient in war equipments. The citizens of Yazoo freely gave their rifles, shotguns, and pistols to arm the outgoing volunteers. Planters contributed their saddle and carriage horses for the use of the cavalry and artillery. Blankets, kettles and other camp equipments were donated by the citizens. Rations were furnished free of charge to the volunteers while they were encamped in the county or *en route* to places of rendezvous for regimental organization. Carriages, wagons and horses were furnished by the citizens to transport these companies to the railroad or other points of embarkation. Liberal donations of money were made to supply the wants of those in need.

The older men, whose age incapacitated them for service in the army, the mothers, wives and daughters of Yazoo, were heroic and as much devoted to the cause of the South as were the armed soldiers on the field. The hum of the spinning wheel and the clash of the shuttle of the hand loom became familiar sounds in every house on every day except Sunday from 1862 to the close of the war. Out of cloth woven at home the women supplied their soldier husbands and sons with clothing. Homespun dresses for the ladies and homespun garments for the men and homemade hats, bonnets and shoes were worn by all classes alike.

In 1861 the acreage of cotton was lessened and that of corn increased in Yazoo county. Beginning with 1862 no cotton was raised, all the tillable land being planted in corn, peas, potatoes, etc. Some wheat was cultivated and ground for family consumption. Two or three flour mills were built in the county before the war was over. The large crops of corn and peas above home use were

shipped to Vicksburg for the army there and to supply soldiers elsewhere. Early in 1863 a large number of Confederate troops, brigades and sometimes divisions, passed through the county, and these were to some extent supplied with rations for the men and provender for the horses and mules.

Yazoo county had perhaps the only navy yard in Mississippi. In April, 1862, the Confederate government began at Memphis the structure of a war vessel. The work was scarcely begun, the hull having been just laid, when that city was seriously menaced by an attack of Federal land and naval forces. This skeleton of a hull was towed down the Mississippi and up the Yazoo river to Yazoo City, where it was completed. Planters in the neighborhood furnished hands to fell trees and ox teams to haul timber to the Yazoo City navy yard. A saw mill at the edge of the town furnished such other lumber as was needed. Prominent citizens aided in its building and neighboring plantations furnished negro hands to help on the work. This vessel was built under the supervision of Lieut. I. N. Brown, who before the war had been in the Federal service, but was at that time in the Confederate naval service. It was completed in July, 1862, and was named the "Arkansas." It was 110 feet long, iron-clad, carried ten Parrot guns, and was manned by two hundred men, wholly inexperienced in naval service and unused to big guns. The engines and machinery of the Arkansas were taken from a Mississippi steamboat, which had sought refuge in the Yazoo river. They afforded inadequate propelling power for a vessel so large and heavy as the Arkansas. On the east bank of the Yazoo river, near the southern boundary of the corporation line of Yazoo City, is the site of the old navy yard where this ship was built. Shortly after its completion, in July, 1862, the Arkansas was ordered by Gen. Earl Van Dorn, then in command of Mississippi, to leave Yazoo City for Vicksburg, which was then and had been for sometime under bombardment from the Mississippi river by the Federal fleet. Obedient to this order, the Arkansas left under command of Lieut. I. N. Brown. At the mouth of the Yazoo river Commander Brown found the enemy's fleet, consisting of about thirteen gun and mortar boats. Instantly on the appearance of the Arkansas, the fire opened and continued while it ran a distance of about eight miles. There was a stream of cannon balls and

mortar shells raining upon it from every side. The *Arkansas* plied her way, however, returning the fire and occasionally dashing into an enemy's vessel that came near, until she finally reached Vicksburg. One gunboat of the enemy, the *Benton*, was sunk and several others crippled and disabled. One of the Federal shots took effect on the *Arkansas*, killing five men and wounding four others. Among the latter was Commander Brown, who for gallant conduct in this engagement was promoted to the rank of captain in the Confederate navy.

In the latter part of July or early in August, 1862, the *Arkansas*, under command of Lieut. Stevens, of the Confederate navy, was sent to Baton Rouge, La., to aid Gen. John C. Breckinridge in an attack on that city, then occupied by the Federals. After doing considerable damage to the Federal fleet her engine broke down and she became unmanageable and was abandoned by the crew and officers. Under the enemy's fire she soon afterwards careened over and sank in the Mississippi river.

In 1862 the citizens of Yazoo county threw up some fortifications down the Yazoo river, but abandoned the enterprise because no guns could be obtained to make them effective.

In 1863 some forts were built below Yazoo City. As no cotton was raised in the county after 1861, there was no demand for cotton pickers in the fall and winter of 1862-63. During these seasons the planters furnished hands and utensils to work on the fortifications of Vicksburg.

About the 17th of May, 1863, a Federal gunboat came up the Yazoo river to Yazoo City. It burned the mill which had supplied lumber and other material for building the *Arkansas*. This mill having been erected years before, a great amount of sawdust had accumulated around it. The fire penetrated the heap and continued to burn and smoke until 1867, when it was cleared away for a new building.

This vessel after burning the mill returned to Vicksburg. Capt. I. N. Brown immediately thereafter placed four heavy cannon in the fort below Yazoo City in order to prevent the renewal of the attack by the enemy's gunboats. With the assistance of the militia of Yazoo county and a few Confederate scouts, he held the enemy in abeyance until after Pemberton's surren-

der to Grant at Vicksburg. There were other fortifications erected on the hills to the east and north of Yazoo City.

On the surrender of Vicksburg Captain Brown secured several large wagons with ox teams and had all of his cannon hauled across the country, through Holmes county to the railroad and shipped to Selma, Ala. These guns were afterwards sent to Mobile and did active service in the siege of that city during the last days of the war.

Immediately following the investment of Vicksburg by Gen. Grant, marauding squads of Federal troops invaded the lower portions of Yazoo county, bordering on Warren county, and forcibly seized and carried away a great many mules, horses, wagons, and cattle to supply their army. Much household furniture and other things were also taken, there being no Confederate force to resist them except a few militia pickets and scouts armed with shotguns and rifles.

On the 13th of July, 1863, a formidable fleet of thirteen gunboats, carrying three thousand or more Federal soldiers, steamed up the river to Yazoo City. J. J. B. White and Dr. Washburn, two planters living on the Yazoo river near Yazoo City, invented some torpedoes, some of which were placed in the river just below Yazoo City. One of them exploded under a vessel, tearing it up and wounding many on board. When the fleet landed all the men in the town were arrested and held as prisoners. Suspicion fell most strongly on White as the guilty party. He was manacled and chained to the capstan of one of the boats, where he was exposed to the hot, blistering July sun and tortured to extort a confession. As no confession could be wrung from him and no proof could be found upon which to convict him, he was released.

A small force of Confederates, consisting mainly of county militia, met the Federals, but after some skirmishing and exchanging a few shots, it was forced to retreat, being greatly outnumbered. For an area of several miles around Yazoo City, foraging or rather ravaging squads roamed over the county, forcibly seizing and carrying away cotton, mules and other property. These marauders invaded the premises of a wealthy old planter named Andrews, over seventy years of age, who lived alone on the river near Yazoo City. They gathered up his mules, horses

and wagons and seized all of his cotton, amounting to over two hundred bales, which they had loaded on a boat at his landing. The old man, filled with rage, let loose on the pillagers a volley of violent oaths. In venting his curses, he opened his mouth so wide that he exposed the gold plate of his false teeth. This being seen by the Federals, they threw him down and took his plate, which they carried away with such other valuables as they desired. They carried away every bale of cotton, every mule and horse they could lay their hands on. Cattle were seized and killed for beef without compensation to the owner. Fear of Confederate troops in the interior or on the border of the county restrained their invasions to a limited space around Yazoo City and along the Yazoo river. Many planters, apprehending the conquest of Vicksburg, had made their preparations for this event, and as soon as news of the surrender came they moved their negroes, stock and some of their household furniture and valuables to the eastern portion of the State and to Alabama and Georgia, leaving the growing crops to waste and ruin.

After occupying Yazoo City a few weeks, this naval and field armament of Federals returned to Vicksburg, and for a short time the people were undisturbed. They were in constant anxiety and apprehension, however, not knowing the day or the hour when the armed foe might return. The lower end of the county was harassed by frequent inroads of the invading spoilsmen until that section was despoiled and nothing of value was left to seize and carry away. Skirmishes and battles between the militia, composed of old men and boys, and the Yankee invaders occurred in the vicinity of Phoenix and Mechanicsburg, near the Warren county line.

In the latter part of September, 1863, a flotilla of mounted war vessels of the enemy, with one or two regiments of negro soldiers appeared at Yazoo City. These black plunderers went prowling around the county preying on its helpless people, carrying off everything of value they could lay hands on. Accompanying this force were some cotton seekers. One of them was F. P. Hilliard, a native of Ohio, who for years before the war had been a resident of Yazoo county and city, but had left in 1862 to avoid being pressed into the military service of the Confederacy. He was accompanied by a brother, who also came in quest of cotton. News

reached F. P. Hilliard that his brother had been captured by some Confederate scouts and he applied to the Federal commandant for a posse of soldiers to rescue him. Two companies of negroes, numbering about 160 men, were placed at his disposal. The armed negroes procured ropes and as they were leaving Yazoo City loudly proclaimed that when they caught the scouts they would hang them on the trees by the roadside. Col. Ross' Texas regiment of cavalry had been assigned to duty in Yazoo county and on their way they stopped in a grove near the road at Hilton (six miles from Yazoo City), unsaddled their horses and began preparations to eat dinner. Attached to the regiment was King's battery of light artillery. Hilliard with his negro companies had just ascended the top of a hill, little suspecting that Ross' command was near or even in the county. Just as Hilliard's troops reached the height of the hill, King's battery came up, halted and opened fire. Ross' cavalymen then quickly saddled and mounted their horses and followed the negro troops to Yazoo City, a distance of six miles. It was an exciting race, the negroes fleeing in hot haste, and many falling dead on the roadside from the bullets of the pursuing Texans. A number sought refuge behind the house of an old local Methodist preacher, named Huffman, which was about two hundred yards from the road, but they were followed and slain. The dead bodies were left in the old man's back yard. He was away from home at the time, and returning that evening, found his yard strewn with the black carcasses. Living alone, having no help and no neighbors to assist him, the old man fastened a rope around the neck of each corpse, and, tying the other end to the tail of his mule, he dragged them singly to a deep ravine some distance from his own or any other house, where they became the prey of buzzards and wild beasts. One negro soldier, being close pressed, leaped into a ditch on the roadside and feigned death. He had on a new pair of shoes which a Texan noticed and stopped to take. One of the shoes was pulled off when the negro, willing to give his shoes for his life, raised up the other foot to the Texan, who pulled off the shoe, and firing a bullet into the negro's head, joined his comrades in pursuit of the fleeing foe. Nearly all of the negro soldiers were killed in this engagement. Their dead bodies for several miles lay for a long time on the sides of the road, and were food for birds of prey and beasts.

As there were very few persons living at that time on or near this road, there was nobody to bury these negroes. The Federals never asked a truce for their interment. The retreat, or rather the flight of these negro troops, was led by Hilliard and the white officers accompanying him, who were mounted, while the negroes were afoot. Panic stricken, these fugitives on reaching Yazoo City gave the alarm that they had encountered a large army of Confederates, who were rapidly approaching. The officers of the gunboats got up steam, loaded their guns, and were on the outlook for the approaching force. When Ross' troops reached the hill which overlooks the town, the enemy's heavy guns opened fire on them and stopped their advance. The town was entered by Ross, but having no guns to compete with the heavy artillery of the enemy, he had to retire and take up his station nearby. He prevented the enemy's making other raids through the country until the fleet left for Vicksburg a few days later.

In less than two weeks after their departure there came another large fleet of gunboats, bringing a brigade of Kansas jayhawkers, commanded by Brigadier Gen. McArthur. They were the most grasping, ruthless and rapacious spoilers that ever invaded Yazoo county. As ravagers, pilferers and plunderers they equaled if they did not surpass the Goths and Vandals. They burned the courthouse, but fortunately all the deed books and other records of the county had been removed to a place of safety. They burned every house unoccupied. They raided law offices and pillaged many valuable law books, which after the war were found in book stores in Chicago and Cincinnati and other Northern cities. They burned a large number of store houses on Main street in Yazoo City. This brigade marched out to the interior of the county and occupied for a few days the town of Benton, ten miles from Yazoo City. They ravaged the surrounding country for several miles, killing every cow, mule, horse and hog that came in their reach, and leaving their dead carcasses to rot. For many days and weeks after they retired the atmosphere for miles was laden with a foul and sickening stench arising from the decaying bodies of the animals they had slain and left on the roadsides and in the fields. They robbed nearly every house on their route of its furniture, which they carried off in wagons taken from the planters and farmers.

Mr. Thos. Clark, a once prosperous merchant of Benton, had his residence in that town remarkably well furnished. They jayhawkers drove wagons up to his house and loaded them with the furniture, leaving only an old broken pitcher. As they were driving away Mr. Clark seized this pitcher and following them, said in a loud voice, "Here, you d—d thieves, is something you left. Take it and carry it away with the other things your have stolen."

Gen. Wirt Adams, commander of the Department of Mississippi, ordered Col. L. G. Ross of Texas, and Colonel Richardson of Tennessee, to go to the relief of Yazoo City and county, and they arrived in the county about the 31st of October, 1863. They reached Benton immediately after McArthur's brigade retired. It was agreed that Col. Richardson would go on one road and attack the enemy from ambush while Ross would press on their rear. There was one road leading to Yazoo City from the north and near the edge of town; along this road there were earthworks thrown up as a redoubt, and on the eastern road leading to Benton, on a hill overlooking Yazoo City was a well constructed fort. The Federals occupied both of these fortifications. Richardson attacked on the north and Ross on the east, and drove the enemy from the breastworks. They retreated slowly through the streets of the town, fighting as they retired. Sometimes they would form in a line and come to a stand, but being pressed by the Confederates they would again retreat. Ross and Richardson pursued them under a heavy fire until within close range of the heavy guns of the fleet. The gunboats during this battle kept up a continued bombardment. Many houses were seriously damaged by cannon balls, and all the dwellings along the streets which were the scenes of this running fight were filled with rifle and carbine bullets. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded was much larger than that of the Confederates. After the Federals retired Ross' regiment was assigned to duty in a district embracing Yazoo county. His scouts were for some time on vigilant watch for the approach of the enemy. Called away to other service, a Wisconsin regiment of Federal cavalry passed through the county and city of Yazoo in November, 1863. Different from all others who preceded them, they took only what they needed, setting a moderate price on the goods and paying for them in greenbacks. They tarried in Yazoo City only a short time and passed on through

Holmes county to West Station. There they tore up the railroad track and gathered up and coupled together a large number of cars, preparatory to burning them or carrying them to Grenada. West Station was on the west bank of Big Black river, opposite a dense growth of trees which covered the eastern shore. E. J. Bowers, now dead, but then a lawyer of Canton, and a Confederate soldier, was on a visit near the place. Calling to his aid two other men, he crossed the river and under cover of the trees fired three shots on the Federals, who, becoming alarmed and panic stricken, abandoned the cars, mounted their horses, and hastily fled. They were constantly expecting an attack from E. A. Jackson's brigade, which was then in Madison county. Hence their sudden flight at the report of three rifle shots.

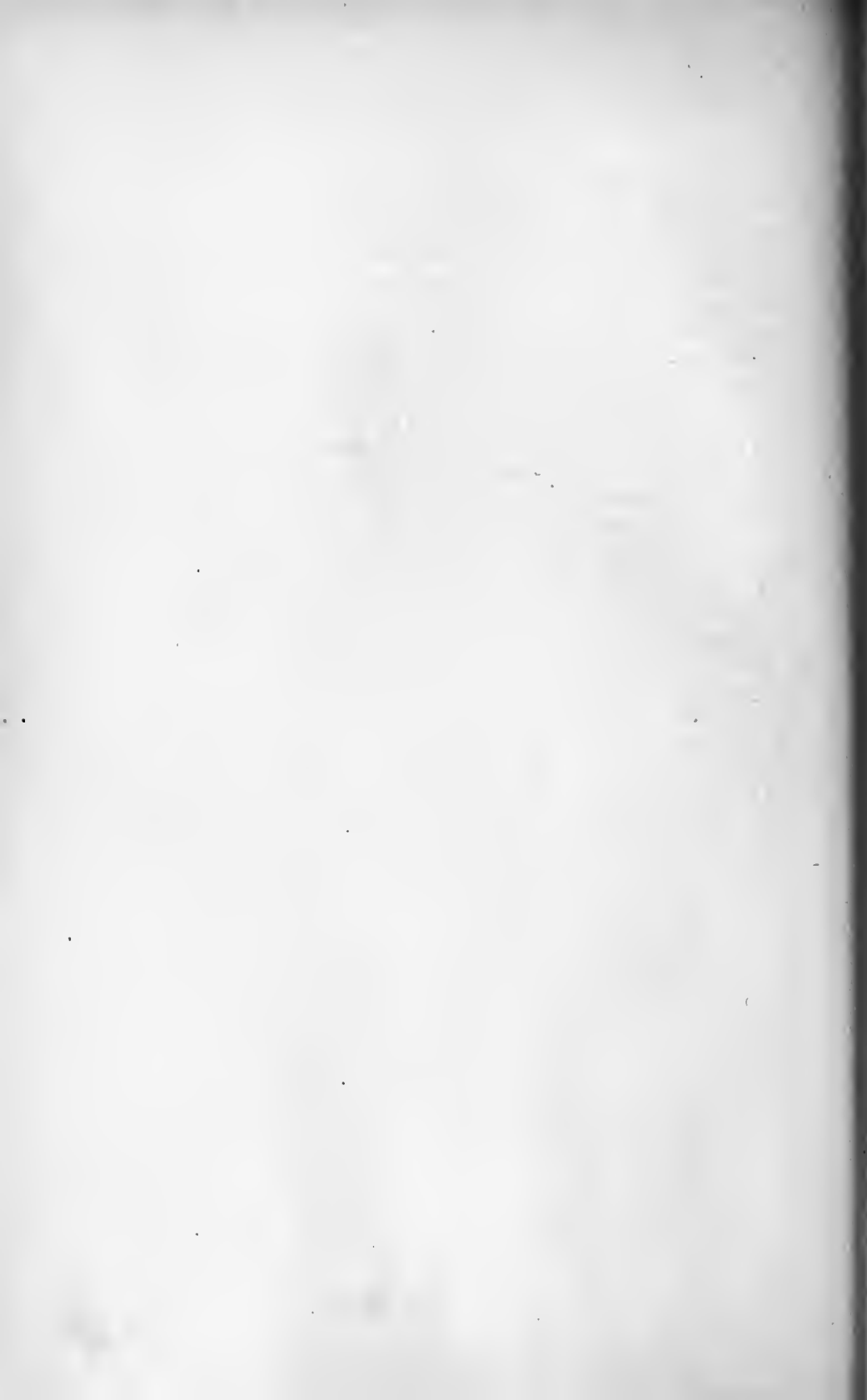
Early in March, 1864, an armament of gunboats, carrying a considerable number of Federal soldiers, made their appearance at Yazoo City. Gen. Wirt Adams' brigade of cavalry, composed of Col. Griffin's Arkansas and Col. Woods' Mississippi regiments, was there to meet them. Batteries of light artillery were planted behind fortifications on the hillside, near the river. Shots were exchanged but with no material damage to either side. Under cover of night, with screened fires, the *Petrel*, the flagboat of the fleet, managed to pass the batteries and landed about one and a half or two miles by land above Yazoo City on the west bank of the river. Col. Griffin applied to Gen. Adams for permission to attack the *Petrel* with his regiment. Gen. Adams objected at first on the ground that the effort would be futile, and would needlessly endanger the lives of the men. At length he yielded and gave an order for the attack. Col. Griffin with his regiment and a few of Yerger's and Johnson's companies, both of Yazoo City, as guides, marched up the road towards Andrews' ferry, about a mile and a half, with two six pound cannon. The horses were detached from the gun carriages, which were then drawn by the men a few hundred yards to the bank of the river. Screened by the forest from the observation of the enemy, the men promptly put both of the guns in position. The *Petrel* was on the opposite bank about 50 yards distant with her fires burning low and no steam on. Some of the crew were bringing wood on the boat. Two shots were fired simultaneously from the cannons on the bank. One struck the piston rod of the *Petrel*, broke the

escape pipe, and disabled the engine. Immediately following the boom of the cannon, a volley of bullets from the firearms of the regiment poured into the *Petrel*, wounding many of those on board. All the crew and soldiers leaped to the shore and hastened down the river to rejoin the fleet below Yazoo City. The captain of the *Petrel* with a white flag signaled his surrender. A short distance above the position occupied by Griffin's regiment was a ferry. E. D. Forniquett, of Yerger's company, started to ride up to it, cross over the river, and go down to receive the surrender. Sergeant Joseph A. Garing, of Johnson's company, who was born and reared in Yazoo City, stripped off his coat, shoes and hat, swam across the river, boarded the *Petrel*, and to him the captain surrendered the vessel. No one was left aboard but the captain and a chambermaid. Sergeant Garing unloosed the head line of the vessel, and, carrying it with him, swam back to the other shore and the Arkansas men pulled the gunboat over by hand. The chambermaid was freed and the captain, as a prisoner, was sent to Selma, Ala. The *Petrel* was well supplied with firearms, ammunition, and commissary stores and other goods which were useful to the Confederates. She was mounted with six twenty pound Parrott guns, which were removed and sent first to Selma, Ala., and then to Mobile. It was a part of the armament of the latter place at the time of its final surrender. The *Petrel* was scuttled and sunk in the Yazoo river. On the capture of New Orleans and Memphis, April, 1862, about fifteen or twenty large steamboats came up the Yazoo river and were employed as transports by the Confederate government.

At the surrender of Vicksburg all of these steamboats, as well as a number that plied between Yazoo City and Vicksburg and New Orleans, were scuttled and sunk in the bed of the Yazoo river, and for many years many of their hulls were plainly visible during low water, and were for a long time an impediment to navigation. These steamboats, which were worth more than a million dollars, were a total loss to their owners.

Woods' regiment, in which were two Yazoo companies of Wirt Adams' brigade of cavalry, were detailed in April, 1864, to watch the road from Vicksburg to Yazoo City and to guard Yazoo and some of the bordering counties from invasions. On the 11th of May they met a raiding regiment of Federals at Moore's Ferry.

on Big Black river coming from Madison into Yazoo county. Woods' regiment confronted the enemy, and after skirmishing a few days, engaged them in battle near the railroad bridge on Big Black. A sharp conflict ensued in which the Federal troops were defeated and driven back to Vicksburg. Within the last few months before the close of the war Yazoo became so despoiled and denuded by the frequent Federal raids that little of value was left to incite the greed and grasping cupidity of the insatiate Yankee spoilsmen. Yazoo City and county had then ceased to be of much strategic importance. Until the last moment of that fearful contest, however, the people of Yazoo remained true and faithful to the cause of the Confederacy.



JOHNSON'S DIVISION IN THE BATTLE OF FRANKLIN.

BY STEPHEN D. LEE.¹

In the Memphis *Evening Scimiter*, December 17th, 1892, there appeared an article on the Battle of Franklin, written by Captain J. P. Young, in which appears the following: "The assaulting column was composed of Stewart's and Cheatham's corps of six divisions, with Lee's corps, three divisions in reserve." An article also appeared in the New Orleans *Picayune* of November 30th, 1902 (about ten years later), written by Captain James Dinkins, which resembled in many respects the *Scimiter* article, and in which appears the following quotation:

"The Confederates actually engaged at Franklin were as follows:

"Stewart's Corps—Loring's Division, 3,575; French's Division, 1,998; Walthall's Division, 2,304; total 7,877.

"Cheatham's Corps—Cleburne's Division, 3,962; Bate's Division, 2,106; Brown's Division, 3,715; total, 9,783.

"Or a grand total of 17,657 infantry and little less than 5,000 cavalry.

"S. D. Lee's Corps of 7,852 men, in reserve, with 2,405 artillerists, *were not engaged.*"

When the *Scimiter* article first appeared, I wrote Captain Young as to the error in his article, in not giving proper credit to Johnson's division of Lee's corps. In a letter to me, December 13th, 1902, he says:

"When you asked me to correct the narrative as to Johnson's division, I was then about to begin on my history, and did do Johnson the fullest justice in the book. * * * * You remember the original *Scimiter* article was undertaken to prove or ascertain where Cleburne fell, hence it did not incisively involve Johnson's operations, and they were unfortunately omitted."

The inference is clear in the quotation of the *Scimiter* article that "Lee's corps, three divisions in reserve," took no part in the battle; and Captain Young corrects the error in his recent letter from Memphis—dated December 13th, 1902—explaining the correction in his book, not yet published.

¹ A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. III., pp. 21.-22.—EDITOR.

In the quotation from Captain Dinkin's article, he says:

"S. D. Lee's corps of 7,852 men in reserve, with 2,405 artillerists, were not engaged."

It is seen from the quotation of the two articles, that the part taken by Johnson's division of Lee's corps, composed of the two Mississippi brigades of Sharp and Brantly, the Alabama brigade of Deas, and the South Carolina and Alabama brigade of Manigault, is omitted; and the omission is emphasized in both articles, by the brigades of Stewart's and Cheatham's corps being especially named as actually engaged. This omission does great injustice to the Mississippians, Alabamians and South Carolinians, who made the night charge over the bloody field west of Columbia Pike, and who, under orders, made the charge without firing a gun. They were informed, before moving, that the troops of Brown's and Bate's divisions of Cheatham's corps were engaged in the trenches, and if they fired they would fire into these splendid divisions.

All the praise they give to the gallant troops of Stewart's and Cheatham's corps, viz., the divisions of Loring, French and Walthall, in Stewart's corps, and Cleburne's, Bate's and Brown's in Cheatham's corps, is deserved, and words could not be found too strong to express their heroic conduct in this engagement. These troops merit every possible praise and honor.

Fortunately the official reports of the battle of Franklin are found in series 1, volume 45, part 1, serial No. 98 of the United States *Rebellion Records*—Union and Confederate Armies. From this and the other volumes carefully prepared by the government, history must be written, and while survivors of the war may give their memories of events, these can only color or bring out light on doubtful record. The facts in the official record are potent, and must have right of way, and no soldier of the great war can afford to write at this late day what purports to be history without consulting these records.

It is not my purpose to write a full account of the battle, as it has been ably done by others, but merely to correct error. If the omission is not challenged, the facts in the two articles may be accepted as true, appearing as they do in two of the leading papers of the South. The official report of Lieut. General Stephen D. Lee says:

"My corps, including Johnson's division, followed immediately after Cheatham's, towards Franklin. I arrived near Franklin about 4 p. m. The commanding general was just about attacking the enemy with Stewart's and Cheatham's corps, and he directed me to place Johnson's division, and afterwards Clayton's, in position to support the attack. Johnson moved in the rear of Cheatham's corps, and finding that the battle was stubborn, General Hood instructed me to go forward in person to communicate with General Cheatham, and if necessary, to put Johnson's division in the fight. I met General Cheatham about dark and was informed by him that assistance was needed at once. Johnson was at once moved to the attack, but owing to the darkness and want of information as to locality, his attack was not felt by the enemy till about one hour after dark. This division moved against the enemy's breastworks under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, gallantly driving the enemy from portions of his line. The brigades of Sharp and Brantly (Mississippians) and of Deas (Alabamians) particularly distinguished themselves. Their dead were mostly in the trenches and on the works of the enemy, where they nobly fell in a desperate hand-to-hand conflict. General Sharp captured three stands of colors. Brantly was exposed to a severe enfilade fire. These noble brigades never faltered in this terrible night struggle. Brigadier General Mangault, commanding a brigade of Alabamians and South Carolinians, was severely wounded in this engagement while gallantly leading his troops to the fight, and of his two successors in command Colonel Shaw was killed and Colonel Davis was wounded. I have never seen greater evidences of gallantry than was displayed by this division under command of that admirable and gallant soldier, Major General Ed. Johnson."

General Hood in his report, page 653, serial No. 98, says:

"Johnson's division of Lee's corps also became engaged on the left during the engagement, etc."

There were few night charges during the war, and this was a remarkable one. The circumstances surrounding it are these: General Lee, with two of his divisions (Stephenson and Clayton) was left at Columbia to hold Schofield's army, while General Hood, with Stewart's and Cheatham's corps, and Johnson's division of Lee's corps, made the flank movement around Schofield's army to Spring Hill. Lee held most of the enemy in his front all day, Nov. 29, and one division till after dark. The enemy left his front north of Duck river (at Columbia) about midnight. He (Lee) pursued and arrived at Spring Hill (eleven miles distant) at 9 a. m. on Nov. 30, expecting to attack the enemy in the rear, while General Hood was fighting him in front. On arrival it was found the enemy had made his escape. General Hood then ordered General Lee to move with his corps (including Johnson's division) slowly, bringing up the trains and artillery of the army with him, while the two corps of Stewart and Cheatham, unencumbered, followed the enemy more rapidly in pursuit. General Lee arrived

near Franklin late in the afternoon, having marched from Columbia to Franklin (23 miles) during the day.

He went a little ahead of his corps and reported his arrival and progress to General Hood. It was at this time that General Hood ordered him "to go forward and in person to communicate with General Cheatham, and if necessary, to put Johnson's division in the fight," as related in General Lee's report. General Lee found General Cheatham about dark, which on Nov. 30 was a little after 5 o'clock. General Cheatham said "that assistance was needed at once, and Johnson's division was hurried up and put in line for moving forward in the night to reënforce General Cheatham on the left of the Columbia Pike." General Cheatham was much wrought up over the terrible battle and the slaughter of his corps. As neither General Lee nor anyone with him knew the ground, having arrived after dark, General Lee asked General Cheatham for a staff officer to guide the division, or some one to give him an idea of the direction and ground over which the division was to charge or move. General Cheatham replied, in effect, "that he had no one to give him. Let the division move to the left of the Columbia Pike. I have no one; they are all in front bearing orders or are dead," and pointing to the front, said:

"Yonder line of fire at the breastworks is where you are needed and wanted at once. There is the place your division is to go, and the sooner you put your men in, the better, as the slaughter has been terrible with my brave men."

The scene then was certainly not an inviting one. To the front, about half a mile distant, was the death struggle going on, for a mile in length, occasionally a cannon shot, but continuously the line was lit up by infantry fire on both sides of the intrenchments. The engagement was so close that only an occasional use was made of artillery. The terrible scene of the battlefield was in full view, while the shouts and groans of wounded men coming to the rear were being wafted back to my division, waiting the order to move out in the darkness, over rough ground towards the lighted line of breastworks.

Before starting forward, both General Cheatham and Bates warned the division not to fire into their friends contending in front with the enemy. The noble veterans of Johnson's division heeded not all these discouraging features, but intent on carrying

succor and a fresh supply of ammunition to their struggling comrades in front, at the command moved forward over ground they could not see, not knowing its character or the obstacles to be met on it. The darkness caused by night and the smoke of battle was almost intense, with the blazing line in front as the only guide. It was difficult to preserve the alignment, as the division moved forward in the darkness, and it was necessary for the officers by voice to try to preserve it. The enemy soon became aware of the advancing reinforcements, and all of a sudden the artillery opened all along the line, but especially on the west of the Columbia Pike, and the infantry fire of the enemy redoubled and trebled as they fired to their front into the darkness, in the direction of the approaching division. There was a second line of intrenchments occupied by the enemy, in the rear of their main line, and the artillery and infantry in this line fired over their own men in the line in front of them. If it can be so expressed in imagination, after the approach of the division was discovered by the enemy, it looked as if the division was moving into the very door of hell, lighted up with its sulphurous flames.

The division moved steadily forward till they reached the intrenchments. They found a good many of Brown's men of Cheat-ham's corps heroically fighting, but they did not find any of the men of General Bate's division; they never reached that part of the intrenchments in their front, or if they did, they did not stay there. They found parts of the intrenchments not occupied by any living Confederates fighting, but occupied by many dead and wounded ones. General Brantly's brigade was on the extreme left. There were no Confederate troops on his left. It was supposed his left would have been covered by Bate's men; his brigade was enfiladed by the enemy firing into his left flank down the intrenchments, occupied by the two divisions, Brown's of Cheat-ham's corps and Johnson's of Lee's corps. It was a terrible charge or march over that unknown ground on that dark and terrible night. Johnson's division struck the intrenchments, drove the enemy into another interior line and tried to drive them out of that and held their ground fighting heroically till after midnight, when they reported that the enemy had disappeared and retreated. General Sharp's brigade and part of General Deas' went through the celebrated locust grove. General Sharp captured three stands

of colors from the enemy, driving them from their works; so far as I know, the only colors or trophies captured on that ensanguined field.

Now let us again go to the *Records of the Rebellion*. On page 691, serial No. 98, we find a report of the casualties in Johnson's division, signed by Ed. Johnson, Major General commanding, giving a total of 587 men killed, wounded and missing, his division by the Nov. 6 return being numerically less than the numbers shown in the divisions of Generals Brown, Cleburne and Loring, three of the five divisions especially named by Captain Dinkins. Again, on page 684, serial No. 98, we find in the "List of division, brigade and regimental commanders killed and wounded, missing and captured in the battle of Nov. 30, at Franklin, Tenn.," that Johnson's division lost ten such commanders, more than is shown in Brown's, Loring's, French's and Bate's divisions, while Wal-thall's division shows a loss of eleven and Cleburne's fifteen, the only two out of the six divisions that showed greater loss of commanders than Johnson's division.

A distinguished Confederate soldier and writer has devoted from ten to fifteen years of his life to the study of Hood's Tennessee campaign, and has collected a mass of accurate detail and material, which could only have been accomplished by a skilled and discriminating mind and laborious industry. It will be a misfortune if his manuscript is not published. It was my privilege, in a measure, to consult with him and aid him in the collection of material in his work. The following extracts from his correspondence with me is given in support of what has been said by Hon. J. P. Young, of Memphis:

"I find, after careful investigation, that part of the line only which shows was charged by him (Johnson), was occupied by remnants of Carter's, Strahl's and Gist's brigades; Gordon in the charge veered to the right and crossed the Columbia Pike, with almost his entire brigade. Gist closed up on Gordon's left, bringing his brigade right nearly to the pike; Carter, his supporting brigade, consequently reached the works entirely to Gist's left, where some of Jackson's brigade of Bate's division also came in later. At about 7 p. m., when Johnson charged, part of his command confronted the line of intrenchments to the left of the remnants of Carter's brigade, while his two right brigades came up in the rear of the remnants of Gist's and Strahl's command; but in either wing they met a desolating fire, the right receiving the fire of the Federal interior line, which was on the ground four or five feet higher than the outer line occupied by Gist and Strahl."

In a letter three years later he writes:

"It must be remembered that a great many of Gist's and Strahl's men had been killed and wounded before Johnson charged, and we may assume that many men had left the fight in the dark and gone to the rear, thus shortening the Confederate line in the Federal trenches very much. * * * I have abundant evidence, both documentary and oral, that Deas' men, like Sharp's, charged through the locust thicket and came upon the remnants of Gist's and Carter's men to the left of the Federal battery there."

In another letter, differing in date one year from one of above quotations and two years from the other, he says:

"That the Federals had a double line of trenches on this part of the field, and was a little over 100 feet north of the outer or main line. * * * This interior line was stronger than the main line or outer line, and four or five feet higher on the hill, which enabled the enemy to command the entire approaches in front, over which Johnson's division charged. On this interior line at dark were the Federal brigades of Strickland and Opdyke, and the remnants of Lane's and Conrad's brigades, which had been driven out of the advance line of trenches 470 yards in front of the main line. Judge Thompson, a Union officer, says they were six or seven deep in that interior trench. When Johnson charged he encountered this fire as he approached the main line, and his men mingled with Brown's. When they arrived there I think the darkness was all that saved Johnson from annihilation, as he approached fully as much exposed as Cleburne was, and opposed to stronger intrenchments."

In another letter he says:

"There is an incident mentioned that may be of use to you in your article. I will give you the story briefly. When Johnson's men first reached the trenches under a hot fire at the angle about 300 feet west of the Columbia Pike, and in rear of the Carter House, their first care was to supply the men of Carter's brigade with extra ammunition, which they had brought. There were three demonstrations to cross the breastworks and drive the enemy from beyond, but as the enemy was powerfully intrenched in an interior line at that point, 150 feet northward, these efforts failed, as had the efforts of Carter's men before. At this time a young stripling lieutenant (Lientenant Pearle, or Earle, of Deas' brigade) of Johnson's division leaped on the top of the works, sword in hand, and called to his men to follow; this they endeavored to do, but were hurled back by the storm which burst in their faces from the enemy's line, but the young man stood there under the fire of a thousand rifles and appealed to his men to try again. He was finally pulled back in the trenches by Major Wilder, of Carter's brigade. That young man's name should be rescued from oblivion."

So, without pursuing the matter further, it appears that Johnson's division of Lee's corps was considerably in evidence at the battle of Franklin, and that it was an unfortunate error and omission, when it was stated that Lee's corps was in reserve, and that only Stewart's and Cheatham's corps did the fighting, with 5,000 cavalry under General Forrest.

Another error in the *Picayune* article is the statement that "Bate's division of Cheatham's corps was detached to the right flank"; on the contrary, he was sent to the extreme left of Brown's division, his left resting on the Carter Creek turnpike, with Chalmers' cavalry on his left. Johnson's division in moving forward in the night passed over a part of Bate's division between the Bostick House and the intrenchments of the enemy, where they had been reformed after being repulsed. It is true the extreme right of General Bate's division may have reached the intrenchments of the enemy, but if they did, they were not seen by any of Johnson's division, which did reach the intrenchments. The loss in Bate's division was 345 killed, wounded and missing, which shows severe fighting, but the division generally was repulsed and did not remain in the intrenchments in contact with the enemy, for there were no Confederate troops near the enemy to Brantley's left, nor any signs of any having been there, as I examined the field the next morning after the battle, and this is my recollection now of that part of the field, and it is generally borne out by General Bate's report.

It is not inappropriate in this article to allude to the Spring Hill fiasco, for now that the facts are known, it is clear that the "apathy or mistake of a subordinate" at Spring Hill caused the great disaster to the Confederate cause at Franklin, Nov. 30, 1864. In a letter to Major W. T. Walthall (May 20, 1878), who was assisting Mr. Davis in his great work, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I said:

"Had that army fought at Spring Hill, instead of Franklin, Hood's Tennessee campaign would have been a brilliant success."

The army of General Hood did not fight at Spring Hill, and someone committed a great blunder or disobeyed orders. I do not think the record sifted down will place the blame on either General Hood or General Cheatham, who have borne the blame these many years.

One thing is now clear—"twenty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry in front of 5,689 Yanks, who, in slender skirmish line, two and one-half miles long, successfully bluffed them off the great wagon train from 3 p. m. till midnight." The wagon train of the Federals was composed of the reserve artillery, ord-

nance supplies, hospital wagons and everything but the rations in the haversacks, and cartridges in the boxes on the soldiers' belts in Schofield's army, and numbered 800 wheeled vehicles.

General Wagner, U. S. A., with his division of infantry and artillery, numbering 5,689 men, got to Spring Hill about noon on Nov. 30, at the same time that General Forrest arrived there with his cavalry; and this was all the force of the enemy that was there till 7 p. m. (after dark), when General Schofield arrived with Ruger's division from Rutherford creek (eight miles from Spring Hill and between Columbia and Spring Hill), where General Ruger had been posted in his retreat from Columbia. The divisions of Wood and Kimball followed in rear of Ruger; they were still south of Rutherford creek, and Cox's division, which did not leave the front of General Lee at Columbia till after dark, did not arrive at Spring Hill till after midnight of the 29th and 30th of November, nor did two regiments and his skirmishers leave the front of General Lee at Columbia till after midnight of Nov. 29 and 30.

The rear guard of Schofield's army (Wagner's division) did not get away from Spring Hill till 6 a. m., Nov. 30. It is now known that General Forrest's advance on the great train was checked about noon by the arrival of Wagner's division, and at 3 p. m. Cheatham's corps was at Rally Hill, only two and a half miles from Spring Hill. With these conditions, why did not Hood's splendid flank movement to the rear of Schofield's army succeed?

I have felt that someone should clear this mystery, and it has been my desire to do it, but as I was not at Spring Hill, I have felt some one else should undertake this line of research. It is now an open secret that a distinguished citizen of Tennessee (a Confederate) has devoted many years of his life to solving this problem. I have seen his manuscript and believe that he has solved it. For years I have awaited the publication of his conclusions, and once a year I write to know why his book has not been published. He has had trouble in getting it published, as war literature has failed to pay these late years.

REMINISCENCES OF SERVICE WITH THE FIRST MISSISSIPPI CAVALRY.

By J. G. DEUPREE.¹

PARTICIPATION IN THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

As a private soldier of the First Mississippi cavalry during the four years of the Confederate War, I have undertaken to write up some of the incidents of battles and campaigns as they appeared to a man in the ranks. I have already contributed to the Mississippi Historical Society a narrative account of Van Dorn's capture of Holly Springs on the 20th of December, 1862,² in which the First Mississippi cavalry bore a prominent part.

Before beginning the story of Shiloh, it is well to say something as to the organization of the regiment concerned. In the spring of 1861, at Union City, Tenn., a battalion of Mississippi cavalry was organized under Lieutenant Colonel John Henry Miller and attached to General Cheatham's command. Afterwards at Columbus, Ky., and at New Madrid, Mo., this battalion was a part of General Cheatham's forces. Two companies of the battalion participated in the battle of Belmont. Lieutenant Colonel Miller, though a very devout and consecrated Presbyterian preacher, was an enthusiastic and ardent soldier, intensely loyal to the South and always eager to rush into battle. From the first, General Cheatham spoke of this command as "Miller's Hell-Roaring Battalion." Indeed, the General was very partial to us and we were equally devoted to him.

After the evacuation of Columbus, Ky., we covered the rear of General Polk's army in his march southward to join Bragg and Hardee at Corinth. In anticipation of an impending battle it seemed good to the higher authorities to assign the First Mississippi cavalry to Col. A. J. Lindsay, an old army officer, who had

¹ A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. IV., p. 49.—
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² See *ibid.*, pp., 49-61.

seen service on the frontier and in Mexico. Perhaps Miller's impetuosity, not to say rashness, had something to do with this appointment, though in fact Miller's dashing courage and prompt action had much to do with the success achieved by the regiment as well as with the preservation of the lives of the men. Patriotic in the extreme, Miller, though sensitive to any seeming reflection upon his competency to command, would not resign as long as battle was imminent. In order that Miller might not be reduced in rank, other companies were annexed to the battalion, and a regiment was formed, with Miller still as lieutenant colonel and A. J. Lindsay as colonel. This occurred on April 4th, and the regiment was ever afterwards known as the First Mississippi cavalry. While in Jackson, Tenn., en route to his regiment, Colonel Lindsay received a telegram directing him to march immediately to Monterey. He accordingly dispatched a courier with instructions to this effect to Lieutenant Colonel Miller, and Lindsay himself overtook the regiment a few miles from the village, and at once modestly assumed command. His quiet dignity and soldierly bearing won immediate confidence and respect, and ready obedience was accorded him from the first. Later, the men held him in high esteem, after witnessing his coolness under fire, as he sat amid shot and shell with one leg thrown over the horn of his saddle, puffing away with seeming unconcern at his corncob pipe, but ever showing an instinctive knowledge when to move, where to move and how to move.

There had been no pursuit of our army and no fighting on the retreat from Columbus; but the feeling prevailed that we should fight and not retreat, as the soldiers all believed that the disasters of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson should be retrieved. We knew that the exultant enemy was steaming up the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers; and there was universal joy in our ranks, when at Purdy, Tenn., we wheeled eastward towards the Tennessee river. As we moved on, we heard more and more of the mighty converging of Confederate forces. The roads grew worse. Wrecked and abandoned wagons and caissons, stuck in the mud, gave ample evidence that we had been preceded by many commands of infantry and artillery. As we advanced, we found the roads, the woods, the fields filled with troops eagerly pressing

forward and intensely anxious to meet the invaders. From couriers and stragglers we heard of numerous commands ahead. They told of us troops from Kentucky, from Tennessee, from Alabama, from Louisiana, from Arkansas, and from Florida. Forrest's cavalry and Terry's Texas Rangers were also mentioned. We heard that the invincible Albert Sidney Johnston, the iron-hearted Braxton Bragg, the superb John C. Breckenridge, and the wary Beauregard would all be there. To think of the presence of these great leaders made all hearts bouyant. We of the army from Columbus knew General Albert Sidney Johnston. We had often seen his majestic form as he rode with his staff to view the fortifications of Chalk Bluff and to inspect the troops of our warlike bishop. We had seen him standing on the bluff sublimely looking towards Federal gunboats that sometimes ventured too near in pursuit of the daring little Grampus. Then, as "Lady Polk," the biggest gun on the bluff, belched forth her disapproval, driving the gunboats back in dismay, Johnston's gigantic form and eagle eye showed to best advantage, inspiring all with undaunted heroism. Johnston's very looks betrayed the born commander. Under his leadership we felt assured of success on the morrow.—

"That morn to many a trumpet clang;
Through Shiloh's wild woods deep echoes rang."

On the night before the battle, our regiment bivouacked in the tall timbers on the very rim of the battlefield. We were, indeed, much nearer the enemy than any of us imagined. We knew that for miles and miles the woods were full of our friends, but we knew not that we were within range of Grant's rifled artillery. It has seemed a mystery to me ever since how there could have been so perfect quiet amid the mighty hosts of these opposing armies on that ominous night. No bugles sounded, no bands played; there was no firing, no cheering, no loud talking, no noise, no disturbance of any kind. Whether this stillness was the result of orders from our commander, I do not know; but I do know that all was then quiet along the Tennessee. Verily, it was the calm before the storm. On our part we were happy that the long retreat had ended; and in all my life I have never known sounder or sweeter sleep than on that auspicious night, with a saddle for my pillow, grass and leaves for a bed, and the silent stars as sentinels smiling propitiously from above.

April 6th, a holy Sabbath day, dawned clear and bright. We were awakened from our dreamless sleep by myriads of songsters in the boughs above us. We made hasty breakfast from remnants of rations issued and cooked two days before. As soon as there was light enough to see, the clear ringing notes of Cox, regimental bugler, called to "boots and saddles." Hardee's advance had already encountered in the gray of dawn the 25th Missouri and the 12th Michigan, which a brigade commander of Prentiss's division had sent forward on his own initiative to reconnoitre, because of an indefinable conviction that all was not right in his immediate front. At the sound of the sharp rifles, the pent-up enthusiasm of our men could no longer be restrained, and

"At once there came from a deep and narrow dell
As wild a yell,
As if all the fiends from Heaven that fell
Had pealed the battle-cry of Hell."

As soon as the regiment could be gotten into line, it was wheeled by companies into hollow squares; and in the center of each company the captain read the inspiring

"ADDRESS OF ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON.

"Soldiers of the Army of Mississippi, I have put you in motion to offer battle to the invaders of your country. With the resolution and discipline and valor becoming men fighting, as you are, for all worth living for or dying for, you cannot but march to a decisive victory over the agrarian mercenaries sent to subjugate you and despoil you of your liberties, your property and your honor. Remember the precious stake involved; remember the dependence of your mothers, your wives, your sisters, and your children on the result; remember the fair, broad, abounding land, and the happy homes that would be desolated by your defeat.

"The eyes and hopes of eight millions of people rest upon you; you are expected to show yourselves worthy of your lineage, worthy of the women of the South, whose noble devotion in this war can never be surpassed. With such incentives to brave and heroic deeds and with the trust that God is with us, your generals lead you with confidence to the combat—fully assured of success." (Signed) A. S. Johnston, General Commanding.

I can never forget the fervid and impressive eloquence with which this address was read to our company by the gallant Captain W. H. Foote. It fired all hearts and awoke still sterner resolutions in the breast of every trooper. Those brave words have lingered for more than forty years in my memory, clustering like a halo about the name and fame of the great commander on Shiloh's battlefield.

My purpose is not to give a detailed account of the battle, but merely to sketch briefly something that a private could see of the part taken by the First Mississippi cavalry on that field of glory.

The ground on which our line rested at its first formation was a heavily wooded plateau without brush or undergrowth. We could see the lines of our army for long distances, right and left, as they advanced with marvelous precision and in perfect order through the open woods, with regimental colors flying, and all the bands playing "Dixie." It seems but as yesterday, when we watched those advancing hosts and heard those martial airs. The engagement had soon become general, and the enemy were evidently yielding to the sledge hammer strokes of Hardee's corps. The First Mississippi cavalry marched forward on the left flank of General Cheatham's division, keeping in line with it until just before engaging the enemy, when Colonel Lindsay was ordered to pass to the rear. Then General Cheatham's infantry became heavily engaged, while we remained close in the rear for nearly two hours. The enemy were driven steadily, with no hesitation and no confusion on our part. The roar and rattle of musketry, the belching of cannon, the screaming of shells, the whistling bullets,

"The 'rocket's red glare,
And the bombs bursting in the air,"—

all united to beget emotions which words cannot describe. The deafening sounds, the stunning explosions, and the fiery flames of battle seemed to pass along the line in great billows from right to left.

Being in the rear of Cheatham's division, we were not under direct fire till about 10 o'clock, when the infantry were lying down in front of us, and we became a target for the artillery and sharpshooters of the enemy. A Federal battery began to play upon us with a good degree of accuracy. We could hear the heavy missiles whizzing around and above us; and some of them, too, were distinctly visible. One great solid shot I shall never forget. As it came through the air it was clearly seen. Capt. Foote saw it, as it ricocheted, and spurred his horse out of the way. Lieutenant T. J. Deupree was not so fortunate. This same shot grazed his thigh, cut off his sabre hanging at his side, and passed through the flank of his noble stallion which sank lifeless in his tracks. It

also killed a second horse in the rear of Lieutenant Deupree and finally, striking a third horse in the shoulder, felled him to the ground without disabling him, and not even breaking the skin. The ball was then spent. My own horse, "Bremer," in the excitement and joy of battle raised his tail on high, and a canon ball cut away about half of it, bone and all; and ever afterwards he was known as "Bob-tailed Bremer." Many solid shot we saw strike the ground, bounding like rubber balls, passing over our heads, and making hideous music in their course. Colonel Lindsay at this time countermarched the regiment and took shelter in a neighboring ravine. Thus, while in supporting distance of the infantry, we were often under fire, if not protected by the nature of the ground, by dense thickets or deep ravines.

I may pause here to say that during both days of this great battle, the company to which I belonged, the Noxubee cavalry, known afterwards as Company G, was on the right of the regiment and hence always in front when marching by twos or fours from one position to another along the battle line. I rode beside my cousin, J. E. Deupree, comrade and messmate. Being on the extreme right of the company, we were the first two of the regiment, and in this favored position we were in close touch with the regimental officers, so as to hear every order given or received by Colonel Lindsay. By close attention to these orders, we could the better comprehend the movements made and more intelligently observe the progress of the battle.

Once General Cheatham rode up to us and inquired as to the health of his "Hell-Roaring Cavalry." His coat was all torn by a minie-ball, but when asked if he was wounded, he assured us to the contrary, and rode away amid the cheers of his admiring friends. He evidently thought naught of self, though exceedingly solicitous and vigilant for the welfare of his command, doing everything possible to promote their success and to save them from unnecessary exposure.

When the infantry again pressed forward, Colonel Lindsay received an order to report to General Bragg, by whom he was directed to support a body of infantry farther up the hill. Then came an order through a staff-officer of General Breckenridge to place the regiment near General Jackson's column. Here we waited till another staff officer brought an order to Colonel Lind-

say to move the regiment with all possible speed towards the river. Thus, shifted from one position to another close in rear of the firing line, we had an opportunity to witness and enjoy the grand and most impressive panorama of one of the world's great battles, scientifically planned and executed with faultless precision so long as the matchless commander lived.

We always moved rapidly and in obedience to orders, and with a definite purpose in view. During this first day's battle, there was never a conflict of orders so long as Johnston lived, and no confusion, no pell mell flights of couriers, no bewildered orderlies, and few stragglers. On the contrary, as we could readily see, everything moved like clockwork, assuredly guided by a very master of the art of war.

But I have digressed. Let me resume the thread of my story. Colonel Lindsay had received an order to hurry forward towards the river. We rode in a sweeping gallop and came to the place where General Prentiss had just surrendered, and Col. Lindsay reported to General Polk for orders. It was now after 5 o'clock, and Colonel Lindsay was directed to take command of all the cavalry on this part of the field, to go up the river and cut off the retreat of the enemy. In obedience to this order, Colonel Lindsay attempted to collect other cavalry, meantime directing Lieutenant Colonel Miller to take command of the First Mississippi. Lieutenant Colonel Miller, ever impetuous and daring, put himself at the head of his regiment and shouted: "Charge, boys, charge! Colonel Linsey says, Charge!", and we rushed at full speed for more than a quarter of a mile, yelling like devils incarnate. A Federal battery was seen about three hundred yards ahead, with horses attached, evidently intent on making its escape. But on discovering us, the artillerymen turned, unlimbered, and made preparations to open fire upon us. But we came upon them so rapidly that they could neither fire nor escape. Every man, horse and gun was captured. By this time Colonel Lindsay, who failed to find other cavalry, had ridden to the front of the column. Giving orders to Lieutenant Colonel Miller to send this captured Michigan battery with its six brass Napoleons and all its caissons under escort to General Polk, and seeing another battery just across a deep ravine, he put himself at the head of Foote's company, the Noxubee cavalry, and rushed forward to take it. We

soon captured one of the caissons, but coming up to the battery, we found ourselves in the immediate presence of a brigade of Federal infantry, drawn up in line, evidently belonging to Nelson's division of Buell's army, who were just taking position on the field. They fired at us, but from excitement they fired so wildly and so high in the air that we all escaped unharmed into the ravine and rejoined the regiment. Some years ago, at a reunion of the Blues and the Grays on the battlefield of Shiloh, Dr. T. J. Deupree and I had a delightful interview with that gallant soldier and cultured gentleman, General Don Carlos Buell, and he told us that he well remembered seeing that little body of cavalry dash into his line like dare-devils, as if determined to rob him of his battery, support or no support. He was astonished when we told him that we escaped without the loss of a man, saying that he saw no reason why every saddle had not been emptied.

Colonel Lindsay reported to his superiors what he had seen. Some of us had watered our horses in the Tennessee. Grant's army was crowded in disorder and confusion about the landing, every one anxious to escape across the river; men and some officers were afloat on logs, making their way to the opposite shore. A semi-circle of artillery, mainly siege guns intended for use at the anticipated siege of Corinth, for most of the field batteries had been captured, was about all that intervened between Grant and destruction, since but few of Buell's brigades were yet in battle array. This was the supreme moment for a general and final advance of the Confederates, to drive Grant into the river or force his capitulation. General Polk in his official report says:

"Just at this time the troops under my command were joined by those of General Bragg and General Breckenridge and my fourth brigade under General Cheatham from the right. The field was clear; the rest of the forces of the enemy were driven to the river and under its bank. We had one more hour of daylight still left; were within 150 or 400 yards of the enemy's position; and nothing seemed wanting to complete the most brilliant victory of the war but to press forward and make a vigorous assault on the demoralized remnant of his forces."

General Bragg says in his official report:

"As soon as our forces could be again formed and put into motion, the order was given to move forward at all points and sweep the enemy from the field. The sun was about disappearing so that little time was left to finish the glorious work of the day, a day unsurpassed in the history of warfare for its daring deeds, brilliant achievements and heavy sacrifices. Our troops, though greatly exhausted by twelve hours of incessant fighting

without food, mostly responded to the order with alacrity, and the movement commenced with every prospect of success, though a battery in our front and the gunboats on the right seemed determined to dispute every inch of ground. Just at this time an order was received from the commanding general (Beauregard) to withdraw the troops from the enemy's fire. As this order had been communicated in many instances directly to brigade commanders the troops were soon in motion towards the rear, and the action ceased."

General Hardee, in his official report, bears similar testimony in these words:

"Upon the death of General Johnston, the command having devolved upon General Beauregard, the conflict was continued till near sunset, and our advance divisions were within a few hundred yards of Pittsburg Landing, where the enemy were huddled in confusion, when the order to withdraw was received."

Official reports of Federal officers are to the same effect. General Rousseau on reaching the landing speaks of "10,000 fugitives, who lined the bank of the river and filled the woods adjacent to the landing." General Buell says, before the final disaster, he found at the landing stragglers by "whole companies and almost regiments; and at the landing, the banks swarmed with a confused mass of men of various regiments. There could not have been less than 4,000 or 5,000. Late in the day the mass became much greater." He continues:

"At 5 o'clock the throng of disorganized and demoralized troops increased continually by fresh fugitives, and intermingled were great numbers of teams, all striving to get as near the river as possible. With few exceptions, all efforts to form these troops and move them forward to the fight utterly failed."

Nelson says:

"I found cowering under the river bank, when I crossed, from 7,000 to 10,000 men, frantic with fright and utterly demoralized."

The last position, as Nelson described it, "formed a semi-circle of artillery totally unsupported by infantry, whose fire was the only check to the audacious approach of the Confederates."

I shall not attempt to describe the splendor of the Federal camps nor the boundless army stores that fell into our hands; nor shall I tell of the vain efforts made to prevent pillaging, nor the Irishman with his captured barrel of whiskey, nor of the dead and dying, nor of the horrors of the hospitals, nor of burning woods ignited by Federal shells and causing untold agonies to the

wounded of both armies till God in mercy sent rain from heaven to extinguish the flames. I shall not tell of the long hours of picket and vidette duty on Sunday night, nor of the wretched condition of our soldiers, so utterly exhausted that they slept like dead men in spite of the shells hurled incessantly upon them from Federal gunboats and in spite of the torrents of rain that deluged the ground upon which they bivouacked.

Monday morning, the re-enforced and thoroughly reorganized enemy took the initiative. The 25,000 men of Buell's army, comparatively fresh, added to about 15,000 of the survivors of Grant's army, made a total of about 40,000 men against which the Confederates could muster scarcely 20,000, none of whom were fresh. The battle began at daylight and raged furiously from right to left for about six hours. Notwithstanding the heavy odds against them, even at 1 o'clock the Confederates had not receded from the position in which they had concentrated as soon as it was certain that another battle must be fought. But their ranks were fearfully depleted. They had been able to hold in check the superior forces of the enemy only by brilliant and hazardous charges involving fearful loss of life. Less than 15,000 men were now in line.

Seeing the unprofitable nature of the struggle General Beauregard determined not to prolong it further. Accordingly, about 2 o'clock, the retrograde movement began, and it was executed with a steadiness that would have done credit to veterans of a hundred battlefields. Colonel Lindsay had been ordered to take position on the Bark road, and during the day we had supported successively the divisions of Breckenridge and Hardee, and in the afternoon we covered the retreat of Hardee. Along with Forrest's cavalry and Wharton's rangers, skirmishing with the enemy and driving him back as often as he appeared, we retired sullenly and were among the last to leave the field.

A prominent event of this day, as I now recall it, occurred when General Bragg ordered us to charge if the enemy should venture into a certain field. Accordingly we were formed on the southern edge of the field. Soon the enemy began to be seen on the northern edge and we made ready to charge and impatiently awaited the command. Meantime, the enemy gave a wild shout,

which we answered with a defiant yell. This seemed to stagger them, for they at once withdrew into the forest.

Perhaps the strangest sight at Shiloh was that of a woman moving slowly and alone across the battlefield in a straight line, apparently with some definite object in view. There were no dwelling houses near, and why or how she happened to be there was a mystery to me then, and it is yet inexplicable to this day. She was a plain countrywoman, tall and slender, clad in a simple dress of bluish tint, with head and face hidden beneath a mammoth sun bonnet of the same color. She turned neither to the right nor to the left, but with bowed head pursued a bee-line, to all appearance utterly heedless of the great danger and frightful carnage all about her.

As a fitting conclusion of this story of Shiloh, I submit a brief extract from the official report of General Hardee, which I adopt as entirely expressive of my own conception of the irreparable loss of General Albert Sidney Johnston. General Hardee says:

" * * * General Johnston about 1 o'clock (on Sunday) brought up the reserve under Breckenridge. Deploring in it in echelon of brigades, with admirable skill and rapidity, he turned the enemy's left, and conducting the division in person swept down the river towards Pittsburg, cheering and animating his men, and driving the enemy in wild disorder to the shelter of their gunboats. At this moment of supreme interest it was our misfortune to lose the commanding general who fell mortally wounded at 2.30 o'clock and expired in a few moments in a ravine near the spot where Breckenridge's division had charged under his eye. This disaster caused a lull in the attack on the right, and precious hours were wasted. It is in my opinion the candid belief of intelligent men that but for this calamity we would have before sunset achieved a triumph not only signal in the annals of this war but memorable in all history."

II. SKETCH OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN HENRY MILLER.

Some years ago there appeared in the *St. Louis Presbyterian* from the Pen of Dr. T. Dwight Witherspoon, a tribute in memory of Lieutenant Colonel Miller, from which I freely borrow facts and language as occasion demands in the sketch here given.

This distinguished cavalryman was descended from stock reasonably expected to produce noble and heroic men. His grandfather, Rev. Robt. Miller, was an eminent preacher in Scotland, who emigrated to South Carolina and thence to Savannah, Ga., where he died and was was buried. His son, Dr. John Henry Miller, father of the lieutenant colonel, practised medicine in

Abbeville, S. C., and there wedded Miss Jane Pickens, daughter of General Andrew Pickens. General Pickens, of Huguenot lineage, was distinguished as a soldier and statesman in the American Revolution, and a zealous Christian and active ruling elder in the Presbyterian church. His daughter, Jane, mother of Lieutenant Colonel Miller, inherited all her father's sterling qualities and transmitted them unimpaired to her son. She and her husband were members of the Long Cane church, and their son, our lieutenant colonel, was born on June 20th, 1812, and was baptized into this same church. When the son was seven years old, the family made their home near Selma, Ala., in the neighborhood of Valley Creek church, of which our John Henry became a member at the age of twenty. He had spent three years at Centre College, Danville, Ky., but in consequence of failing health had been compelled to withdraw before graduation. After one year's rest from study, he entered Oberlin College, Ohio, but remained only two weeks, leaving in disgust with the prevalent fanaticism; for, as he says, much time was spent in discussing whether buttermilk might not be substituted for wine in the communion. He thence went to Miami and found a more congenial atmosphere. He remained two years and was graduated with the B. A. degree. Afterwards, he was awarded an M. A. degree. Among his classmates was John J. McRea, who afterwards became governor of Mississippi. Also, it may be mentioned that he was a classmate of the celebrated Alexander McClung; and on one occasion he visited McClung in Jackson, Miss. After spending a while in social conversation, he spoke to McClung about his soul's salvation. McClung at once fired up and said: "Miller, you are the only man on earth with courage enough to talk with me on that subject."

A year after his graduation, John Henry Miller made his home in Pontotoc county, Miss., and three years later wedded Miss Eliza D. Ghivan, to whose notable Christian character and amiability he owed much of his success in life. For ten years he was a planter, illustrating in the highest degree the characteristics of a Christian citizen and cultured gentleman. His popularity was unbounded. As was usual in many other parts of Mississippi, a military company was organized in Pontotoc county and Miller was chosen captain. He became a most efficient officer. After

inspecting all the military organizations of the State and weighing their comparative merits, Governor Brown, as a mark of especial esteem, presented to Captain Miller a sword for having the best drilled company in the State. This sword he buckled on when he afterwards entered the Confederate service, and it is still preserved as a precious relic in the family of one of his daughters.

Soon Miller was elected to fill a vacancy in the Legislature. Positions of honor and influence were ever at his command, but the call of God was upon him, and in 1848 he entered the Theological Seminary at New Albany, Ind., attracted thither with many other Southern men by the great and saintly Dr. Halsey. He remained three months, being called home by an epidemic among his negroes, to whom he faithfully ministered till he was himself stricken down. After weeks of suffering he recovered but did not return to the seminary. However, he finished his studies at home and was licensed by the Chickasaw Presbytery Oct. 5, 1850. He served Wellington church in Tallahatchie county, and afterwards became pastor of Pontotoc Presbyterian church. Small of stature, erect in person, quick and elastic in step, with military precision in every movement, he looked every inch the soldier. His face would impress one instantly, open, frank, sympathetic, lighted up with an eye that seemed at times to flash like fire and again to glow with the tenderest emotions of love and sympathy. This gave him wonderful power over men. In preaching, his theme was always the gospel, for he ever kept near the cross; and herein was the secret of his success in the pulpit. Out of the pulpit, he was one of the most attractive and genial of men, as chivalrous as a Chevalier Bayard, with the highest and keenest sense of personal honor, with a courage entirely unacquainted with fear, and with a gentleness as sympathetic as that of the most cultured and refined woman—in a word he was a very prince among men.

Rev. J. H. Miller was moderator of his Presbytery when the war came. He protested against the war and deplored its coming, for he foresaw all its horrors. But, when it came, he threw himself, body and soul, into the cause of the South. The members of the old Pontotoc dragoons, whom he had drilled and disciplined in times of peace, called upon him to become their

leader now. Also, another cavalry company, raised in the neighborhood of his old pastorate in Tallahatchie county, implored him to be their commander. He had evidently inherited from General Pickens peculiar military gifts, so that every one seemed to see in him eminent fitness for command. In consequence, several companies became clamorous for the organization of a battalion with Rev. John Henry Miller as commander. This was the nucleus of the First Mississippi regiment of cavalry.

The military temperament and instincts of Lieutenant Colonel Miller were strikingly manifested at the battle of Belmont. Although four of his six companies were on the Kentucky side of the Mississippi, watching and waiting for an expected attack on Columbus, and but two were on the Missouri side, as soon as he felt sure that no fight would occur on the east bank of the river, he got permission from General Polk, crossed over and took command of his two companies to participate in the battle there. After holding his command in line on the flank of the Confederates for some time, he grew nervous and impatient. At length, General Pillow rode up and said: "Colonel Miller, lead your men into action, and give the Yankees hell, Sir." He saluted the General and said: "That is the command I have been waiting and wanting to hear." At once he ordered and led the charge of his two companies against a battalion of Federal cavalry and drove them in utter confusion from the field. His favorite horse, "Arab," which he had raised on his own plantation was killed under him in this action.

To show how Lieutenant Colonel Miller was esteemed by the men of his regiment, I will make an extract from a recent private letter from my cousin, now known as Colonel J. E. Deupree, of the Texas division of Confederate Veterans, and prominent in the work of the Texas Historical Association, and now residing near Bonham, Texas. To him I wish herewith to acknowledge my indebtedness for many points of interest in my narrative of the participation of the First Mississippi cavalry in the battle of Shiloh. The extract is as follows:

"Of course you remember, John, how we captured that battery on Sunday afternoon. Lieutenant Colonel Miller was temporarily in command. He had just dismounted for some purpose when you and I and some others exclaimed: 'Look, Colonel, they are Yankees, Colonel, Yankees!' He looked and instantly saw what the Yankees were doing, sprang to his feet, and shouted at the top of his voice: 'Charge, boys, charge!' For

God's sake charge!' flung himself into his saddle, put spurs to his horse and led the charge.' I can never forget those words nor the Colonel's nervous and excited manner at the time * * * I always loved Colonel Miller. He was a brave man, a patriot, and a Christian. He should have due credit for his quickness of comprehension and his promptness of action at the critical moment. The slightest hesitation would have resulted in the annihilation of our company, if not in the destruction of the entire regiment; for, as you remember, we were in front. Never a more timely order was given, and never more gallantly and brilliantly executed. Yes, John, from that day till now I have always felt that I owed my life to the quickness of Colonel Miller, and I was very sorry when he saw proper after the battle to tender his resignation. Honored and blessed be his memory!"

Doubtless Colonel Miller's patriotism and ardent courage prevailed over his sensitiveness till after the battle, when indignation asserted itself and he tendered his resignation and returned to Pontotoc to resume his work as a minister of the gospel, a work dear to his heart and for which he was peculiarly fitted.

In concluding this sketch, I take the liberty to make a condensed statement of facts concerning his untimely death, as portrayed in an article written by Dr. John N. Waddell and published in the *Southern Presbyterian* of April 23, 1863.

"Brother Miller was on his way to Ripley to fulfill an engagement with Brother Wm. A. Gray, pastor of this church, to preach for him, and as he drew near to Ripley on Sabbath morning, March 22d, he learned that the village was held by Colonel Hurst's regiment of renegade Tennesseans. Knowing that he was particularly obnoxious to them because of his strong Southern sympathy, his zeal and his military services, he determined to go back to Pontotoc. About two miles from Ripley he met two of Hurst's men escorting two prisoners. When he discovered them, he was too near to attempt an escape by flight. They overpowered him, dragged him from his horse, and shot him through the head and through the heart. Either wound was mortal. They robbed his person of \$60, a gold watch, gold spectacles, silk hat, sermon, and a set of artificial teeth, and left his dead body lying in the road, where the foul murder had been committed. Negroes drew the corpse to a place of safety till it could be sent to Ripley. The murderers reported that they had killed a 'Secesh colonel,' as they said, 'because he had resisted arrest.' But the testimony of the prisoners who witnessed the tragedy was altogether different. By request of Mrs. Buchanan, a devoted friend, the body of Colonel Miller was given into her care and subsequently taken to Pontotoc for interment beside several dear little ones, who had preceded him to the glory-world."

APPENDIX.

MUSTER ROLL OF THE NOXUBEE CAVALRY AT UNION CITY, TENN.

I give below the roll of the company, as it was called at Union City, when it became a part of Miller's battalion:

Captain, H. W. Foote.

First Lieutenant, Hampton Williams,

Second Lieutenant, Charles M. Hunter,

Third Lieutenant, T. J. Deupree,
 First Sergeant, Daniel McIntosh,
 Second Sergeant, A. G. Word,
 Third Sergeant, W. H. Foote,
 Fourth Sergeant, G. H. Dantzler,
 Fifth Sergeant, R. O. Wier,
 First Corporal, H. M. Hunter,
 Second Corporal, J. J. May,
 Third Corporal, W. Johnson,
 Fourth Corporal, Frank Mauldin,

Privates.

Adams, Thos. S.,
 Barton, T. P.,
 Beasley, W. E.,
 Boggess, Thos. S.,
 Bush, Albert T.,
 Buck, W. H. C.,
 Boswell, A. J.,
 Cockrell, Wm. W.,
 Calahan, Michael,
 Clements, E. C.,
 Canning, George,
 Carleton, Finis,
 Cranford, W. H.,
 Cranford, J.,
 Cox, F. F.,
 Daily, J. H.,
 Deupree, W. D.,
 Deupree, J. E.,
 Deupree, J. G.,
 Deupree, W. D., Jr.,
 Dooley, W. V.,
 Douglas, W. W.,
 Daniel, H. M.,
 Day, S. B.,
 Eiland, L. E.,
 Eiland, J. O.,
 Goodwin, T. J.,
 Grant, John A.,
 Greer, F. J.,
 Greer, J. A.,
 Greer, Alonzo,
 Greer, M. L.,
 Hardy, J. E.,
 Hinton, G. W.,
 Hunter, W.,
 Holberg, Jacob,
 Howlett, H. C.,

Haynes, H. C.,
 Hudson, J. B.,
 Hudson, W. J.,
 Hughes, W. A.,
 Higgins, O. M.,
 Jarnagin, J. C.,
 Jenkins, C. S.,
 Jones, R. H.,
 Joiner, R. E.,
 Jackson, W. R.,
 King, J.,
 Keown, R. W.,
 Lynch, N.,
 Lockett, A. J.,
 Lowrey, S. W.,
 Lyon, A. J.,
 Morris, P. A.,
 McMullen, J. D.,
 Perkins, L.,
 Pierce, Thos. H.,
 Pagan, W. L.,
 Prater, G. W.,
 Ruff, F. M.,
 Randall, W. R.,
 Sherrod, George,
 Swift, R. B.,
 Spraggins, C. H.,
 Taylor, J.,
 Turner, C. B.,
 Westin, A. J.,
 Williams, T. S.,
 Williams, D. S.,
 Williams, J. C.,
 White, J. F.,
 Walker, W. J.,
 Walker, R. J.,
 Yates, H.,

MAKESHIFTS OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES.

BY MISS MARY J. WELSH.¹

Every generation makes history for succeeding ones. The object of the Historical Society of Mississippi is to gather up and preserve information on all subjects relating to the history of the State. The Civil War has a prominent place in that history. To us who lived through it, it is a part of our experiences; it lives in our memories; we need nothing to recall it. But we are fast passing away and while life endures and strength both of body and of mind remains to us, it behooves us to leave for future generations a record of what we know connected with that period. Among the glorious achievements of that stirring time, the "make-shifts" at home claim a title to recognition, and a place (be it ever so humble) on the records; for they represent the ingenuity and the willing sacrifices and privations, mostly of the women and children, and the uncomplaining submission of the negroes during that terrible struggle.

In this paper I shall confine myself strictly to what I know from personal experience and close observation in a small section of the northeastern part of Kemper county, surrounding Scooba station and the town of old Wahalak,² now extinct. It was pioneer times under blockade intensified by the absence of providers and protectors.

The blockade of Mobile in 1861, whence the farmers and up-country merchants obtained their supplies, first suggested the necessity of contriving some way of making the supplies on hand last an indefinite time. This could be done only by extra care, economy, ingenious substitution, and much hard work. In fact a new order of things must be established at once. Naturally the first substitutes were for

¹ A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. IV., p. 343.—EDITOR.

² For information on the history of this place, see *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. IV., pp. 354--'6 and Vol. V., p. 348.—EDITOR.

GROCERIES.

For coffee, the Southerners' daily beverage, parched corn or meal or even burnt corn bread served pretty well for people determined to submit uncomplainingly to any privations which the effort to achieve independence might force upon us. We had already given up what was more than life to us (with a poignant heartache, it is true) and why should we not for the same cause cheerfully forego luxuries, even necessities? We could, and did. When tired of parched corn we changed to burnt molasses; this was better, best. But the question, "What shall we do when the present supply of Louisiana molasses shall be exhausted?" "popped up" as unpleasant thoughts are apt to do when not wanted. Stop using it was the only answer, and we did it.

Sweet potatoes cut into small squares, dried, parched and ground, made quite a palatable beverage which we easily cheated ourselves into making believe was coffee. All okra seeds above what were needed for the next year's planting were made into coffee. Occasionally we got a little rye, but only occasionally, as that was not much of a rye-growing section. Corn and potatoes, being yearly recurring crops and plentiful, remained in favor throughout the war. The stimulating effect, the most coveted result of coffee drinking, was wanting in all of these, but its absence and the plentiful use of milk was a great benefit to our nerves and general health, certainly it was a preventive of insomnia. During this period some one came forward with the information that dried English peas, parched and ground made "right down" good coffee. Ready for any experiment that promised help we proceeded to try it. The extract was of a deep, rich coffee color. Ah! we had it at last. The addition of sweet cream completed the fascination. I, for one, made haste to try it, nothing doubting. If I had been wise, I should have stopped after the first sip. But determined not to condemn without a fair trial, I persevered to the depth of half a cup; then yielded, completely beaten. Maybe, others fared better with it. I hope they did. I give only my own experience.

Pure coffee was used only on special occasions, fast days for instance and in sickness. It was no joke then, but it is humorous now to recall how often we "headachy" ones thought we were obliged to have a cup of the pure Rio. By these various "make-

shifts" we made that first year's supply of coffee last till the blockade was raised. After the surrender the returning troops frequently called in squads at the various farm houses for a meal, and it gladdened our hearts on such occasions to offer them a cup of real coffee; and they thankfully accepted it.

Ground peas, goobers or pinders as they are variously called, parched, ground, and made as chocolate, was a pretty fair substitute for the genuine article.

For tea, young raspberry leaves dried made quite a palatable beverage when we had the sugar to sweeten it. Sage tea was a pleasant drink and a good febrifuge. Some were quite fond of tea made of sassafras roots or buds.

Sugar was used in so many different ways that how to make it last was a serious problem. Molasses could be and was used in many unusual ways. It was therefore as precious as sugar before sorghum began to be raised; consequently cakes, preserves, sweetmeats of all kinds, came to be rare luxuries. Many of the farms had stands of bees, and excellent tea cakes (I cannot vouch for any other) were made with honey. There was plenty of fruit, and peach preserves made with honey were of a superior quality. We dried our own fruit. Figs boiled a few minutes in a little molasses, then dried and packed away for winter use were sweetmeats much enjoyed by children and grown people, too. For table use, honey in the comb and strained honey supplied the place of molasses for those who liked it. By these means some housekeepers contrived to make their supply of sugar last through the hostilities.

In every emergency there was one unfailing resource,—if we could not find a substitute for any article we could do without it; and this we did, with a fortitude born of the times. For a short time this seemed to be the only solution to the question of molasses for table use, especially for the children and negroes. But in the summer of '62, something, perhaps it was the unusually fine crop of watermelons, suggested the idea that they might be utilized to make the much needed molasses. Squeeze out the juice, strain it, and boil it down to the proper consistency. That was the formula. It seemed reasonable. We readily accepted any proposition that gave a reasonable promise of relief. Forthwith the experiment was tried in hopeful anticipation of a lot of sweetening

cheap. The result was a tolerably fair syrup but not sufficiently satisfactory to ensure a repetition of the experiment in ensuing years. Perhaps in some sections there might have been better success. I write only what I know.

All these "makeshifts" made much work and required time: but this work was a blessing to us under the circumstances. All who have had the experience know that aside from the grace of God, there is no better panacea for heart sorrow than work, necessary, pressing work. Thus a merciful Father provided for us in our extremity; saved us from a despairing grief by giving the work that diverted our thoughts from a constant brooding over our own trials. To those who were "properly exercised thereby," it was a profitable training for the future "changed condition" that awaited us.

We substituted grits for rice and did not feel our deprivation of this article. Lye hominy made of whole corn, husked with hickory ashes, was a standing dish through the cold weather and made up for the absence of hot biscuits before what came to be plentifully raised. Give an old time Southern "auntie" the corn, she will find the ashes, and let her manage it from start to finish, and she will place a dish upon the table that with its natural accompaniment, homemade ham and gravy, will gratify the palate of a fastidious epicure. Just here I hope I may be excused for expressing the opinion that there are no better cooks in the world than the Southern negroes, raised and trained by "misis" on the ante-bellum plantations. Give one of them the materials and the conveniences and if she "has a mind to" (for much depends on that) she will set before you a spread that for palatability and healthfulness will surpass that of a celebrated French chef.

For soda we swept out the fireplace clean, made a pile of corn-cobs, burnt them, and used the ashes; a cheap, healthful and effective soda. A healthful substitute for black pepper was the red varieties raised in our gardens. The seed of the home raised mustard answered for the mustard of commerce. Metheglin, a refreshing and appetizing drink, was made from honey. If allowed to ferment, methlglin makes an excellent quality of vinegar.

In that section we had not come into the use of lamps generally, so one or more boxes of candles formed a part of every year's bill

of family supplies. After the first year of the war we had to mould or dip candles from the tallow and beeswax made at home. Generally the housekeepers moulded as candles were needed. Those who dipped selected a suitable day in the fall, and put up a year's supply in one day. This was my mother's plan, and it saved much trouble and worry through the year. They were never very plentiful, and we could afford to burn only one at a time ordinarily. On bright moonlight nights the queen of heaven furnished all the light required in the summer season; for we ate supper before dark. To eke out these candles we resorted to a device that must have originated in pioneer times. Several strands of coarse, softly twisted thread were doubled together into a line eight or ten yards long. This was drawn through melted beeswax and when cold wound around a corn cob, the last end left standing up a few inches. This gave the subdued light of a taper and was sufficient for many purposes.

Soap for laundry use gave no trouble; for it had always been made on the farms. But the question of toilet soap was not so easily answered. But by dint of experimenting and the interchange of experiences, we obtained after a time a pretty fair product from available materials, which we used without protest as long as the war lasted.

The cheapest indispensable commodity in the economy of house-keeping, salt, became a costly one to us, because there was no substitute for its preserving or its seasoning qualities. By strict economy the salt on hand lasted twice as long as usual; all the salt shaken off the dry pork was saved; all the brine boiled, skimmed, and dried out. This did very well as far as it went, but still the cry was salt! how could we get it! We were not long without a suggestion, for during the period of blockade every one who had received any news or made a successful experiment or conceived an apparently helpful idea, made haste to pass it along until soon, by a system of "wireless telegraphy," shall I say, it became the property of the whole section. By some such means in time of our dire strait information flashed from farm to farm that the dirt floors of our old smoke houses were so many salt mines, so to speak; and if they were dug up, the dirt put in hoppers, and run down after the manner of leaching ashes, the brine boiled down and dried out, the result would be salt. Directly

every farm established its salt works. The residuum was an unsightly product, but it was salt and satisfied the stock. Later on a few of our neighbors went to some of the temporary salt works in Alabama and bartered bacon for enough salt to preserve the next year's killing. It was a long, tiresome journey in wagons.

. CLOTHING.

Of the three most difficult questions that have confronted humanity since the fall of Adam, not the least perplexing at this time to the Southern women was that of clothing. Left by the exigencies of war to solve this question almost alone for themselves, their families, both white and black, and partly for the soldiers, it was doubly perplexing. They met it bravely, resolutely. The first year was provided for. That gave time to plan how to economize present supplies and prepare for the future. All new cloth must be manufactured at home from the raw materials grown on the farms. On some farms weaving had not fallen entirely into disuse; but on others all the machinery, wheels, looms, &c., had to be gathered up. The "old plantation homes" began to stir out of the lethargy of peace and plenty and hum from dawn till dark with the pioneer sounds of domestic industry. But there were constantly recurring difficulties, heavily taxing our ingenuity. Cards wore out and the supply in the country stores was soon exhausted. There was nothing to be done but use them as long as they would make a "spinnable" roll, then the best parts of the most badly worn cards were used to patch others less worn. Generally some negro on the place did this under directions. Sometimes an old umbrella mender and tin cobbler came around and added patching cards to his attainments. Sometimes, by chance, a pair of new cards were obtained. They gave as much pleasure to their possessor as an expensive set of bed room furniture would to a modern housekeeper.

Again the sleys broke or wore out. Except to replace a few missing reeds this difficulty was beyond the housekeepers. But emergencies generally develop their own solution, and this one did in a most unexpected and wonderful way. In the neighborhood was a middle-aged man of a stout frame, who for many years had been bed ridden (he said from a weak back). The call for sleys aroused him; here was a chance to make money by light work.

He had the negroes on his father's farm gather reeds and spin twine. He then began mending and making sleys. Shortly afterwards he "arose from his bed and walked." A little later he was riding around on horseback delivering sleys and taking orders, much to the relief of the situation and the amusement of all; for none except his family had believed his ailment was anything but unadulterated laziness. However he fully met the demand and that excused him from harsh judgment. If his patriotism had only equalled his greed for money there would have been one more able-bodied soldier on the field.

In time cloth for all needs,—tablecloths, towels, sheets, and blankets,—came to be woven. The homemade cloth was all made up with homespun thread dyed like the cloth; the thrums from each web served the purpose as far as they lasted. Then thread for ropes and plow-lines was spun and rope-works constructed, all making much work for the spinners. For dye stuffs we were thrown upon the resources of the country,—bark, roots, and leaves of trees. The few walnut trees were mostly in favor for this purpose. In time a few raised indigo, but to carry it through all its stages until ready for use cost more in work than the prepared article of commerce did in money. But it was needed and there was no other way to get it. That fact settled the question, as it did many others. The copperas and alum of commerce were sparingly used.

Hose for all, white and black, were knit from homespun thread, cotton and woolen. Much of the woolen underwear was also knit on long wooden needles made by some hand on the place. Besides supplying family needs large quantities of these knit goods and homespun clothing went to the soldiers. A ladies' aid society was formed in the early part of the war and kept up till its close for the purpose of providing cloth and making clothing and knitting socks for the soldiers. So a Southern woman was never out of work. If nothing else was pressing, she knit. This she did in the day time and late into the night, at home or while visiting, while directing her subordinates at their work or while resting from her own heavier work. She seldom sat idle.

We had some rough experiences in providing shoes for ourselves and families. They were worn as long as they could be mended, even roughly; and it made no difference if they were

"one of a sort." For new shoes, the hides of beeves were carried to the nearest tannery; then the leather was made up by some negroes who had a little talent in that line. Rough? Yes, but they were serviceable. In warm weather the children and all negroes except plough hands went barefoot. But we continually learned new ways. In those days cloth gaiters, front laced, were much worn; the soles, when made of honest leather, outlasted the uppers. We soon learned to rip them apart, pick the stitches out of the soles, cut new uppers from a scrap of ante-bellum cloth, poplin, alpaca, &c., and make and put them together. Many a pair of dainty gaiters or Newport ties were knit and put together in the same way. Lacking a sole, we could get a shoemaker to cut us a single one and punch the holes.

Every set of buttons on hand was made to do duty several times, being cut from a worn out garment and transferred to a new one. When they were worn out or lost, buttons made of coarse thread or of persimmon seed, were substituted for the use of the small boys and negroes. When these substitutes were lost the negroes never made any trouble about them—they could peg their clothes together. That was doubtless an instinct which came down to them from Africa. This lesson in substitution was readily learned by the white boys. For a finish to unwash goods, shapes cut of leather or pastebord and covered answered for the times.

Various small articles, such as pins and sewing and knitting needles,—indispensable to our work and comfort—we hoarded as miserly as possible consistent with the most careful use.

Caps for boys, white and black, were easily made of scraps of woolen cloth, cut and sewed in the proper shape to fit each head. A front piece, taken from an old one, if one was to be had, was sewed on. Lacking that, one was made of pasteboard and covered, or the cap went without one. But it was not so easy to provide hats. We got palmetto, which then grew abundantly in the lower part of Kemper county, boiled it to make it pliant, sunned it to bleach, split it into narrow strips and braided it into plaits. These plaits were sewed together, round and round, braid after braid, until the hat was completed, shaping it by an old one. This was slow work, hard on the fingers, required care and a lot of patience, but the hats were serviceable and stylish. Bonnets were also made of the same material; not stylish ones, to be sure,

but of the Quaker pattern with a crown and skirt of any scrap of cloth we could find among our ante-bellum stores.

Never since the days of Mother Eve has woman been indifferent to dress, not merely for comfort, but dress for appearances. There are none who, unless constrained by unsurmountable circumstances, make the last year's costumes do for the present, to say nothing of two or three years back. But that was the necessity forced upon us by the blockade. In every home there were quantities of dress goods, including bonnets and hats, laid away in drawers, trunks, &c., which would soon have passed on to house servants. Now they became hoarded treasures from which to draw forth future supplies. After the first year the work of remodeling, of turning and twisting, piecing and placing, trimming off the worn and faded and replacing with something a little better became a common industry. The Scotch cotter's wife who

"Wi her needle an' her shears,
Gars auld claes look amaist as weel's the new."

had many rivals in our homes. Many new and handsome dresses were evolved out of these second hand materials. The old dress bonnets and hats were remodeled, retrimmed, and made presentable from season to season. About the last year of the war the "sky scraper" style of bonnet came into vogue, and they were easily made. These were for dress occasions. For home wear, the plainer materials on hand, such as muslin, gingham, &c., were manipulated in the same way. The prevailing style demanded that the whole dress be made of the same piece of goods. But we were not bound by any such arbitrary rules of fashion. In making one dress of the best parts of two, or luckily two remnants of new goods, we simply had an eye to quality and not to the shade of the material. In time we came to wear homespun outright. It was made light in weight by drawing it single threaded in the sley and tapping in the filling lightly, the thread being home dyed and woven in checks or stripes to suit the fancy of the designer. There were but few weddings in that section during the war, and the brides proudly wore dresses of this homemade gingham, finished with a little trimming of goods from their hoarded stores, with buttons cut from leather and covered with the same. In fact homespun dresses were a pride under existing conditions.

Patching and darning became necessary accomplishments. Besides our own wardrobes, the cloth suits of gentlemen were cleansed, mended and pressed, time and again, to make them presentable, being sometimes supplemented by homespun. Much of this handiwork went to the State Legislature and some to Congress.

Not a scrap of ribbon or fine goods was thrown aside until it was beyond all possible use, and not an inch of spool cotton or silk was wasted. Scraps of black silk, not otherwise serviceable, were picked to pieces, mixed with cotton, carded, and spun. In this way we made thread of a pretty gray shade, which we knit into gloves and hose, quite genteel.

PAPER AND ENVELOPES.

Necessarily there were but few letters and soon these came to be written on the blank leaves of books, the wrong side of scraps of wall paper, or leaves torn from blank books. We usually wrote with a pencil, or did as our grandmothers did, robbed the geese and made pens of their quills. We turned old envelopes and pasted them together again, or cut new ones out of any scrap of paper that would hold the address, and we sealed them with paste or rosin when we could get it. A few old time wafers were drawn forth from their hiding places and put to use. I had a stick of sealing wax and a stamp, both of which were brought down from pioneer days in Alabama when it was a part of Mississippi Territory. These again came into use, verifying the truth of the proverb, "Keep a thing seven years," or even seven times seven, "and you will have a use for it."

TABLE WARE AND KITCHEN UTENSILS.

When vessels for the dining room and kitchen would break or wear out they could not usually be replaced. We could, however, boil our "make believe" coffee in a pot, minus handle and top, or in a kettle, also minus some part; and when it was made, we could drink it out of a chipped cup or saucer, or small bowl or pitcher, likewise chipped,—whatever was handy. All of our silverware was kept intact through the whole period, as the Federal

army never came into our section. We were not in their line of march.

We could roast a turkey or a joint of meat in a large pot, if a cover for it could be found that would hold coals of fire even by patching; could broil a steak or ribs or sausage on coals; could bake bread on a johnny-cake board, on a worn out plow-share or *in the ashes*. The negroes preferred bread cooked by the last method. This was doubtless another thing that came down to them from their African ancestors.

The up-country stores kept open and occasionally they would obtain a few articles of merchandise, which they readily bartered for products of the farm or the loom. Blacksmith shops and wood shops were also open when occasion required. Hence farming implements, carriages, and wagons were kept in order and made to last. Harness, bridle reins, and plow lines were made and repaired at home.

CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS.

The most important factors in shaping the morals of our community were not entirely closed. But schools had only a fitful existence. The pay in produce or Confederate money commanded only fitful service, and the educable pupils, not in the army, were needed to work. But the pastors of the two churches, Dr. Hervey Woods, Presbyterian, and Rev. J. M. Nicholson, Baptist, were exempt from military duty and kept up regular services for their congregations of exempts, old men and women, children and negroes. They shifted as we did and freely gave us of such as they had,—instruction, encouragement, comfort, and a healthy moral and religious influence. Doubtless they felt paid by an approving conscience, for they were Christian gentlemen, devoted to their calling and loyal patriots.

LIFE AND SPIRIT OF THE TIMES.

Through the whole period we were much blessed in all material ways. We had reasonably good health; all crops and gardens and orchards yielded plentifully and all kinds of poultry thrived. We were exceptionally blessed in that we were not subject to raids from the enemy. A Federal soldier was not seen

in that section until after the war, when a squad,—white and black—was quartered at Scooba, ostensibly to gather up contraband goods. I don't think it paid the government. A company of our own soldiers camped among us a short while during the last year to receive the government tax in produce and horses for the army.

In all the ways herein mentioned we managed to live quite comfortably, willingly enduring any required hardship in hope of obtaining independence for our Southland. This is a record of material conditions and of our "makeshifts" under those conditions. The subject of this paper does not call for heart experiences. Well it does not; for no human pen could portray them. In our many individual heart troubles we were comforted by words of mutual sympathy and condolence. But there is no experience like the death of one's country. When the news came suddenly that our country was *dead*, a deep hush fell into our lives, a wordless grief settled on our hearts, a dark foreboding clouded the future. But our faith in the wisdom and goodness of Him who controls the destiny of nations was undimmed. The *spirit* of the South was not conquered, and many of us who sacrificed so much have lived to see our beloved Southland, under the guiding hand and protecting care of this allwise Being, rise, like the old fabled Phoenix, from the ashes of her former self, brighter and stronger than before she underwent this terrible ordeal.

One glint of brightness came to us even in this dark time. The ever present and all-pervading anxiety concerning the soldiers was ended. They were coming home to stay. The joyous welcome to the returning ones was subdued by the intense longing for those who would never come. As years rolled on that gave place to the comforting realization that a merciful Father had taken them away from the evil of the days of reconstruction.

THE NEGROES.

Before closing, I am impelled to write a few lines dealing especially with the negroes, inasmuch as they formed a part of all of our families and shared in all of our work and privations. They seemed dazed by the state of affairs; it was beyond their comprehension. Children in all respects except age and size, they

were as dependent on their owners as were the real children. But now, in the absence of all able-bodied men, much depended on them. "Missus" relied upon them for her crops, for the care of the stock and for all heavy work; and where no outside influence reached them,—as in our section—they remained faithful to the trust. They shared our anxiety for those members of the family who were in the army. When a letter was received they would want to know, "How is Mars' or Mars' Jack or Mars' Tom," as the case might be, "gittin' on." If well and in camp, the next question might be "Did he say wen he' gwine cum home?" They had but a child's conception of the requirements of patriotism or the lawful demand of government. After all that has since passed, the Southern whites and the Southern negroes are mutual friends and in a measure mutual dependents, but equals, *never!*—except before the law.

RECONSTRUCTION IN YAZOO COUNTY.

BY ROBERT BOWMAN.¹

At the commencement of and for years previous to the Civil War, Yazoo county was one of the most prosperous sections of Mississippi. Its wealth was not in commerce, but in the soil; and its capital mainly in agriculture. Its fertile lands yielded abundant crops of cotton, corn and other products. Nearly every planter raised all of his corn and meat, and many mules and horses for his own use. Many had elegant and commodious homes and were surrounded by all the comforts of life. Nearly all were free from debt, and mortgages and trust deeds for plantation and family supplies were unknown. A majority of the citizens were the early settlers and descendants of the pioneers who felled the virgin forests and brought the fertile lands into cultivation. The sons and daughters of the early settlers were in the main well educated at the best schools and colleges. But at the end of the four years of sanguine strife this scene of prosperity and plenty was wonderfully changed.

From the first year of the war the planters of Yazoo county abandoned cotton crops, and devoted their efforts to the production of corn and the raising of hogs. Very liberal supplies of these products were furnished for the maintenance of the Confederate army at Vicksburg and other points. Immediately succeeding the surrender of Vicksburg, on the 4th of July, 1863, there was a general exodus of planters, with negroes, mules, wagons, etc., to Alabama, Georgia and the eastern section of Mississippi. Growing crops were abandoned and went to waste. From this time until the close of the war there were, at frequent and short intervals, invasions of Federal fleets and troops, and the latter raided and ravaged the county, seizing and carrying away all portable property within their grasp. Household furniture, libraries, mules, horses, wagons,—any and every form of property

¹ For a biographical sketch of the author of this contribution see *supra*, p. 57.—EDITOR.

of value or use that could be carried away was seized and appropriated by the enemy. In 1861 large crops of cotton were raised in Yazoo, and there being no market for this staple when gathered, it remained in the hands of the producers or planters, and nearly all of it was seized or burned. From July, 1863, to the close of the war this county was debatable ground between the Confederates and the Federals, being held first by one and then the other army. Hence several battles were fought and many skirmishes occurred on its soil. When the contest ended in April, 1865, Yazoo was almost devastated. A large acreage of its once fertile and productive fields was a desolation covered with weeds and grass. The people were stripped of their slaves, mules and much other property. Houses had been burned by the foe and the county presented a scene of waste and barrenness. After peace was declared the refugee planters came with their negroes and stock from their hiding places in other States and sections, and the ragged soldier returned from the army to witness but a wreck and waste of what had been once their happy homes and prosperous fields. They went earnestly to work to reclaim their waste lands and to provide maintenance for themselves and families.

A garrison of negro soldiers, with white officers, was stationed at Yazoo City in the latter part of April, 1865. A provost marshal was also assigned to this place having quasi-jurisdiction over both criminal and civil cases. His judgments were enforced by military power. All civil and judicial officers were suspended except that of justices of the peace, and their jurisdiction was subordinated to the military authorities. A cotton bureau agent was stationed at Yazoo City, to collect and gather up cotton which had been sold by citizens during the war to the Confederate government and which had been declared confiscated to the United States by military order. Under color of this authority much pillage was perpetrated. Minions of this official would go around with wagons at night and in the day when unseen to private gin-houses and steal away cotton, calling it Confederate cotton. In 1863 all the cotton in Yazoo county, within a limit of fifteen miles from Yazoo river was ordered by the Confederate military authorities to be burned in order to prevent its being seized and confiscated by the Federals. Hence there was but little, if any of

this Confederate cotton left in the county. However, any cotton of private individuals that this cotton bureau agent could surreptitiously lay his hands on was claimed as Confederate property and appropriated to himself. As the Mississippi Central railroad, now part of the Illinois Central, had been broken up by the Federal troops, Yazoo City became, for a considerable period after the termination of hostilities, the market centre for Holmes, Attala, Leake and other counties. Here large quantities of cotton was bought, sold and shipped. The Federal government imposed a tax on every bale, which had to be paid to the bureau agent and license obtained before a sale could be made. Owners of the staple would be asked where the cotton was raised, and often, if they were from one of the interior counties, the bureau agent would reply, "Yes, you raised it from some man's ginhouse, and I will have you arrested by negro soldiers." The farmer, alarmed, would flee away hastily, followed by an attache of the office, who would offer, for a stipulated sum, to get the license and prevent the arrest, which the affrighted owner of the cotton would agree to pay. By this means much money was raised by the agent. When there were adverse claimants and the cases were brought before this cotton agent for adjudication, he would always take the matter under advisement, or order the cotton to be placed in the government warehouse, and in no case did he ever render judgment, nor did the contestants ever see or hear of the disputed cotton again. On the departure of this agent from the country, he remarked that he had stolen all the cotton in the Yazoo District worth stealing, and that he was going to Texas, where he hoped to find richer fields for spoil and robbery.

Lawlessness in rulers naturally engenders lawlessness in the ruled. The chief law in reconstruction days, immediately following the war, was military edicts, enforced by armed soldiers. A state of quasi-anarchy prevailed in Yazoo county. Many robberies were committed, especially when cotton could be obtained thereby. During and immediately preceding the close of the war, a brigade of Texas soldiers operated in Yazoo and adjoining counties. They were rough riders, tough fighters, and Yankee haters. Some of these remained in Yazoo county and, gathering into their clan men of like character, committed many depredations against life and property.

The following incident will serve to illustrate the condition of the county under military rule. Capt. Ray, a citizen of Kentucky, had for several years before the war brought droves of mules to Yazoo City for sale. At the beginning of hostilities he raised a company of cavalry, which served in Gen. N. B. Forrest's command until the surrender. After peace was declared he returned to his own State, and early in the fall of 1865 brought to Mississippi a drove of about seventy-five mules. He stopped at the house of a planter, about six or eight miles from Yazoo City. On the night of his arrival, three of these Texans, with some of their followers, supposing Ray to be a Yankee, let down the fence of the lot and carried away the entire drove to a place in the hills about twenty-five miles distant, where they stopped to rest. Ray gathered up some friends, got on their track the next day, and came up with the robbers, who were intrenched in a log house, and as Ray's men approached a volley of guns was fired on them, killing Ray and three of his comrades. The robbers fled and all made their escape. One of the gang named Nelson was wounded, and becoming exhausted, stopped at a house in Washington county, where he was captured, brought back to Yazoo City, confined in jail, indicted, tried by a jury, found guilty of murder and hanged in 1866. This robbery occurred just before civil government was revived in 1865.

In July, 1865, Judge Wm. L. Sharkey, Provisional Governor of Mississippi, ordered an election to be held on the 6th of August for delegates to a State convention to meet on the 14th of August, 1865. This convention, by amendment to the State Constitution, recognized the emancipation of the negro, but did not confer on him the elective franchise, nor the right to hold office, nor sit on a jury.

On the 5th of October, 1865, an election was held for all officers from governor down to constable. J. A. P. Campbell, afterwards a member of the Supreme Court, was elected Circuit Judge and S. S. Calhoon, since Supreme Court Judge, was elected district attorney and Robert B. Mays, Probate Judge.

On the 24th of November, 1865, the Legislature passed an act establishing county courts to be composed of one probate judge and two justices of the peace. Hon. Robert B. Mays was at that time a judge of the probate court and *ex-officio* the chief

justice or presiding officer of this tribunal, which held monthly sessions. This court had jurisdiction over all crimes under the degree of felony, had a regularly appointed prosecuting attorney, and had jurisdiction over cases where the amount did not exceed two hundred and fifty dollars.

The Legislature also enacted a very stringent vagrant law, which among other provisions required negroes to have permanent and fixed homes and employment; also prohibited them from carrying fire arms, dirks or bowie knives, and made it a criminal offense for any one to sell them intoxicating liquors under a penalty of fifty dollars and thirty days' imprisonment in the county jail. This court had a very salutary effect in suppressing crime and lawlessness, as it meted out justice with speedy hand to violators of the law. The circuit courts were held twice a year, the first term on the 4th Monday of November, 1865, and it had jurisdiction over murder, grand larceny, and other felonies and high crimes. Nelson was convicted at this term for the murder of Ray. By vigorous and prompt enforcement of the laws by these courts, order and peace were restored and life and property protected. The negroes under this regime were contented and industrious and most of them became diligent and faithful laborers. There was but little discord between the white men and the negroes, or between capital and labor. Contracts were made by planters with laborers early in January or before, and preparations were begun early in the season for a crop. Cotton brought a high price, and larger areas of land were each year brought into cultivation, and prosperity seemed to be again dawning upon the county.

The exclusive right of a State to regulate and define the qualification of voters and the competency of jurors was fully recognized from the adoption of the Constitution of the United States in 1787 down to the 20th of March, 1867, when Congress passed the reconstruction act over the veto of President Johnson. Instead of an act for reconstruction, it was an act for the destruction of constitutional rights and liberty, for the degradation of the white citizens of Mississippi and other Southern States, for the establishment of lawlessness and plunder, and for the licensing of rapine, robbery and corruption.

The ten Southern States were divided into five military districts,

and Mississippi and Arkansas constituted the 4th. By an act of Congress, passed on July 18, 1867, power was given to each commander to remove any civil officer in his district. The 10th section of this act provided that no district commander, member of the board of registration, appointee or officer acting under such commander, shall be bound by any opinion or judgment of any civil officer or tribunal of the United States, or of any of the States named in the reconstruction acts. This act abrogated the Constitution of the United States and conferred on these military commanders absolute and despotic power over the life, liberty and property of the citizens of the Southern States. The will and edicts of the commanders were to be above the Constitution and laws of the land.

Under this act E. C. Ord, commander of the 4th district, appointed a board of registration, conferred the elective franchise on all negroes over 21 years of age, and ordered an election for delegates to a convention to frame a new State constitution. Only a small portion of the white adults of Yazoo county registered, and scarcely any of the Democrats, or native white citizens, voted for delegates to this convention, which met at Jackson in January, 1868. The white citizens of Yazoo county had a fixed and almost unanimous opinion that the reconstruction acts were unconstitutional and would be declared so by the United States Supreme Court. The white citizens, or Democrats, nominated no candidates in Yazoo for this convention, and the election for delegates went by default in favor of the Republicans, or Radicals. At the time of the election the negro vote might have been controlled as many of the former slaves had great confidence in and lived with their old masters and there existed in Yazoo county amicable relations between the two races. The constitution made by this convention disqualified for office and disfranchised all who had voted for secession, and all who had given aid or comfort to the "rebellion," except privates in the army. The people having realized the danger of their apathy, became aroused and defeated the ratification of this constitution at an election held in November, 1868. By an act of Congress another election was held in November, 1869, at which the constitution was adopted without the disfranchising clause. At this election in 1869, Governor, State and county officers were chosen.

By a joint resolution of Congress, passed early in March, 1869, all offices held by persons who could not take the test oath of 1862 were declared vacant. This resolution annulled the election of many officers. Judge Daniel Jones, an old lawyer and a competent and efficient officer, was on this ground deprived of the office of mayor of Yazoo City, being succeeded by one Doane, a carpet-bagger from Ohio, who had been captain of a negro company in the war. Doane on his installation into office was penniless, and made good use of his position as a mantle with which to hide his deeds of spoliation and robbery. He preyed alike on the negro and the white man. Without authority of law, he imposed and collected two dollars on every gun and pistol owned by a negro, and if this tax was not paid the weapon was confiscated. He had self-constituted bailiffs scouring the country, hunting up negroes who had guns, and parties suspected of misdemeanors and crimes. He had no regard for law or evidence, but only for the money arising from fines, no part of which was ever paid into the town or county treasury. This man Doane was one among the first reconstruction civil officers of Yazoo county. He was a military appointee of General Ames and was an *avant-courier* of the Vandal horde which after him came down on us like a pack of wolves on the fold.

The Constitution of 1868, with its disfranchising clauses eliminated by the election of 1869, was ratified and approved by Congress on Feb. 28, 1870. The State and county officers elected in 1869 were then inducted into office. Scarcely one of the new officers could be properly termed a citizen of the county. F. P. Hilliard, the sheriff, a native of Ohio, had resided in Yazoo county before the war, but when the conscript law of 1862 went into effect, he left and took his abode in the Federal lines and did not return to reside here until after the surrender. Members of the Legislature were all Northern booty seekers and adventurers, except one, W. H. Foote, who was an uneducated mulatto barber. The board of police, supervisors of the interests of the county, were illiterate negroes and Northern men, unidentified with the welfare of the community. The justices of the peace in the rural beats were mainly illiterate negroes. As an illustration of the code which governed these judicial officials a negro magistrate near Sartartia

had, in the vacation of his court, a personal difficulty and a fight with another negro, and was pretty badly bruised and battered. At the next sitting of the justice's court he fined the negro who had whipped him \$10 for contempt of court. Yazoo county was entitled to one senator and three members of the lower house of the Legislature, and after 1870 this was apportioned by giving the negroes two members in the House of Representatives.

0 As soon as the radicals came into power, taxes were increased and continued to increase each year. In 1863 the courthouse at Yazoo City was burned by Federal troops. Fortunately the records had all been removed to a place of security, in a remote part of the county, and were saved and returned after the close of the war. After the surrender the county authorities realized that the property holders were too impoverished to bear the taxation necessary for building a new courthouse, and the courts were held for some time in the upper story of a house on Main street. As soon as the Radicals were installed the board of supervisors ordered a new courthouse built and a notice for bids was published, the contract to be let to the lowest bidder according to plans and specifications. A firm in Louisville offered to build it for \$49,000, but this bid was rejected, and it was let by private contract to a member of their pillaging gang, and cost nearly \$87,000. Hilliard, the sheriff, was paid \$5 and Morgan, a State Senator, who was a leader of the Radical gang, \$10 a day to supervise the work. Neither was competent for his duty and neither gave the structure any attention.

In Yazoo county taxes were fourfold greater in 1871 than they were in 1869, and they were increased each year, until in 1874, they were fourteen times as large as in 1869. Taxes on merchandise was so great that family and plantation supplies were sold at enormous prices. Property, especially lands, were arbitrarily assessed far above the market value. Notwithstanding the large amount of revenue, there was annually a deficit of many thousand dollars. There was nothing visible, outside of the building of the courthouse, in the way of improvement to show what had been done with the money. County warrants for teachers, etc., were often sold to office holders at from 50 to 75 per cent below face value, and would be received at par for taxes. This annual increase of taxation, if continued a few years longer, would have

resulted in the confiscation of land and personal property of every kind. By reason of this onerous taxation the market value of well improved lands depreciated to about two years' rental. Many acres of rich, fertile woodlands were forfeited to the State for taxes.

Under this Radical regime negro labor became greatly demoralized. The carpet-baggers impressed on the minds of the negroes that they would be placed back into slavery if the Democrats were again in power. A secret political organization, called the Loyal League, was formed among the negroes by which they were bound by an oath not to vote for a Democrat; and all of its members were to vote and act unitedly in politics and all other public matters. The ruler and leader of the Radical party in Yazoo county was one Albert T. Morgan. He was educated at Oberlin College, Ohio, and had served as lieutenant-colonel of a negro regiment in the Civil War. He was the first outspoken advocate in Yazoo of the social and political equality of the two races, and his faith was shown by marrying a negro woman. This man was a political autocrat in this county; his edicts were law to his party, and none dared to disregard them. He came to Yazoo as early as 1866, leased a plantation, and associated only with negroes. He seemed to shun the society of the resident white citizens. Trusting solely to negroes for instruction as to cultivating his crops, he failed as a planter. He then began his career as a merchant, and sold alone to negroes. Although he failed in this enterprise, and had no property, he lived in affluence, his private revenues being blackmail on office-seekers and office-holders. He assessed and levied tribute on every candidate and office-holder in the county, graded by the emoluments of the office. The following fact will illustrate the supremacy of his authority. While merchandising in Yazoo county in 1871, he became financially pressed, and on Thursday before the election he called on the candidates for sheriff and chancery clerk for about \$1,600. They promised to have the money for him on a certain day after the election. These two candidates had been regularly nominated by a convention of the party, and the tickets with their names on them had been ordered printed. Morgan had new tickets printed with names of other parties substituted, instead of these regular nominees, and they, learning what had been done, came forward

with the money and Morgan told them that they must pay in addition the cost of the new tickets as well as the charges of the colored men whom he had engaged to distribute them at the different voting precincts. The money was promptly paid.

Morgan was the idol of the Yazoo negroes. They superstitiously looked upon him as the chosen and anointed of the Lord, sent to lead them to the land of freedom, where they were to receive forty acres, with a house on it, and a mule. The carpet-baggers and scalawags stood in awe of him, as they realized that by his control of the blacks he held in the palm of his hand not only the offices of the county, which he could dispense at his own will and pleasure, but all public contracts. To Yazoo Radicals he was like the centurion of old, he could say to this one, come, and he came; to another, go, and he went, and to another do this, and he did it.

Under the Constitution of 1868 a gubernatorial term was four years. James L. Alcorn was elected Governor in 1869 and was not inaugurated until March 10th, 1870. The following year he was chosen United States Senator, and was succeeded as governor by Lieutenant Governor Powers. Powers and Ames were opposing candidates for governor in 1873, and Ames received a majority of votes. A contention arose as to when Powers' term of office would expire. He and his friends held that it would not until January, 1875, and Ames and his adherents that it would January, 1874. This issue at one time threatened to bring on an armed conflict between the contending aspirants. It was settled, however, early in 1874 by the Supreme Court of the State in a case from Hinds county, involving the legal right to the county treasurer's office, in favor of Ames and other State and county officers, elected in November, 1873, to be installed in January, 1874.

In 1873 F. P. Hilliard, who was the then incumbent, and Albert T. Morgan were opposing candidates for sheriff of Yazoo county. Morgan, who was of the Ames faction, was elected by a large majority. Hilliard, who was of the Powers faction, refused to vacate, and had the office stored with firearms and ammunition, and kept a strong guard on hand to resist any attack or effort of violence by Morgan and his followers to obtain possession of the courthouse and offices. It was said at the time that the guns and ammunition belonged to the State and were furnished by Gov-

ernor Powers, being shipped back to Jackson after Hilliard's death. Early one morning in January, 1874, Hilliard's men who were on guard, suspecting no danger, seeing that there were no men around or in sight, went to breakfast, leaving the courthouse and the sheriff's office in charge of only one young man, a brother-in-law of Hilliard, who was instructed to give the agreed signal if force was threatened. Morgan, ever on the alert and watching his opportunity, speedily summoned an armed band of negroes which he had organized for the purpose, rushed into the office and took forcible possession. The alarm was given and Hilliard quickly gathering a posse of men, sought to drive out Morgan and his followers. As he entered, pistols were rapidly discharged. Hilliard, receiving a fatal shot, was borne from the courthouse to the street, and died in a few minutes. Several others were wounded but not mortally. This affray occurred a few days before the decision of the Supreme Court mentioned above. Morgan was arrested, waived trial before a justice, sued out a writ of habeas corpus, returnable before Chancellor W. A. Drennan at Yazoo City, was found guilty of murder, and remanded to jail without bail. Governor Ames for this cause alone removed Drennan and appointed Thomas Walton of Oxford chancellor in his stead. Under the law, Morgan's remedy, if he was not guilty of murder, was by appeal to the Supreme Court, but the Legislature then in session usurped the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and passed a special act granting Morgan a new trial, which was shortly after heard by Walton, and Morgan was released on a small bond. The succeeding grand jury ignored an indictment against Morgan and he went free, officiating as sheriff until the latter part of 1875, when he fled the county and was never seen in Mississippi again.

The judiciary and the administration of law and justice was a burlesque and a travesty on courts. The juries were in all cases composed mainly of negroes, who had an idiom of language peculiar to themselves, which it is hard for educated people unused to associate with them to understand and the words and language used by white people are incomprehensible to the negro. In most cases the negro jurors could not comprehend the testimony of white witnesses or the arguments of the lawyers. These negro juries cared but little for law or evidence, as is shown by the fol-

lowing illustration. A man was tried for his life. Six of the jurors were white men, and were for acquittal, and six were negroes, and were for conviction. It was winter, and the jury were kept together in a room, made comfortable with good fires and beds, and were fed on the best fare of the hotels and boarding houses. The negroes were obstinate, deaf to argument and persuasion. One of the jurors requested the sheriff to move out half of the beds, to kindle no more fires, and to bring no more supper. In a few hours the negro jurors gathered together in a corner of the room, and, after carrying on a whispered conference, came up to the foreman of the jury and said, "Mr. Taylor, we's all ready to go which ever way you all want to go; if you say hang him we's willing to hang, and if you say turn him loose, we say turn him loose." And so a verdict of acquittal was rendered.

Governor Alcorn announced on his entrance into office that he would appoint as judges only men more learned in the law than their fellows. His appointees in some instances must have been measured as to their knowledge of the law by their colored fellow citizens. Judge Schackelford, the first circuit judge of this district, in a case before him in which counsel on one side brought an array of decisions of our State court and also an opinion of the United States Supreme court decided against all these authorities, remarking that the law was in a chaotic condition and that he had no respect for decisions of the Supreme Court of the State and that he was as much entitled to his opinion as Judge Chase was to his. The ambition of the judge was to hang or send to the penitentiary a white man, and when one was on trial for a felonious crime, all the weight and influence of the court by its rulings and instructions were thrown against him. In one instance a white man was on trial for felony. The jury was out a day or two without agreement. On Saturday evening court adjourned until Monday morning, many cases awaiting trial. After supper the judge came down to the court room and learned that the jury stood three (negroes) for conviction and nine (white) men for acquittal. He ordered in the absence of the accused and his counsel that the jury be discharged and directed the clerk to write up his minutes, which was done that night and early Sunday morning, and on the Sabbath day, the order was made that the court adjourn sine die. The minutes were signed by the judge

Sunday morning and he left on the stage coach for home about 11 o'clock. The day following, the sheriff, ignorant of what had transpired, proclaimed at the appointed hour, "Oh yez, oh yez!" The Circuit Court of Yazoo county has now met pursuant to adjournment." Many other instances of similar judicial eccentricities could be mentioned as illustrations of the power exercised by the reconstruction judges, "learned in the law above their fellows." Cunningham, who succeeded Schakelford, was unlearned in the law, but administered justice as he understood it. At intervals the chancery and circuit clerks' offices were filled by negroes wholly incompetent and incapable of writing orders or the minutes. These were assisted by white deputies.

From the beginning of 1870 the people of Yazoo county had groaned under Radical misrule and the heavy weight of burdensome taxation and official corruption. The negroes were the controlling power in elections. In every canvass the Democrats made earnest appeals to the negroes, and through their public speakers exposed the perfidy and nefarious purposes and schemes of the Radical leaders. But it was all in vain. Reason, facts and figures made no more impression on the negro mind than the singing of Psalms would have made on the ear of a dead horse. 1875 was election year for all county offices; the white citizens of Yazoo county realized that their future would be fraught with ruin if they could not overthrow Radicalism. The property holders knew that they would be stripped to the skin, and with their wives and families become houseless and homeless in the future, unless these marauders were defeated, and the Radicals realized that if they were defeated their revenues from official robbery would cease. The canvass began in Yazoo county about the middle of August, 1875. The Radicals held in a large room, on the second story of a house on Main street, in Yazoo City, a night meeting, to which all were invited. Some Democrats were in attendance as listeners and lookers on. Violent speeches were made by Radical orators. Some of the negroes were insolent in their taunts to the Democrats, who retorted. A riot ensued, several pistol shots were exchanged, and a white man named Mitchell, deputy sheriff under Morgan, was killed. The lights were put out, the negroes became panic stricken and fled from the room; some down the stairs and some in company with Morgan leaped from the windows of the

second story, which was about twenty feet to the ground. Apprehensions were felt that the negroes might rally, arm themselves and renew the conflict. The fire bell was rung and couriers quickly spread to the homes of the white people and gave the alarm. Soon a large crowd of citizens assembled. To prevent the Radicals and their negro followers getting possession of the town, armed patrols were placed in every block of the streets. They remained on duty all night, and this precaution was continued for many weeks. Rumors had been prevalent for some time that Morgan and his radical staff had organized armed negro companions in the neighborhood of Yazoo City. News of the riot quickly spread through the county, and the next day after its occurrence the town was thronged with men, armed with rifles and shotguns, who tendered their services for protection against any attack of the Radicals and negroes. The white citizens organized into companies to resist and suppress violence. It was reported that armed companies were on Wolfe Lake, about eight miles distant from Yazoo City, and in other localities in the county. They were promptly suppressed, however, and were forced to disband. Morgan, the executive head of the Radicals, and the one on whom the negro implicitly relied, lay hid for three or four days and nights in a negro's house in Yazoo City, and although diligent and thorough search was made for him he eluded his searchers and escaped on horseback through the country to Jackson to confer with Governor Ames on the situation. He never returned to Yazoo county. Nearly all the other Radical leaders fled to regions unknown. Morgan, although absent and safe under the protection of Governor Ames, by means of his emissaries and couriers kept up a regular communication with the leading negroes, and through them sought to organize armed companies to resist and vanquish the whites, but their efforts were fruitless. The citizens were on the alert and kept close vigil on the negroes both day and night. Whenever and wherever an outbreak was threatened it was promptly suppressed. A dozen or more riot-inciting negroes were hanged and shot. The negroes by ten-fold or more outnumbered the whites, and in an armed conflict with the whites might have been successful, but there was no man among them capable of unifying and organizing their strength. By more than five years tutelage under these Vandal carpet-baggers the negroes had been educated to the firm belief that the success of Democracy and

white supremacy would mean slavery for them, and with this crystallized on their minds they would have been ready to burn and massacre, if their renegade chiefs had possessed the courage to remain and lead them on. Taking counsel of fear and affrighted by guilty consciences, the vagabond carpet-baggers and the renegade scalawag, with white skins and black hearts, sought safety by flight to distant parts, leaving the negro alone to bear the brunt of the conflict which they had incited.

About the middle of October, 1875, Morgan and others at Jackson prevailed on Governor Ames to send to Yazoo City a regiment of State militia, which was composed largely of negroes. These troops left Hinds county, and after proceeding some distance on their way they learned that the people of Yazoo were prepared to meet them in organized companies on the border of the county. They then turned and retraced their steps. If the plan, concocted by the Yazoo Radicals and Ames had been carried out, there would have been a bloody conflict. The citizens of Yazoo were apprised in time of this contemplated invasion. Scouts were sent out from Yazoo to reconnoiter and to watch the movements of the foe. Friends in Jackson kept the executive committee of Democrats in Yazoo county well posted. About eight hundred men, citizens of the county, many of them ex-Confederate soldiers, well armed with Winchester rifles, with a full supply of cartridges, went out to meet Governor Ames' militia and to open fire on them as soon as they had crossed Big Black river and put their feet on the soil of Yazoo county. But the militia, warned of their danger, avoided it by countermarching back to Jackson.

This proposed invasion of the negro State militia was about three weeks before the election in November, 1875. From this time to the day of the election, the negroes, awed and subdued by the firm and determined action of the white people, were comparatively quiet and peaceable. Before the close of the political campaign, a great many of them were organized by the white citizens into Democratic clubs, each of which turned out as a body on the day of election and voted the Democratic ticket. The negroes were mistrustful of their action for some time after the election, and looked with anxiety and some apprehension as to the result of Democratic supremacy on their status as freedmen and citizens. But in time all fears on this subject passed away. They became satisfied, and good feeling and confidence once more prevailed between the two races.

From the middle of August continuously until November, 1875, Yazoo county presented a warlike scene. Business of all kinds was suppressed. Merchants released their clerks, lawyers abandoned their offices, courts were suspended, and the whole county looked as if there were actual hostilities. It was an almost every day occurrence to see mounted scouts traversing the county and frequently armed companies marching to localities of reported uprisings of armed negroes. Every man as he lay down at night had his loaded gun in easy reach, ready to respond to a call for his services, which might come at any moment. No man knew but that a bloody conflict might come at any hour of the day or night. Many emissaries were sent from Jackson in the latter part of October with printed Radical tickets for distribution, but they were closely watched, and the tickets were taken from them and destroyed.

The election was held on Tuesday, and on the Sunday before a man who bore the reputation of being fearless and courageous came over from Jackson under the reputed authority of Governor Ames with Radical tickets, fully posted as to the negroes who were to meet him, receive the tickets, and distribute them at the various voting precincts. His coming and his mission were known to the Democrats, who were also aware of his fondness for the inebriating liquor. Some young men greeted him as he alighted from the stage and escorted him to his hotel and evinced their hospitality by presenting him with a large jug, which was kept well filled with Kentucky whisky. The man was kept in partly a hilarious and partly a comatose condition, encircled by a coterie of young men. He never met or saw his ticket distributors, and even if he had it would have been to no purpose, since the tickets were lost and never found. This man left on the day of the election, and as he took his departure he said that he was afraid if he stayed longer he would turn Democrat, having never met nor seen before such pleasant, kind and hospitable people as the Yazoo Democrats. There was a full vote cast at this election, and the result was the almost unanimous choice of the Democratic candidates. Only about half a dozen votes were polled for the Radical candidates. This ended, after five long, dreary and oppressive years of lawless domination, the reconstruction rule of the Radicals in Yazoo county.



Col. Felix Labauve.

COL. FELIX LABAUVE.

BY PAUL H. SAUNDERS.¹

November 16, 1809, in the little village of Vouziers, France, in the Department of Ardennes, there was born to Capt. Felix Labauve and Anne Francoise Mengy a son, to whom his father's name was given.

The father, Felix Labauve, born in 1741, was a retired captain of the French army, who had served his country with distinction in Algiers and in America, being present with Rochambeau at the surrender of Yorktown. He likewise took an active part in the French Revolution and was given a commission as captain by the Directorate, October 1, 1793. In 1806, when captain in the 28th regiment, he was presented with a saber of honor for distinguished services against the Russian general, Suwaroff, at Saint Gotthard's Pass. An imperial decree making him an officer in the Legion of Honor, signed by the first Napoleon, was among the most cherished possessions of his son, the subject of this sketch, which decree was willed by him to Col. T. W. White, of Hernando, Miss., and is still owned by his family. Among other papers, which were preserved by Col. Felix Labauve, are his father's commission as captain of Company C in the army of the Directorate, the marriage certificate of his parents, an application of his widowed mother for a pension, in which his father's services to his country are set forth, and a recommendation for the same signed by various officers, the will of his mother, his own naturalization papers, his license to practice law and letters from his cousin, Bertha Ponsin.

Little is known of his childhood in France. His father died March 11, 1815, and two years later he was sent by his mother, then in straitened circumstances, to her brothers, who were prosperous merchants in Camden, South Carolina. He was reared by these uncles and from them received the clerkly accomplishments which distinguished him through life.

¹ A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in *Who's Who in America*, 1903-4.—EDITOR.

The extent of his scholastic training is not known, but while he probably did not have a collegiate education his conversation and writing showed him to be fairly well grounded in the usages and laws of his adopted language.

In 1835, moved by the desire to carve out his own fortunes in the then undeveloped West, and having received some property from his uncles, he emigrated to Noxubee county, Mississippi, and purchased a farm near Macon. Finding that planting was not to his taste, he sold his property in 1836 and moved to the eastern part of DeSoto county, near the present location of the town of Cockrum. Here he carried on a mercantile business, trading chiefly with the Indians and traveling at times with his goods from village to village. In 1838 he came to Hernando, which was first called Jefferson, the county site of DeSoto county, organized in 1836 by a bill introduced by Senator A. G. McNutt, of Warren county. This town was built on land contributed in part by Edward Orne, and a court house at a cost of \$18,000 and a jail at \$12,000 was built from the proceeds of the sale of town lots. Hernando became the home of many of the wealthiest and most aristocratic families in North Mississippi, and the remains of many handsome residences tell of its ante-bellum glory. Felix Labauve read law while carrying on his mercantile business and was admitted to the bar, but he was never very actively engaged in the practice. He was an ardent Democrat and took an important part in the political excitement of that time.

He first appeared before the people as a candidate for the State Senate in 1839, but was defeated. In 1843 he was elected to the Lower House from DeSoto county. The following extract from *The Phoenix*, of which paper he was, in 1841 and 1842, joint owner and editor with John Levins, gives a graphic picture of his stand on the political questions of the day and the esteem in which he was held by his fellow-citizens:

Oct. 14, 1843.

"A Circular to the Democrats of DeSoto County.

"Upon the withdrawal of Col. Henry W. Anderson, the following letters were addressed by me to Messrs. Kyle, Hancock, and General Boone:

"Hernando, Sept. 28, 1843.

"Dear Sir:

"Ardent devotion to the cause of equal rights would impel me to make any sacrifice to insure its success. Opposition to the money power. to the funding system, to one generation imposing onerous debts upon a succeeding generation for purposes not necessary to sustain the liberty

and honor of the people or of the State shall ever be waged by me. The supremacy of the Constitution, its guarantees to us *all* of our civic and political rights over that of usurpers shall be ever maintained by me as long as I live. A National Bank, bankrupt law, tariff for protection, distribution, assumption of State debts—all this batch are measures by which our glorious Union is to be annihilated and upon its ruins to be built up an aristocratic government aping that of England. For these I entertain a Carthaginian hatred and will never cease to wage war to effect their downfall. With these opinions I am a candidate for the Legislature. We are now nearly on the eve of the election, and a full meeting of the people cannot be got together. There is a feeling calling for a farmer to represent this county in the Legislature. Assured that your independent and worthy course (as a representative of this county) has made you known favorably to the voters of the county, I will retire from the canvass in your favor, the situation I now occupy, and enter in the rank and file to fight for the perpetuation of the principles of '76 with all the ardor of a true soldier. Should you not consent to appear before the people they shall not want an advocate as a candidate. An early answer from you will greatly oblige,

"Your friend,

"FELIX LABAUVE."

"Oct. 1, 1843.

"Col. Felix Labauve:

"In answer to your letter I cannot consent to become a candidate for the Legislature. My private affairs require my attention and I cannot in justice to my family enter into the contest. I regret that you should believe that a farmer is more acceptable to the people than yourself. Your early settlement in the county, your character for high-toned honor, and unbending integrity, as well as your well known devotion to Republican principles forbid such a conjecture. So far as I know the sentiment of the people of the southern part of the county, they are anxious that the man who has been so long tried and found so true as a soldier in the ranks should for a time at least be honored with a commission.

"Respectfully yours,

"T. W. HANCOCK."

"Daniel Boone and C. Kyle also decline.

"From the above it is evident that I was not overly anxious to thrust myself upon the people of the county. Being informed that there was a small portion of the Democrats in the northern part of the county preferring a farmer for the Legislature I was induced to adopt the course herein demonstrated. Those popular gentlemen having refused to enter the contest at this time, I am, therefore, before the people of DeSoto county as a candidate for the lower branch of our State Legislature. If honored with a seat in the Legislature, my best efforts shall be to promote the interest of the people of DeSoto county and of the State of Mississippi. I will have an opportunity between now and the election to make known fully my views upon the subject before the county.

"Respectfully,

"FELIX LABAUVE."

It will be observed that he is here addressed as "Colonel Felix Labauve," which title he held to his death. How he won this distinction is not known to the writer or to any of his acquaintances in Hernando. It was probably given *causa honoris* by the lavish spirit of republicanism, which scorns to confine her honors to doughty deeds with the sword, but has all worthy sons in every

walk of life to kneel before her and dubs them "Captain," "Colonel," "General," "Judge," by right of freedom of speech and freedom of the press, thus vindicating the sovereignty of the people. The following resolutions, introduced February 22, in this session of the Legislature by Felix Labauve and reproduced in the Hernando Free Press, give a fair idea of his position on the subjects of repudiation and Congressional districts:

"Resolved, That it is the natural and constitutional right of the people to dictate, direct, and control through their representatives the expenditures of their government; and that their representatives have not a right to pecuniarily involve the State for banking, bonding or any other gambling speculation.

"Resolved, That as the question of the liability of the people of the State of Mississippi for the payment of certain bonds, known as the Planters' Bank Bonds has not yet been discussed and passed upon by the Legislature, the voice of the people on that question should first be heard and their opinion thereon and will with regard thereto be distinctly expressed and ascertained before any further legislative action is had in relation to such bonds.

"Resolved, That as the will of the people of the State of Mississippi has not been expressed and is not known with regard to the projects of dividing the State into Congressional districts, and whereas the people of Mississippi have at no time manifested a desire to alter, or abolish the modes, to which they are accustomed, of electing their Congressional representatives by general ticket, therefore, the House does not deem itself called upon or bound to politically disunite and disintegrate the State by dividing it into Congressional districts (a bill to be entitled an act to divide the State of Mississippi into four Congressional districts).

"Resolved, That each Legislature is but the representative agent of the people by whom it is elected, and has no right or just power to act for past or future Legislatures; that it is only bound to legislate for the constituency which elected it; that the action of one Legislature is not binding on a subsequent Legislature; and that therefore this Legislature is not bound to make a provision by taxation or otherwise other than is necessary to defray the expenses of the Government during the two years for which it was elected to legislate for the people."

In 1844 he visited his old home in Camden, South Carolina. The following notes made by Col. Labauve with reference to his trip give some idea of the time required for travel:

"Left DeSoto in July, arrived in Camden in August. Left Camden sometime in September, arrived in New York, October 14."

There appeared in *The Phoenix* of April 26, 1845, the following call and editorial, indicating incidentally the length of his stay in New York:

"Sir, it is the wish of many old and tried Democrats that Col. Felix Labauve will permit his name to go before the people as a candidate for the Legislature at the November election.

(Signed)

MANY DEMOCRATS."

"We cheerfully endorse the request of 'Many Democrats.' During the past legislative session Col. Labauve as one of the representatives of this county was always to be found at his post. He is, as every man who is acquainted with him knows, a Democrat, true as steel, and clear of alloy as virgin gold.

"He is second to none in his devotion to Republican faith and had rendered his quota of service to the advancement of Democratic principles. Since the foregoing was put in type we have had the pleasure of shaking the Colonel by the hand, on his return from the scenes of his boyhood in the old Palmetto State."

Col. Labauve accepted the call and announced his candidacy for re-election to the Legislature, but at Samuel Johnson's mill - on June 25 he changed his candidacy from the lower to the upper branch of the Legislature for the district composed of Washington, Bolivar, Sunflower, Issequena, Coahoma, Tunica and DeSoto counties. In commenting on this in an editorial John Lavins says:

"The faithful service he has rendered the community, his sterling worth, and unwavering adherence to the doctrines promulgated by Jefferson and successfully carried out by Jackson endear him to the Democrats of DeSoto."

He was elected after considerable opposition by the Know-Nothings, based on his being a Frenchman, as is shown by the following editorial of November 8, 1845:

"Col. Labauve, this long tried and consistent advocate of Democratic principles, is elected beyond doubt State Senator from this district. All the machination of party management and Nativism were used against him, but availed not. The few F. F. V's that are in this country cannot prevail over the heightened feeling and spirit that animate the hearts of the majority of both contending political parties. We are proud to record the fact that the Whigs of this county repudiated the odious doctrines of Nativism."

Col. Labauve served in the Senate for four years. In 1853 he was elected clerk of the Circuit Court of DeSoto County. In 1856 he was re-elected and held the office for five years.

Col. Labauve was a pronounced Southern man and took decided grounds for the secession of Mississippi. Though too old for active service, his ardent and warlike spirit would not permit him to remain idle at home. He was frequently with the army, and acted as a member of the staffs of the generals of the armies he visited. On one occasion he captured single handed four of the enemy, an account of which is given in these extracts from a Hernando paper:

"DeSoto in the Fight! The following we copy from the *Memphis Appeal* of Sunday, it speaks for itself: 'Memphis, July 27, 1861. Editors of the *Appeal*; will you please give the following a place in your popular and valuable journal? I was attached as an independent skirmisher to the 17th Regiment, Mississippi Volunteers, commanded by Col. W. S. Featherston. The document explains itself and it needs no additional remarks from me. F. Labauve:

"Bull's Run near Manassas. Col. Featherston: Mr. Felix Labauve on yesterday was found at the house where Sherman's battery was driven from by Gen. Jones' brigade. He captured four of the enemy and had their arms at his feet, when Col. Terry made him approach, supposing him to be one of the enemy, and in consequence thereof three of the prisoners escaped. Since then he has been in my command. M. S. Langhorne, Captain Co. A., 11th Regiment Virginia Volunteers, Blackburns Ford, July 22, 1861.

"Confederate States of America, War Department, Richmond, July 6, 1861. Felix Labauve has permission to visit Fairfax upon his honor as a man that he will not communicate in writing or verbally for publication any facts obtained by him. (Signed) L. P. Walker, Secretary of War, by A. T. Bledsoe, Chief of Bureau.

"This passport was taken from Mr. Labauve by Colonels Terry and Lubbeck of my staff in consequence of his being separated from his people and his getting in advance of all our troops. Col. Terry very naturally supposed there were none of our people in front of us, and Mr. Labauve was the only one. It was an unfortunate mistake, but a very natural one. (Signed) J. Longstreet, Brigadier General.

I state that Col. Labauve was in possession of four prisoners when the mistake occurred. P. T. Manning, A. D. C., General Longstreet."

This incident aptly illustrates his fearless and impetuous nature.

Col. Labauve was for some time in this trying period employed as an accountant to bring up the books of the Auditor of the State while Macon was the seat of government, a duty for which he was eminently fit and which he performed with fidelity and efficiency.

After the war he was a member of the Lower House of the Legislature, which met in 1866. Later, though he used all his influence and power for the re-establishment of white supremacy and the overthrow of the carpetbag government, he held no public office except that of Commissioner of the State of Mississippi to the Exposition at Paris in 1877, to which he was appointed by Gov. J. M. Stone. Col. Labauve on his return to his native land found himself a stranger. His mother, Anne Francoise Mengy, had died in 1849; his sister, Marie Antoinette, in 1855. Col. Labauve left the following memoranda with reference to other relations:

"Gustave Ponsin, son of my mother's half sister died in Paris in 1875; his widow has since married. Bertha Ponsin is living with her at Fere

in Ardennes, Aisne, France. She is the only relative that I know at present, May 1, 1877."

To this he adds with pathetic loneliness, "very remote." June 12, 1879, he died in his old home in Hernando, Miss., surrounded by the friends of his manhood and old age, and now lies just without the cemetery in Hernando on the spot of his own choosing. In death as in life—alone.

In personal appearance Col. Labauve was a typical Frenchman, as is shown by the handsome oil painting of him which hangs in the chancellor's office at the University of Mississippi. He was medium in stature, erect in carriage, scrupulously neat in dress, a veritable Beau Brummel, with linen ever immaculate, and his blue broadcloth spotless. He was quick in motion, animated in conversation, given to gesticulation and forceful expression, of undoubted courage, ever ready to defend his own or his friend's honor. His life-long friend and the executor of his will, Col. T. W. White, of Hernando, Miss., gives the following estimate of his character:

"Col. Labauve was a man of very pronounced individuality. No one was more tenacious of the right or more ardent in the cause he once espoused. Friendship was to him the pledge of a loyalty to its object which never stopped to count what such loyalty might cost. To his enemies he was unyielding, but just, and in his later years he could count among his firmest friends and warmest admirers those who had once been his political opponents and often his foes. He was brave, he was honest, he was charitable and full of gratitude to all who had ever done him a favor. A foreigner without relatives, he had never married, but he always looked upon the people of DeSoto county where he lived so long as his family. By patient industry, economy, and thrift he had acquired a handsome competency, and after his death it was found that he had made a handsome bequest to a young female relative in France, several gifts to the families of persons who had been his friends when he first came to the county and the remainder to endow scholarships for orphans of the county to which he had been an honor and which had advanced and honored him."

The will of Col. Labauve, written by his own hand, reads as follows:

FELIX LABAUVE'S LAST WILL.

I, Felix Labauve knowing the uncertainty of life do make and publish this my last will and Testament, in the manner following. That is to say:

I desire my remains to be enterred on Lot 426 at the most eligible place to be selected by my Executor hereafter named, a monument to be erected to cost not over five hundred dollars, inclosed with iron railing, the inscription thereon to be, Felix Labauve, born at Vouziers on the 16th, November, 1809, France. Died on the ———

Aged.

I give, demise and bequeath the following sums to the following persons, namely:

To widow Helena Cobb, nee Hood, of Texas, one thousand dollars. To widow Jennie Payne, nee Halloway, of DeSoto, one thousand dollars. To widow E. J. Williams, nee Hancock, of Tate, five hundred dollars and her note. To Miss Bertha Ponsin of Fere in Ardennes, France five thousand dollars which shall be held by my Executor and invested as he may think safe and best and the interest paid to her yearly for life, should she die within ten years, but in case she lives ten years longer then I wish the amount paid to her. But should she die within ten years after my death having no children living at her death, I wish the money to be paid to the hospital of the town of Vouziers Department Des Ardennes, France. But should she die leaving children then my will is, that the said money shall be paid over to their legal guardian.

To Henry Elder of Natchez, Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, and his successors Lots 426-427-428 on sec. 13-T.-3-R.-8. De Soto (county) except that part on lot 426 reserved for my remains, for the sole use and purpose of erecting a Roman Catholic Chapel. To Master F. B. White, son of my executor, my watch and chain, then the rest and residue of my property of every kind I devote to the creation of a scholarship in the University of Miss. to be called Labauve's scholarship for the education of boys in the University and their support while there who are orphans, children of worthy parents and citizens of DeSoto county and who are to be educated and presented by my executor, or in the event of his death or resignation of this trust then the President for the time being of said University and his successors the proceeds, and income only to be used for that purpose and the principal sum to remain untouched, and such property my said executor shall invest when realized in such manner as in his judgment will best carry out the object in view and to retain the same during his life, unless he shall desire to surrender the same, in such case or in case of death I direct that such funds shall be paid over to the Treasurer of the University, on the condition that the bond of such Treasurer shall be conditioned for the safe keeping of said fund and the proper disbursement of same.

I desire my Executor to take charge of my family relics and dispose of them as he thinks most proper.

I make and constitute and appoint my friend, Thomas W. White, my Executor of this will and he is empowered to sell real and personal property either at private or public sales as he may judge best.

There shall be no bond required of him to execute this trust.

In witness whereof I have set my hand and seal this 16th day of April, A. D. 1879.

F. LABAUVE.

Filed July 11th, 1879.

R. R. WEST,
Clerk.

Its provisions were faithfully carried out by his able executor, Col. T. W. White, one of Mississippi's most brilliant lawyers and successful men, who was appointed a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of Mississippi in 1880, and served until his death in 1889. Up to his death this fund was entirely under his control, and to him honor is due by the University and the State of Mississippi for his wise and able management of this trust fund, as well as his deep interest in the development and

betterment of the University. This fund has since then been managed by the chancellor of the University, with the advice and assistance of the trustee from DeSoto county, which county is for this reason continually represented on the board. The following gentlemen have served in this capacity: Thos. W. White, Jr., 1889-1892; Hon. Donald McKinzie, 1892-1895; Hon. E. W. Smith, 1895-1902; Hon. F. C. Holmes, 1902. Each of these gentlemen has earnestly and capably performed the duties of the office. The appointments to scholarships are made by the chancellor on recommendation of the DeSoto county trustee, and more than fifty young men, who probably could not otherwise have attended college, have been given the opportunity to obtain a collegiate education. Of this number about twenty-five have graduated and gone out to take their places among the leaders and upbuilders of their county and State. It is the present policy to require of these students satisfactory performance of their scholastic duties, and any disinclination to make full use of this rare opportunity when given, results in the appointment of another. The fund at present amounts to \$21,805.62, and is invested in notes and bonds, the income from which is \$1,632.45. From \$225 to \$300 is allowed each student on this fund annually, a sum sufficient to meet all expenses. There are at present seven students at the university on this fund: two in the law department and five in the literary. How great a good will result from this bequest in the course of time is scarcely to be estimated.

This brief review of the life of Felix Labauve shows that while he was honored by his people for his integrity, faithful discharge of all public and private obligations and for his general worth as a man, that no one of his achievements in life was such as to raise him far above the plane of mediocrity or cause him to be remembered and revered by future generations. Many men of his day and time, more influential in affairs of State and more distinguished for unselfish devotion to country and duty, are all but forgotten, but by his last will and testament he might well say with Horace:

*"Exegi monumentum aere perennius
regalique situ pyramidum altius,
quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
possit diruere aut innumerabilis
annorum series et fuga temporum."*

(I have completed a monument more lasting than brass, higher than the crumbling magnificence of the pyramids, one that not the corroding rains nor the raging north wind nor countless cycles of years, nor the flight of time can destroy.)

What were the forces or the thoughts which led him to this action cannot be said, but in the light of his own youth, being left an orphan when but seven years of age, without the means to gratify his probable ambition for self-culture, it may safely be conjectured that his heart went out in sympathy for the orphan boys of his county, born and unborn, and that he determined to return through them to the land and the people of his adoption the full measure of favor they had shown to him. In this day, when the gift of the Rhodes scholarships has excited the plaudits and gratitude of all English-speaking nations, it is worth while for Mississippians to pause and do honor to another foreigner, Felix Labauve, who has thus so wisely and so generously made provision for the advancement of a portion of Mississippi's youth. What would Mississippi be in half a century if every county had a Felix Labauve? John Harvard's modest gift has brought forth its thousand fold. Is it too much to hope that Felix Labauve's may bring forth its hundred fold? It is a notable fact that the first and the only Mississippian to make permanent provision out of his private means for the education of indigent youths was a foreigner by birth. Others have given liberally to the establishment or furtherance of educational institutions, but he alone has felt and satisfied the longing of the fatherless and the needy to enjoy the opportunities which such institutions afford. Let all Mississippians join with the sons of the fathers and the mothers of the sons who have enjoyed his munificence in doing honor to his memory.



Greenwood LeFlore.

GREENWOOD LE FLORE.

By MRS. N. D. DEUPREE.¹

The Choctaws, a large and powerful tribe, occupied the territory between the Mississippi and Tombigbee rivers, from the frontiers of the Colapisas and Biloxis on the shores of Lake Pontchartrain and Lake Borgne to the frontiers of the Natchez, Yazoo and Chickasaws. They owned more than fifty important villages, and at one time could have sent 25,000 warriors into battle. *Chacta* means in Choctaw "charming voice," and the name was given to the tribe because of their musical talent and soft melodious voices. Very little is known of their origin, though there is a tradition that their ancestors came from the west. The tribe was led by two brothers, Chacta and Chicksa, each at the head of his *iksa*, or clan, and, after crossing the great Father of Waters, the clans separated, the Chiksas going north and the Chactas moving south to the headwaters of the Pearl river. The Choctaws were most conspicuous for their love of truth and hatred of falsehood; they were superstitious, believing in witchcraft, and though their ideas of divinity were imperfect, they believed in the existence of a Great Spirit, who would lead the good and honest braves to a happy hunting ground after death, but would condemn the lazy and dishonest to a country destitute of game. The Choctaws were friendly to the white men, first to the French and afterwards to the Americans, and were ever ready to take up arms against hostile tribes or the English. One of the most distinguished men of this nation was Push-ma-ta-ha, a native Mississippian. During the War of 1812, Pushmataha declared himself in sympathy with the Americans, collected a regiment of his best warriors and offered their services to General Jackson. The regiment was accepted and behaved valiantly during the war. Pushmataha was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, and Louis Le Fleur, serving in the same regiment, was promoted for valor to the rank of major.

¹ A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VI., p. 245.
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Louis LeFleur, father of Greenwood, was a Frenchman by birth. He came to Mobile in 1792 and engaged in trading from that point to the Choctaw nation. One of his trading stations was called LeFleur's Bluff, about where the city of Jackson now stands. While trading with the Indians LeFleur fell in love with a beautiful Indian girl, Rebecca Cravat, and married her. Their son, born June 3, 1800, was named Greenwood for an English sea-captain, a friend and once a partner of Louis LeFleur.

When Greenwood was about 12 years old, his father moved to Choctaw county and settled near the old "Natchez Trace," a stage line from Nashville, Tenn., to Natchez, Miss. Here he kept a house of entertainment for stage passengers. Major John Donly, of Nashville, had a Government contract to carry the United States mail from Nashville to Natchez, and on his trips always stopped at the LeFleur tavern. As LeFleur was a Frenchman, travelers called the place French Camp, a name it still retains,—noted for an excellent school under control of the Presbyterians. Major Donly, while stopping at LeFleur's, became much interested in the bright and intelligent Indian boy, who could not speak a word of English, and persuaded Major LeFleur to allow him to take the boy to Nashville and educate him. Major Donly took Greenwood into his own home and kept him for six years. Here he learned a lesson not usually found in text-books, though often learned at school, *i. e.*, to love the fair daughter of the home, Rosa Donly. True to the high sense of honor that always controlled his actions, he apprised Major Donly of his love for Miss Rosa and his wish to marry her. Her parents objected on account of the youthfulness of both parties. Sometime afterward, when the love story had apparently been forgotten, Greenwood asked Major Donly what he would do if he were in love with a lady and her parents objected. He replied, "I would steal her and run away with her." A few days later, the young man took his advice, ran away with Rosa to a neighbor's house and married her. Major Donly sent for them to come home. They came, but soon removed to Mississippi, where young LeFlore rapidly gained prominence and position. Of Choctaw and Caucasian blood, he bore within his stalwart frame the noblest traits of both races. He had fathomed the natures of the white man and the red, and he was able to cope with either. He was shrewd and far-seeing; social, yet reserved;

ambitious as Lucifer, yet guarded in expression; an earnest advocate and promoter of reform and education; a supporter of missionaries, though not a believer in foreign missions. His creed was that self-preservation is the first law, not only of nature, but of governments and peoples, and that there was no other danger so great to a people as ignorance. He counseled to educate the highways and the byways of our republic, to invade the nooks and corners where ignorance and vice prevailed, and by educating and evangelizing the people to banish evil from the country. He believed that education came first and Christianization next.

In 1822, when the Choctaws elected a chief, Greenwood LeFlore, though but 22 years of age, was chosen to the high office. At this time the title of colonel was conferred upon him, and he was honored with the sword and medal which Thomas Jefferson had bestowed upon a former chief. The sword is a magnificent blue-steel blade, with a gold-mounted handle; the medal is of silver, about four inches in diameter, symbolic of the peace and good will existing between the Choctaws and the United States, conveying the assurance of friendliness to the Indians so long as they remained true in their allegiance to the Federal Government. Upon one side of the medal is the pipe of peace laid across the tomahawk, beneath are two hands clasped in brotherly affection. The other side bears the words "Peace and Prosperity," the name of the President and the date 1802. It is the proud boast of the Choctaws that they have never raised a weapon against the Federal Government, but in various times of trouble have proved themselves valuable allies. Therefore, Colonel LeFlore felt that he could honorably wear the President's medal. Four years later he was re-elected chief of his nation. His influence over the Indians was good and was felt throughout the entire nation. He induced many of them to educate their children, established regular meetings of the Council to enact laws for the support of teachers, put down witchcraft and sorcery and secured to every homicide a fair trial, despite the Indian unwritten law of "blood for blood and life for life," whether a killing was accidental or premeditated. He prevented the sale of intoxicants under the penalty of a severe whipping. He also encouraged religious and civil marriage, permanent residence, profitable cultivation of the soil, religious instruction and Christian worship. His own

brother-in-law was the first to violate the law against selling intoxicants, and upon him the punishment was inflicted without hesitation or mitigation under the supervision of the chief. This substantially put an end to the illicit traffic, and, had he remained in power, these reforms would have reclaimed his nation and pushed it rapidly toward the front in civilization and purity of life; but the treaty of Dancing Rabbit stripped him of the necessary power.

As an illustration, the following story may be cited. The Choctaws met one day in grand council. Painted warriors were listening to a speech from LeFlore, most of them sitting on the ground, but one on a spirited horse. Suddenly the animal became frightened and dashed wildly into the crowd, and before he could be checked one man had been trampled to death. Instantly every Indian was on his feet, every man grasping a tomahawk and rushing forward to execute vengeance on the offender. The chief sprang up and commanded: "Attention!" With flashing eyes and eloquent tongue he plead for reason and justice. The warriors respected the voice of their chief, but were loyal to their traditions and again cried "life for life," and raising their tomahawks started toward their intended victim. The chief, seeing that he could not turn them from their purpose by argument, stepped in front of the offending man and baring his own breast cried: "If you kill him, you kill me first." Every tomahawk was dropped, every warrior looked at the stern and determined face and the bare breast of their chief, and one by one they sat down and assumed the attitude of listeners. The man's life was saved, and, under the influence of the chief, the sum of \$500 was raised for the family of the Indian who had been killed. Thereafter, the old unwritten law of "blood for blood" was no longer enforced.

Nothing that Colonel LeFlore could do for his people was too difficult for him to undertake. He was always on the alert, ready to intercede for them and to seek redress of grievances. At one time he conceived the thought that the United States agent was making unjust demands of his people and dealing dishonestly with them. With his usual promptness he sought the agent's removal. The agent protested, asserting his innocence and repelling the accusation. Again the chief believed he had grounds for suspicion and appealed to the President for redress. President

Jackson declined to interfere. Finally, with the grim determination of an Indian chief, Colonel LeFlore stepped into his carriage and started on the long overland journey to Washington to interview the President. On reaching the capital, he went at once to the White House and was ushered into the presence of Jackson. With but little ceremony LeFlore stated his case. Jackson was somewhat exasperated at the persistency of the chief and curtly refused to remove the offending agent. But when LeFlore drew himself to his full height, stepped nearer to the President and said: "I demand justice," Old Hickory recognized that he was face to face with a man in whose veins flowed the blood of Pushmataha; and, taking the chief by the hands, said:

"Greenwood, we have been friends too long to fall out now, and as I used to say to my juries when trying a case at law, let justice be done between the parties, so now I say that justice shall be done."

Colonel LeFlore made several treaties for his people. The last and most important was the "Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek." Sometime before this treaty was drawn up, a general council was called to discuss the affairs of the nation and the advisability of signing the treaty. LeFlore, Folsom and others among the most enlightened Indians, were in favor of it, believing it would be a benefit to the nation, but many of the full-blooded warriors and the majority of the tribe opposed it. No agreement could be reached, and the two full-blooded chiefs, Ne-ta-ca-cha and Ma-shu-la-tub-be, with their clans, retired from the Council. Soon after this meeting, LeFlore received news that these two redoubtable chiefs were advancing, supposedly on mischief bent. LeFlore and Folsom immediately mustered their forces and set out to meet the foe. When they met, the advancing hosts were seen to be in full war paint. War seemed to be inevitable. When about 200 yards apart, the two armies halted and stood silent, watching each other. At once Netacacha stepped forward alone; with slow and even steps, dignified and fearless in mien, he advanced midway between the lines. He halted, folded his hands, stood erect, motionless as a bronze statue. What he meant, no one could conjecture. A hurried consultation was held, and LeFlore took position at the head of his army, while Folsom went forward to meet Netacacha. At this moment, every gun in the hostile ranks was raised and aimed, and at the same time the warriors under

LeFlore made ready to fire. Each chief knew that a crisis was on on. Netacacha stood mute, scowling and waiting, and Folsom no less stern and dauntless came forward without hesitation. Desiring to ascertain the wishes of the chief, he extended his hand, when instantly a smile lit up the face of Netacacha as he clasped the outstretched hand and exclaimed "Barboshela." Folsom replied "Barboshela;" the rifles were lowered; there would be no fighting that day. The opposing hosts met and smoked the pipe of peace, and civil war was for the time averted.

It was not long till the question of ratifying the treaty came up again. A grand Council was held at Dancing Rabbit Creek, where United States soldiers, agents and Indians met, all armed. A messenger was sent from the United States commission to Colonel LeFlore, asking him to disarm his men. At once the fiery blood flamed into his face, as he haughtily replied: "Come and disarm them." The chief felt that he was distrusted and the honor of his people questioned. Many of the most intelligent Indians believed the treaty was best for their people, and, therefore, counseled the signing of it. But when it was finally signed there was much bitterness against the leaders. In a speech, which seemed to have little effect, LeFlore said: "My children, for your good I have signed this treaty. Kill me, if you wish; shoot me here," placing his hand upon his heart. Some of the Indians believed he had acted for their welfare, but others that he advocated the treaty for self-interest. This belief exists to this day, handed down from father to son. The tribes realized that further discussion was vain, the treaty had been made, the happy hunting grounds of the Choctaws had passed into the hands of the pale faces. The majority of the tribe turned westward and crossed the great Father of Waters to seek new hunting grounds in the western wilds. Colonel LeFlore elected to remain on the reservation secured to him by the treaty. When accused of being bribed by the United States Government to sign the treaty, he replied: "Which is worse, for a great government to offer a bribe or a poor Indian to take one?" Nothing more was said about bribery.

Colonel LeFlore was an extensive and successful planter, having 15,000 acres of land, much of it the finest in the State. He owned 400 slaves, who were well fed, well clad, humanely treated and cared for like children, being provided with warm houses

and an abundance of fuel. A physician was kept on the plantation to look after the sick, and none were ever sold save an occasional vicious character that could not be controlled by humane measures. The principal crop was cotton. After being ginned and baled at home, it was hauled to the nearest town on the river, known in the olden time as Old Town, situated nine miles east of Greenwood on the Carrollton road, at the foot of Valley Hill. A dirt road led to the Yazoo river, where a shed was erected and controlled by a man named Williams. Here the cotton was stored to await shipment. On one occasion, when LeFlore's cotton was hauled to this landing, the shed was too small to hold it, and Williams had it thrown on the ground in the mud, and yet required LeFlore to pay storage. As such management did not please the old Chief, he determined to build a town of his own at the junction of the Tallahatchie and Yalobusha rivers, three miles above the Williams landing. The land was bought and the town laid off. He first built a large two-story steam sawmill, and here the lumber was all sawed to build the town. The town was called "Point LeFlore," and contained a church, hotel, schoolhouse, post office, stores and residences. He opened a road to the hills and built a turnpike from the river to the hills, with fourteen bridges over the bayous. This pike was kept in perfect order by regular and intelligent working every year, and repairs were made whenever necessary. The pike cost LeFlore \$75,000, and he offered free use of it to all planters who would haul their cotton to Point LeFlore rather than to Old Town. The offer was accepted gladly by planters in adjoining counties, and trade was attracted for sixty miles in the interior. LeFlore also owned a steamboat, which regularly plied the rivers to carry cotton out and bring other products in. The Yazoo Pass was then open, and flatboats and barges came from the upper rivers through the Pass, laden with all kinds of merchandise and giving a large trade to the town. But for the intervention of the Civil War, Point LeFlore would soon have eclipsed Greenwood, and ere this, perhaps, would have been known as the Queen City of the Delta. The war and failing health caused Colonel LeFlore to lose interest in the town, and those to whom he willed the property have allowed Point LeFlore to become extinct.

All the lumber for his beautiful and palatial residence, "Mal-

maison," is cypress cut from his own lands, sawed at his own steam mill at Point LeFlore and hauled by his own ox teams to the building site, conceded to be one of the finest in the State. The house was planned and built by Mr. J. C. Harris, who afterward married the youngest daughter of Colonel LeFlore, and still lives at Malmaison.

Colonel LeFlore held deeds to nine leagues of land—about 60,000 acres—in Texas. These were Spanish grants. A syndicate, composed of Greenwood LeFlore, L. R. Marshall, Minor Guinn, and Abram A. Halsey, son-in-law of LeFlore, purchased the tract, and Halsey located it. The company employed a lawyer named Riley as their agent, with power of attorney to sell the land. Halsey went to Europe to negotiate with a colonization company for the whole tract, but owing to war and its disasters he could not make a sale, but was induced by some land agents to go to South America, where he died of yellow fever. It was discovered that Riley was selling the lands, but rendering no account to the owners. He was enjoined and suit brought, but the war was raging and all legal proceedings ceased. At the close of the war, Riley was dead, and Colonel LeFlore was in feeble health. Hence but little was ever realized from the sale of these lands.

Colonel LeFlore was a true Southern man, as true and with as much property at stake as any who took up arms in defense of Southern rights. He felt that when he signed the "Treaty of Dancing Rabbit" that it was equivalent to taking the oath of allegiance to the United States, and he firmly believed that the Government had agreed to protect him in his person and property so long as he remained true to his promise. He made several speeches against secession, telling his hearers that they were too hasty and counseling them to wait for an overt act, and then fight under the United States flag, saying that it is our flag and we have as much right as the Northern people to seek redress under its folds. Such haste, he said, will bring ruin to our part of the country; it will bring your wives and daughters to the kitchen and the wash-tub. He would not recognize the Confederacy as a government, nor receive Confederate money for anything taken from him by the Confederates, such as hogs, horses, cattle, corn, etc. He even allowed one of his negroes to be sold to pay the Confederate taxes. Some friends paid the taxes and returned the

negro to his master. An incident of the war is here recalled: When General Featherston was on his way to Natchez, he and his command camped one night on Colonel LeFlore's plantation, not far from his home. The night was dark and stormy and the General did not relish the thought of spending it in discomfort, exposed to the weather, when shelter and good cheer were so near at hand. He therefore summoned his most courteous aid-de-camp and instructed him how to proceed in requesting entertainment for the night. The aid went to the Colonel's residence and requested lodging for the General and staff. LeFlore replied: "Tell Featherston I will entertain him as an old friend, but it must be distinctly understood not as a Confederate soldier." When this report was made to General Featherston he said, "Well, that is the word with the bark on; he means just what he says." So they doffed their uniforms and in citizens' dress went to the mansion and were met by the old chief and royally entertained. Judge J. A. Orr, of Columbus, was of the party and gives many interesting details of the conversation between the two old friends.

Colonel LeFlore was honest, brave and loyal, not only to the United States, but to personal friends as well. He was also very charitable. His benevolence is illustrated by the following anecdote told the writer by Mr. W. L. Ray, who married a granddaughter of Colonel LeFlore. One one occasion, LeFlore went to Carrollton and found the citizens manifesting great sympathy for a man that had recently lost his home and its contents by fire. Listening for a time in silence, he took out his checkbook, wrote a check for \$100, saying as he handed it over for the unfortunate man, "I am sorry a hundred dollars' worth; how much are you sorry, my friends?" At once a subscription was taken, and before night the man whose house was burned had little reason to regret the fire. On another occasion a widow had mortgaged her home and was about to lose it, when Colonel LeFlore, on hearing of her trouble, sent her money enough to save her property. These and many other deeds of charity rise as sweet incense in memory of the last and the greatest chief of the Choctaws east of the Mississippi. The State has done well to perpetuate his name in one of her best counties, as well as in the county site, Greenwood. In the prosperous little Queen of the Delta two of the banks are named for him, the Bank of Greenwood and the Bank of LeFlore.

The people of his county sent him twice to the lower House of the Legislature and once to the Senate. While he was in the Senate many of the speakers were in the habit of interpolating much Latin into their speeches, which was very annoying to many of the members. One young man made his entire speech in Latin. As he took his seat, Colonel LeFlore arose and began to speak in Choctaw, and they tried to call him down, but he continued to speak for an hour, and when he had finished he asked which speech was best understood, his own or that of the speaker who had immediately preceded him.

Colonel LeFlore was married three times, first to Miss Rosa Donly, as mentioned above, who left two children, Elizabeth, who married Abram A. Halsey, and John, who married Miss Fannie Newman. The latter couple have had four children, two of whom are living, Mrs. Edgar West and Greenwood LeFlore, of the Indian Territory. Colonel LeFlore was married the second time to Miss Elizabeth Coody, a Cherokee, a niece of Chief Ross. She lived but a short time and left no children. His third marriage was to Miss Priscilla Donly, of Nashville, sister of his first wife. It is said that she was only three days old when her sister and LeFlore were married. This last wife had one child, a daughter, who married J. C. Harris. Mrs. LeFlore still lives at beautiful Malmaison, the center of a loving coterie of children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, who vie in tender ministrations to the gentle and lovely little lady, the guiding spirit of the spacious home in which hospitality is dispensed with lavish hands.

Colonel LeFlore's love for the old flag was so great that, as he lay dying, he asked to see the flag. It was brought and he gazed fondly upon it till sight grew dim, when he requested his little granddaughters, Louie and Rosa LeFlore and Florence Harris, to hold it over him that he might die under the Stars and Stripes. When he passed from earthly scenes, according to his dying request, the flag he loved so well was wrapped about him and he was buried in its folds. His remains now repose in the family burying ground near the home so dear to his heart. A beautiful monument of white marble marks his last resting place, bearing this inscription:

"Greenwood LeFlore
Born June 3d, 1800,
Died August 21st, 1865,
The last Chief of the Choctaws east of the Mississippi."

Colonel LeFlore scrupulously kept his part of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, and relied upon the United States to accord him protection of life, liberty and property, but the Government did not fulfill its part of the contract during nor after the war. During the war he lost the greater part of the cotton he produced, all of his negroes and much other very valuable property. His executors placed the claim in Washington soon after the surrender; it has been presented to Congress time after time, and through the influence of Senator Money and General Alcorn it was referred to the Court of Claims, where it still lies dormant. It is an honest debt, and the Government should pay it or strike from the Constitution the obligation of loyalty; for, if there was ever a loyal man in the United States, Greenwood LeFlore was that man.



THOMAS GRIFFIN; A BOANERGES OF THE EARLY SOUTHWEST.

BY BISHOP CHARLES B. GALLOWAY.¹

Thomas Griffin was born September 24, 1787, in Cumberland county, Virginia, and was the youngest, but one, of eight children. His parents, John Griffin and Mary Andrews, were both Virginians. His father's family was of Welsh descent and had the marked characteristics of that hardy and enterprising people. His mother was the daughter of the best English blood, and the inheritor of those sturdy qualities that have contributed so generously to make that little island the miracle of history.

When his father attained his majority and started out in life his only possessions were a horse and bridle and an indomitable purpose to succeed. Finding that his accumulations were too slow from the meager harvests of Virginia's wasting soil, he sold his property and in 1792 removed to Oglethorpe county, Georgia. That was then on the distant frontier, and in the immediate vicinity of hostile Indians. Several horrible massacres had arrested immigration and caused all the settlers to live constantly "on a war footing." Mr. John Griffin built his strong log house in the shape of a fort, with convenient portholes for his trusted rifle and steady hand. The fields that year were cultivated "under the gun." Every ploughman turned his furrow with a rifle strapped on his shoulder and his ear trained to detect any sound of coming danger. But with the close of that year came a period of peace—"the result of arms and negotiation." Then the country settled up with marvelous rapidity. Everywhere were heard the sound of the woodman's axe and the thunder of falling trees. Houses were built, small farms opened for cultivation, and the neighborhood life of older States was organized in that beautiful and bountiful land of the Muscogees.

Among these early settlers young Thomas Griffin grew to man-

¹ A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. IV., pp. 233-4.

hood and fitted himself for life. But from such associations he derived little profit. Speaking of those neighbors he says:

"Most of the people were poor, ignorant, unambitious, rather lazy and contented. There were few slaves, so the people did their own work or it was left undone. The young people were gay according to their ideas of gaiety. They had light heads, light hearts, light pockets, and furnished with a good fiddler, they could give you light trips and shuffles over the floor."

In such an environment young ambition had but little stimulus and found few high ideals.

Educational advantages were exceedingly limited and the teaching done was after the crudest methods. In his manuscript autobiography Mr. Griffin gives a graphic description of the rude schoolhouse, made of unhewed logs and floored with puncheons, in which Dilworth's Grammar was taught and little else. Here is an interesting extract illustrating the innocence of the people as to the shape of the earth:

"One circumstance confirms me in this belief. The Rev. Jesse Mercer, an eminent Baptist clergyman, preached a sermon in which he set forth the wisdom and power of the Almighty by portraying the globe and its diurnal and annual motions. I well remember (though he was looked upon as an oracle of the order) that it was called in question and Joshua's command to the sun to stand still was brought in conflict with the eloquent and learned divine."

No wonder this young man of vigorous brain and imperial spirit lamented in all after life the limitations of his youth. Here is a sad sentence:

"In the midst of such a state of society, where the mental energies were cramped, and almost butchered, I grew up. And when I had received my slender education, I was ignorant of my mother tongue: and as to the higher branches, they had as well have been in Arabic as in English, for all the good they did me."

But if scholastic advantages were painfully meager, he generously shared in the larger privileges of that best and divinest school of character—a Christian country home. The pure and stimulating atmosphere of that home, however, was specially due to his devout and well-poised mother, from whom he inherited those rugged mental and masterful qualities that made him a stalwart leader in the pioneer days of Mississippi. She was a regular and reverent reader of the Holy Scriptures and was ever diligent and devout in her daily worship. Mr. Griffin says:

"Often did I see her in her private devotions and often turned away to shed tears and to vow to the Almighty that I would serve Him."

Several narrow escapes from death made a profound impression upon the thoughtful youth and rendered him the more susceptible to religious appeal. Twice he came near being drowned, and each time was rescued more dead than alive. Once he was in imminent peril from a rabid dog. Standing under a tree in the oat field at harvest time he saw a storm cloud approaching and left his position, but when only twelve or fourteen feet away a lightning bolt shivered the tree and knocked him down. Had he not changed his position the career of Thomas Griffin would have come to an early close. Another time a falling tree came near ending his days. No wonder he said late in life, "I am a monument of God's mercy."

Young Griffin remained at home and worked on the farm until twenty-five years of age. But while thus gladly contributing to the family support this strong-brained and strong-limbed young man was making plans for a larger life and wider usefulness and greater success. He had no thought of spending his days in obscurity, cultivating the thin soil of a small farm and content with the monotonous round of daily chores.

The Griffin household was somewhat divided ecclesiastically. His father, though not a communicant in the church, was what he quaintly called "a highland or dry-footed Baptist." His mother was partial to the Methodists, as many of her relatives were members of that communion. She did not, however, formally connect herself with the church, probably on account of her husband's "coolness toward that order." She attended the Baptist church regularly and ministers of that denomination were occasional visitors to her home. Thomas Griffin expected, should he ever become a Christian, to be a member of that church. Of the Methodists he had only heard, but had never seen one of their "circuit riders," who were thought by some to be false prophets.

The circumstances which led to his first hearing a Methodist preach in 1808, when about twenty-five years of age, are thus related by himself:

"There was to be a two days' meeting at Pope's Chapel in Ogelthorpe county. Hope Hull and James Russell were to hold it in connection with Benjamin Blanton. I went to laugh and to help circulate little tales that would have a bearing on the Methodists. I well recollect that I

thought James Russell an enthusiast. Hope Hull came down and sang a hymn that made the flesh tremble on me, and caused an awful sense of the hereafter to press on my mind which has not lost its charm though it was thirty-two years ago. Mrs. Patrick broke forth and shouted. It fell on me like a shock."

The meeting continued for days, attracting vast crowds from great distances, and resulted in a wonderful revival. In his manuscript journal, Mr. Griffin gives an elaborate account of the meetings, then so novel to him, and an outline of the great sermons preached which so powerfully affected his whole life. This young man was converted, joined the church and in a short time, under the constraint of a clearly recognized, divine call, was given authority to preach the gospel.

Before determining finally to enter upon this as his life work, the young Methodist had a severe test of his moral and spiritual courage. After becoming a Christian he felt it a duty to inaugurate family worship in his home. But his father first objected, then rather sullenly consented. He complained that the servants were kept too long from their work. To obviate this the zealous and conscientious young Christian arose earlier and let all go to their daily tasks on time, but with the words of prayer lingering in their ears. One who could endure such "contradiction of sinners" in his own home, undoubtedly had the strong nerve and high purpose to be the Lord's prophet in any wilderness.

He was admitted on trial into the Conference and sent to Montgomery circuit, in the State of North Carolina, with John Gamewell as his helpful and honored colleague. The brave young itinerant's outfit was meager enough as described by himself. He said:

"I made ready my little affairs, saddled my horse and wound up a few clothes. A Bible, hymn book and Discipline of the Church was my library."

But those books and all others that he could get were read voraciously and assimilated with avidity. Keenly observant, he soon developed a rather marvelous power of discrimination and illustration. Especially was he an accurate student of men and the laws governing human conduct. In a short time that rugged and original son of the frontier attained great popularity as a speaker. His vivid descriptive power, his terrific denunciations of vice and his genius for satire, gave an almost terrible fascina-

tion to his preaching. The year passed pleasantly and profitably with those hearty mountaineers, whom he described as "a plain, artless, honest people, religious in their belief and practically pious in their lives."

The next year he traveled the Brunswick circuit, which embraced appointments in both North and South Carolina. Here he displayed that unwearied diligence and singular devotion to duty which characterized his entire life. Eagerly availing himself of every book he could secure, and critically studying that larger book of human nature opened in the lives of the people, he soon became a genuine master of assemblies. At the end of a successful year he attended Conference in Camden, S. C. During the session announcement was made that four men were needed for the Southwest, then known as the "Natchez Country." So without further intimation or consultation, when the appointments were read, four young men were assigned to that distant and dangerous field—Thomas Griffin, Lewis Hobbs, Richmond Nolley and Drury Powell.

The only direction given these young itinerants was to call on Learner Blackman, who had been a pioneer in "the Natchez Country," and who was in attendance upon the Conference. From him they obtained all needed information—or, to use Thomas Griffin's phrase—"got a way-bill as far as Natchez," purchased pack-horses and a camping outfit, secured passports from the Governor of Georgia and started out for the Indian country. No knightlier souls ever poised a lance than those brave pioneers. Differing widely in their temperaments and varied in their gifts, they were fired by the same high purpose and dominated by the same Holy Spirit. And how different were their careers! Lewis Hobbs, "the weeping prophet," after a few years of heroic service, contracted consumption, returned to South Carolina on horseback, and dismounted only to enter a chariot of fire and go home to God. Richmond Nolley, crossing the Louisiana swamp in mid-winter en route to his circuit, froze to death, with only an Indian to see the angels close his eyes. Drury Powell remained but one year and then returned East. Thomas Griffin made this his future home, became a conspicuous figure in church and State, accumulated property, reared a worthy family and died at a good old age on his plantation in Madison county.

They crossed the Okmulgee river in February, 1812, and called on Col. Benjamin Hawkins, agent for the Creek Indians, who had to indorse their passports. Passing through the country of the Indians they were impressed with "their sullen silence," but little dreamed that a "storm of savage vengeance was then gathering in their bosoms." After eleven days of travel and camping they reached a white settlement, on the Tombigbee river. Here Thomas Griffin left his companions and went up the river some distance to visit two brothers. Within less than two years thereafter both of those brothers and their families were cruelly killed by hostile Indians.

After some days, and by previous arrangement, all met again at the home of Rev. John Ford, on Pearl river, in Marion county. Thence they traveled through the country to John Foster's, near Washington, in Adams county. Here they met Miles Harper, the presiding elder, an earnest Methodist evangelist, who had already had some thrilling pioneer experiences, and helped to initiate those ardent souled young soldiers into the hardships of Western life. Their paths now diverged. Thomas Griffin crossed the Mississippi river and by the aid of an Indian guide found his way to Ouachita circuit, to which he had been appointed. A lonely horseback journey that must have been through the deep mud and across the unbridged bayous, with only an occasional settlement to relieve the oppressive gloom of the forest. On Sicily Island he found the cultured and hospitable home of Mr. Micajah Picket, one of the asylums to which he ever delighted to retire and rest.

The first Sabbath was spent on the Ouachita river, and here is an account he gives of the holy day and of the first Methodist church ever built in the State of Louisiana:

"On Sunday we preached at a little meeting-house called 'Axley Chapel,' from the fact that a year or two before James Axley was in this country, and his horses gave out and he was kindly entertained in the family of Judge Tennell. He was resolved not to be idle, so he cut the logs and did the principal work with his own hands. So it was called after him 'Axley Chapel.' It must have been about 1808 or 1810 the first Methodist meeting house was built."

The population of that section was nearly equally divided between Americans and French Catholics. Moral conditions in those pioneer days were rather shocking to the simple-hearted, honest Thomas Griffin. The Sabbath was profanely disregarded

and religious worship very rarely observed. He said: "The first time I ever heard the fiddle play on the Sabbath was in the house of a Frenchman." But no people ever had a more faithful under-shepherd, and to his courageous ministry a marked reformation was largely due.

During the year, there were alarming stories of insurrections. Drury Powell, down on Red river, wrote him that he was leaving for a place of safety, and urged Mr. Griffin to escape before it was too late. But there was too much iron in his blood ever to forsake the post of duty. Referring to his letter in reply he said:

"I wrote him that we were Americans, and my father and uncles were veterans in the Revolutionary War. I was under the protection of the laws of the State, the General Government, and the Majesty of Heaven, and I should stand my ground until the end of the year."

The latter part of the year the heroic young apostle was prostrated with a long illness, which came near resulting in his death. Wasted to a skeleton, far from home and friends, without money and unable to work, he had a severe test of faith and courage, but he bore up bravely, went up to Conference across the Mississippi, made his report and remounted his horse for another year's itinerant evangelism. For his year's work he received one dollar and a half from the people and eight dollars were given him at Conference.

In 1813 Mr. Griffin traveled the Red river circuit. He had long distances to ride on horseback and small congregations to wait on his earnest ministry, the only preaching places being private houses in the scattered settlements. From January to June he had a chill at the same hour every third day, several times came near losing his life in the high waters, frequently got lost in the pathless forests, and had other trials that would have crushed a less determined and divinely sustained hero. But his spirit never quailed and his faith never failed. With an almost sublime audacity did he declare the whole counsel of God. At Alexandria especially he met with opposition, but his rugged genius and rustic eloquence won the field, and at the end of the year there was universal clamor for his return.

In November of that year the Mississippi Conference held its first session in the home of Rev. Newett Vick, about five miles southwest of Fayette, in Jefferson county, and about two miles

northwest of Spring Hill Church. Mr. Griffin thus referred to the occasion:

"We had a conference this year, though the Bishop did not attend. We held it in the house of Rev. Newett Vick. The following preachers attended: Samuel Sellers, Miles Harper, William Winans, Lewis Hobbs, J. I. E. Byrd, Richmond Nolly, John Schrock, John Phipps, and myself. This was the supply for two States. We transacted our little business and attended the camp-meeting."

Mr. Griffin was appointed to the Natchez circuit, which extended from the "Jersey settlement" below Natchez to the "Open woods" northeast of the present site of Vicksburg. In his autobiography Mr. Griffin says: "In 1814 no human being lived at Vicksburg." Here is an interesting account of what he claims was the first religious service ever held in the famous "Natchez under the Hill":

"I will relate an adventure I had this year. I believe I was the first man that ever preached under the hill at Natchez. While on that work and at Natchez I was in the habit of staying with a little man by the name of Mussentine. He asked me if I would preach under the hill. I told him, if a place could be secured, I was willing to try. So he was to get the house by the time of my next appointment. There were several Kentuckians who had horses grazing in Mussentine's pasture, to whom he observed that there was a young man coming down that evening to preach to them, but we did not know but that a mob awaited us. The Kentuckians sent me word to come: I should not be hurt. About dark, David B. Cummins, Mussentine and Pleasant Hunter went down with me. There were two balls in progress with a number of unfortunate women present. Hearing the fiddles going at two places, with dancing and stamping, I asked Mussentine where was the house? At the end of the street he replied. I said, let us give them a center shot or none. They agreed, and while looking for another place, I stepped into a store and sat down, like a straggler, on a sack of coffee or corn. I heard one of the men say: 'I am told there is a Methodist preacher come down to-night to preach. I'll be —— if that is not a poor business here. I would be —— if I don't believe they will brick bat him.' And other remarks were in keeping. They secured a house between the ball rooms and procured a number of seats. The Kentuckians were there. Singing attracted a crowd. When we arose from prayer, an old man somewhat drunk, said to me, 'Sir, I want you to explain the last verse of that hymn you sang.' 'Put him out of doors,' exclaimed one of the Kentuckians. 'It's as much my house as yours,' shouted the drunkard. 'Put him out,' exclaimed several voices. Immediately a Kentuckian took hold of the drunkard, jerked him down, dragged him over the seats and hurled him into the streets. This produced some flutter. When the excitement subsided a little, I said, 'Gentlemen, I am not alarmed, and if you will give me your attention, I will still speak.' A big Kentuckian, as fearless looking as Julius Caesar, cried out, 'Say just what you please, you are not to be hurt here to-night.' So I went on and had quite an orderly congregation, with an invitation from a man to come again and use his house for the service."

Such was the beginning of the gospel at "Natchez under the Hill." It was never an inviting field for religious effort.

Mr. Griffin began to attract wide attention as a preacher. For apt illustration, biting sarcasm and terrific denunciation of popular sins he has rarely had an equal in the Southwestern pulpit.

An illustration of his aggressive and terrific dealing with adventurers in those early pioneer days has been graphically related by Rev. John G. Jones, the historian of Mississippi Methodism. On one occasion, while denouncing in his characteristic style the popular vices of the day, he contended that deism was the fruit of licentiousness—that wrong thinking was the result of bad living. A school teacher in the neighborhood—an avowed and noisy deist—became enraged at the plain preacher, pronounced him unfit to be the guide of cultured people and announced his purpose to give the itinerant a "sound drubbing" when he visited that part of the circuit again. In the meantime Mr. Griffin made diligent inquiry into the little teacher's antecedents, and in his next sermon thus referred to the subject:

"You may recollect, my respected hearers, that at my last appointment here I took as one of my positions that deism and licentiousness are generally found closely united in the same person. I now propose to give you another representative example to illustrate that position. There lived, not many years ago, in one of the districts of South Carolina a professed believer in the teachings of Paine's "Age of Reason," who was duly arraigned before a court of competent jurisdiction, not for saying his prayers or building churches, but for shedding blood! Yes, my hearers, for shedding blood. Not the blood of his fellow men, but the blood of his neighbors' hogs. For this offense, committed without the fear of God before his eyes, and by the instigation of the devil, against the peace of society and the lives of hogs, not his own, he was found guilty, and sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes on his bare back at the district whipping post. After receiving the sheriff's receipt in full, in cuts, gashes, and crossmarks, and feeling somewhat disparaged in reputation, and having now the fear of the rightful owners of said swine before his eyes, he left the country for 'parts unknown.' The next place we find him is in that celebrated school of all forms of vice, known as 'Natchez under the hill,' where he spent about three months in the study of *natural philosophy*. Both his cash and credit were soon exhausted and he was ejected from the boarding house for non-payment of dues. Thrown upon his own resources again, he assumed the profession of a school teacher and the last place we find him, he is pretending to teach a little country school and threatening to whip a certain Methodist preacher for expounding the licentious tendencies of deism."

The poor little braggart and blatant skeptic writhed in his seat, and turned pale under the almost merciless excoriation. He ceased

spouting infidelity thereafter and never again threatened to punish Thomas Griffin.

The distinguished Dr. William Winans, possibly the ablest preacher of the early Southwest, and a man who would have been great in any age, thus refers to the subject of this sketch:

"My principal co-laborer this half-year was Thomas Griffin of Georgia. He was *sui generis*, more emphatically perhaps, than any man I ever knew. He had much native humor, combined with more than usual gravity, a quick apprehension, with inferior powers of association. He had a strong sense, with defective powers of reasoning. He was brave as a lion, and simple as a child. He had sustained a very great popularity as a preacher. Fruit of his labor was seldom wanting. Few preachers have been so successful in sound conversions and lasting reformatations. His reliance for revival effect was more exclusively upon instituted instrumentalities than is common among those distinguished for success in conducting revivals, I do not remember to have ever seen him resort to those extra-religious means, so often pressed into service."

In 1815 Thomas Griffin was presiding elder of the Louisiana District, and on his way to his new field of labor was with the lamented Richard Nolley the afternoon before his tragic death. Of the self-denying and toilsome experience of this and other pioneer years I cannot write in detail. Many thrilling stories are recorded in his manuscript autobiography. Over in that Louisiana wilderness he met a man, living alone, whom he had known in Georgia, and makes this suggestive comment: "He had not come off for saying his prayers or building churches."

At the annual Conference of 1819 he was elected a delegate to the General Conference, which was to assemble in May, 1820, in the city of Baltimore. Accompanied by his co-delegate, the Rev. John Lane, he left the "Mississippi Country" in February. The weary journey was to be made on horseback, and through the State of Georgia, which gave the long-coveted opportunity of visiting his old home again. He gives, in his manuscript autobiography, an amusing account of a night spent in an inn not far from the Okmulgee river. On inquiring the next morning the amount of their bill the lady proprietor said they had two prices—one for those going into the wilderness and another for those coming out. She had discovered that those coming out had more capacious and voracious appetites, so the preachers had to pay the extra price. He spent several days with his brothers and other relatives, visited the graves of his parents and went on to Baltimore.

He passed through Richmond and tarried several days in Wash-

ington, the then small, young capital of the Nation. No visitor in those galleries gave more eager, critical study of the statesmen of that day than did the brawny, brainy, alert itinerant pioneer of the Southwest. He was not a little disappointed in some men of whom he had read and heard so much.

The General Conference of 1820 was memorable on many accounts. That was the conference which elected Joshua Soule a bishop, who declined ordination on account of certain legislation which he regarded as unconstitutional. The slavery question also excited and divided the body. The acrimonious debates in Congress over the admission of Missouri into the Union of States had inflamed the public mind. At an early hour a resolution was introduced to prohibit any slaveholder from occupying an official position in the church. The lines were rigidly drawn and the battle raged. William Capers, a Southern leader from South Carolina, whose voice was as softly musical as his great heart was gentle and fraternal, made a pathetic plea for rest from that exciting issue. But to Thomas Griffin, impetuous, courageous and independent, such a line and tone of argument were too conciliatory. He determined to put the other side on the defensive. His ardent, indignant nature would not be restrained. With a courage, disciplined by the perils of frontier life, he poured upon his opponents a torrent of fiery eloquence that was as powerful as it was defiant. Speaking of that speech afterward he said:

"I had but one objection to Capers's speech—it was too smooth and polished for the occasion. I was resolved, if I only got out a half a dozen words, they should be like an old case-knife whetted on a brick. It should be a rough edge, and if I could only break the skin, I would leave a wound ragged and hard to cure."

The following is a synopsis of that memorable speech, which was reproduced and variously commented upon by most of the secular papers of the Nation:

Bishop Roberts was in the chair:

"Mr. President:

"That I have lived longer than I have lived to purpose is a fact that I am ready to concede. I have lived long enough to notice a few things, and among them, I have noticed Northern people, both laymen and clergy, coming to the South. Sir, when they first come among us, they are ready to see us all damned, and double-damned, rammed, jammed and crammed into a forty-six pounder and blown into the fiery vaults of deep damnation. Their pious zeal will not stop there. They are ready to get on their knees and invoke the thunderbolts of a sin-avenging God to

beat our heaven-daring and hell-deserving souls into the deepest hell. But in less than twelve months they become very smooth on that subject: and if they contemplate making a permanent stay with us, if they have either worth, talent, merit or intrigue, they never fail to form connections in those families that are slave holders. We have young ladies in the South entirely disconnected with slavery. But Northern gentlemen can always see peculiar charms in those young ladies whose parents have the most slave-property.

"I do not rise to justify slavery in the abstract. It is not in accordance with our political creed. But on account of their vast numbers and untutored condition, the people of the South in self-justification are compelled to hold their institutions as they found them and have held them. I ask, who were the first importers and owners of slaves? Northern people. They kept them until they had cut down and laid waste their country. Much of their soil would scarcely clothe itself with a coat of sedge. And with that sagacity and peculiar foresight that marked Northern policy they sold them to our forefathers, and got value received. And yet we are to be condemned without mercy for holding the property held by you and your forefathers.

"If a stranger were in the gallery and were to hear these debates, he would be led to believe that the Southerners are cannibals and eat their slaves. We have heard much about blood-stained hands. I have been looking around among the men from the South, but have seen no blood. That venerable man, whose remains lie under that pulpit (Bishop Asbury) and Dr. Coke, supposed the period had arrived years ago, when something must be done, and that immediately. I ask, what did their efforts accomplish? It accomplished much. It aroused the property holders, and closed every medium of access to the farms of Virginia, the rice fields of South Carolina, and the plantations of Georgia. The laws of the South have been framed to meet any emergency. So the ministers could not move in the slightest degree without coming in collision with the laws of the land. And one of the laws of the church is to be obedient to the laws of the nation where we labor. I ask then what those zealous people have accomplished?—Many who wish to connect themselves would go elsewhere. If accounts are to be credited, there are numbers of persons waiting to see the result of this conference: and if such a resolution as this is enacted into law, many will soon take their leave of us.

"In conclusion I would just state that I see there is strength in this house to pass what you please. And if the resolution becomes law, prepare yourself, Sir, to send down a shipload of preachers to execute this law; for I think it a duty I owe you and the church, to avow here in my place, that I will execute no such rule."

The speech produced a profound impression. When he sat down everybody felt that a veritable tornado had swept through the building. Such fiery and defiant eloquence, contrasting so strikingly with the elegant and persuasive periods of William Capers, made men stare and wonder. There was no mistaking the rugged honesty and aggressive courage and perfect candor of that stalwart son of the Southwest.

One who knew him well thus describes Mr. Griffin:

"He was about medium height, square built, a little stoop-shouldered, muscular, of sallow complexion, a sharp, Grecian face and a penetrating, quizzical eye, that would attract attention in any company. He was industrious and capable of great endurance."

Another distinguished gentleman, after hearing him often, paid this tribute to his rugged genius:

"Mr. Griffin is a diamond of the purest water, but he lacks the polish of the lapidary. If he had enjoyed the advantages of early cultivation what an intellectual giant he would have become."

We need not wonder therefore that this mighty "son of thunder" was for many years one of the most unique and notable figures in the history of Mississippi.

On the 8th of August, 1820, Mr. Griffin was married to Mrs. Ann Ervin, widow of Mr. Hugh Ervin, and daughter of the Rev. John Ford. He was then thirty-three years of age. Referring to that occasion and his assets, he says:

"I had sold out in 1810 and traveled in the itinerant connection and all I had when married was a little horse for which I paid \$60.00, a few clothes and those of an inferior quality, and, as I thought, a ruined constitution. I soon found that I had a new theatre to act on—a citizen, neighbor, husband, step-parent, master, traveling preacher, son-in-law, etc. I resolved to get a permanent home as soon as possible."

He traveled a large district as presiding elder, and when at home gave great diligence to affairs on the farm. So industrious was he as to invite criticism and excite fear lest he was becoming wordly-minded. He relates an amusing incident which furnished opportunity for reply to one pious old sister, who had repeatedly expressed her fears that he was too much absorbed in the affairs of the world. He says:

"Several of us, including the old lady, returning from a camp-meeting, called for the night at old Bro. ——'s, one of your good-natured, good-humored, good-for-nothing, no-account old creatures. The old lady's nag was tied by the neck and ate a scant allowance out of a tub. She had a dry supper, and a very thin, dingy bed to sleep on. She and the boards were entirely too close neighbors to be agreeable, so there was a good deal of turning and twisting. And as there was no coffee for supper, of course none was to be expected for breakfast. So the old lady was willing to start before breakfast, trusting to getting it at another place. So we started and had not gone far, before the old lady broke silence. 'I do wonder what old Bro. —— has been about all his life-time to be no better off than he is.' I replied, 'he is afraid of the world.'"

In the fall of 1823, feeling that the lands of Pearl river were not sufficiently fertile for successful farming, he removed to what is now the southwestern corner of Hinds county, and built a home. For two or three years he retired from the Conference and devoted himself entirely to improving his farm. But the call of

higher duty and the entreaty of old friends induced him to re-enter the "traveling connection" in which he was increasingly efficient and immensely popular. His physical courage was often called into requisition to suppress rowdiness on great camp-meeting occasions. When others hesitated and even law officers showed timidity, this stalwart parson would lay hands on any ruffian who had come to make disturbance. Some of these experiences he describes very vividly.

He was elected a delegate to the General Conferences of 1828 and 1832, which met, respectively, in Pittsburg and Philadelphia. In April, 1828, he left Vicksburg for Pittsburg on the "Hugh McGregor," and had his first ride on a steamboat. In 1832, failing to get the "Brandywine," he took passage on the steamer "Ohio," and for which he was ever grateful. The "Brandywine" was burned to the water's edge on that trip and most of the passengers lost their lives. While in Philadelphia the keenly observant delegate from the Southwest was an eager student of everything. Among other things that profoundly impressed him was the battleship "Pennsylvania." His description of its enormous proportions seems now rather amusing when modern ships of war are brought in comparison. He says:

"I went to see what was said to be one of the largest ships in the world, and I would say like the Queen of Sheba, 'the half has not been told.' My imagination had never conceived that such a vessel could be built and launched. I measured it, I am sure, correctly, and made it 220 or 240 feet long. She would, as I was told, draw 18 or 19 feet of water, and carry something like 150 pieces of ordnance."

What a small affair as compared with some of the great armored leviathans of our modern navies!

On this trip to Philadelphia, Mr. Griffin visited New York, and returned by way of the Erie canal and the lakes, taking in Niagara Falls, and thence south to Vicksburg, accompanied by Rev. Dr. William Winans. They spent a Sabbath in the city of Troy, N. Y., and Mr. Griffin thus refers to his preaching there:

"They listened with the utmost attention: in fact it amounted to staring or gazing. I expect it was more on account of my being a backwoodsman than the discussion of the topic."

Returning from that session of the General Conference, Mr. Griffin resumed his work as presiding elder of the district, but in

rather failing health. Fearing his continued efficiency in the regular ministry, at the session of the Annual Conference in Vicksburg that fall, he asked for a location, and in this relation he remained to the close of his life. Having purchased a large body of land in Madison county, then very inviting to settlers, he removed thither with his family and made that his permanent home. He gives quite a realistic description of conditions which obtained in 1833, as follows:

"The country began to settle up very fast. The tide of immigration was flowing in. All brought either money or property or something to enrich the country. The merchants in New Orleans were ready to advance money. Property took an unparalleled rise. The people began to imagine that their golden days were about to dawn. The national debt was in a fair way to be extinguished. At peace with all the world. The forests were falling before the axe. Houses were rising and farms occupying the place of desert or forest. The people overtraded themselves, not considering the storm that was about to break over them. General Jackson had got into power and he and the managers of the Bank of the United States soon came into collision. The national deposits were removed and placed in State banks. The Bank of the United States applied for a renewal of its charter and Congress granted it, but the President vetoed it and the bank expired. The Legislatures of the various States began to charter local banks. The country was flooded with paper. At length the General, or President, issued the specie circular, viz: take specie for national dues and nothing else. The banks suspended. Confidence was destroyed. Credit was entirely overthrown. Wreck and ruin began to come down. Many ran off to the province of Texas and escaped their liabilities. Others to guarantee payment gave mortgages."

As further evidence of the commercial recklessness then prevailing, he gives account of a railroad convention held at Gallatin, to which he was a delegate from the county of Madison. The proposed road was to run from Natchez to Jackson and on up to Canton. The convention divided on the question of whether the road should be built by banking privileges or pledges of real estate. After an exciting debate it was determined to ask for a bank charter. Mr. Griffin favored the bank. I reproduce his account of the speech he made in the convention as a specimen of the humorous side of the financial folly of that period. He says:

"I said I had not come there to enlighten that body, but to obtain light: and though I possessed no knowledge of railroad building I would beg leave to say that I had traveled on the Baltimore and Ohio railway. I crossed Delaware on one. I had traveled from Albany to Schenectady, and thought I could form some rough ideas as to what it would take. I would say this much. I know something of the country through which this contemplated road would pass and if this project is ever carried through I was of the opinion that our hearts, patience, and pockets would all be exhausted. We shall want money, and much money, and therefore I

go in for the bank. They all listened until I pronounced the word BANK, which was my closer, then they began to stamp and beat with their sticks. I declare to God, I was so ignorant at that time of my life of such bodies and how they conducted business, that I sat down mortified and concluded they had got enough of me."

The first years of his farm life in Madison were prosperous and happy. He had fertile soil and a number of slaves. He rose early, ate the bread of carefulness and displayed an almost unwearied industry. During the week he looked after his affairs laboriously and every Sunday was somewhere preaching the Gospel with weird and wonderful power.

He gives an intensely interesting account of a corporation known as the Real Estate Bank, organized by planters in Hinds and adjoining counties, in 1837. General Cowles Mead was president, Ex-Gov. Charles Lynch and Joseph McRaven were in the directory and a Mr. Davenport was cashier. The bank was domiciled at Clinton. They issued bonds and gave mortgages on land to guarantee payment. The affairs of the bank were sadly mismanaged. The cashier went to Philadelphia to secure a second loan and never returned, some of the stockholders disposed of their property and went to Texas, so in 1839 there was a hopeless collapse. This and other things led to Mr. Griffin's having many embarrassments and much litigation for a number of years. One case of his before the Federal Court at Jackson he argued himself and gained great notoriety. The distinguished Judge Holt was counsel against him. Here is a report of his speech:

"I do not present myself before you to play a hollow-hearted, hypocritical, double-faced, wire-working, double-shuffling lawyer's game. I have either paid it or I have not paid it. I would rather be honest and die poor, without a grave of my own, than to leave the stage with the wealth and character of Talleyrand. I have always thought mine was a hard case, but I think that I was never done justice. Though it was decided by a tribunal on which sat twelve American sovereigns. It was protested on the 3rd of Feb'y, 1836, and sent out to Bowling's Mills, a postoffice that never had an existence. And I challenge heaven, earth and hell to dispute it. Yet with all these facts proved in the face of the court, the welded a judgment on me. I was told by lawyers that I would get clear of it for want of notification. It has made me adopt one of Lord Pitt's expressions, (as far as lawyers are concerned,) at the organization of a new ministry, 'Confidence is a plant of slow growth in an old bosom.'

"The gentleman has given you a grand speech of law. He says the payment of \$1,000 was illegal, because it was paid before the execution was issued. But he acknowledges the \$915 is valid, and the receipt bears date of Nov. 16th, sixteen days after the death of the execution. If the payment of money before an execution is illegal, surely the payment after its death is equally, though we hear no complaint of it. Really it appears

that his principles and conscience are quite gum-elastic; they can expand and contract to suit his case.

"I would just beg leave to state to the court, I was perfectly ignorant of the form of marshall's receipt. Had he given any form, so his name was to it, it would have satisfied me. I am by the receipts of marshall's somewhat like the Irish clergyman who was compelled by the laws of the land to pray for the king. But he was a patriot and despised royalty. So he said: 'O Lawd Gud, bless his dear sweet majesty. Sanctify his heart, purify his soul and take him up to heaven, and give us no more kang's.' It was the first marshall's receipt I ever had, and my prayer to God was that it might be the last. I am told that it is perfectly useless to contend with the Napoleon of the bar (pointing at Holt)—the master spirit of the court—whose eloquence is often felt in this court like a thunderbolt or an earthquake, and its consequences on the rights of the people is [are] like some great avalanche torn loose from a mountain height and falling on the unoffending below. What is it to encounter a man who has a heart of marble, with a face of brass, lips of iron and tongue of steel! It is believed by many that the court itself is as limber in his hands as a tape string."

Here Judge Holt interrupted and begged for the protection of the court. Thomas Griffin, with an air of infinite innocence, replied: "Gentlemen, you must pardon an old backwoodsman, who is ignorant of the forms of the court," and then left the room, with the entire bar and bystanders in an uproar of laughter. The great lawyer found a match in the virile and fearless preacher, and, much to his discomfiture, the parson won the day, though not the case.

A few years later he appeared before that court again in his own defense—another old Clinton Bank case—and made a remarkable speech. The rumor of the original and unique old preacher appearing before the court attracted an immense crowd, including the governor, the supreme judges and all the bar. This time the parson won his case to the astonishment of the whole State and the humiliating discomfiture of the opposing counsel. He was certainly a man of marvelous native endowments, and if favored with early educational advantages would have ranked among the leaders of the nation.

The exposures of his early itinerant life now began to tell upon the once powerful frame of the stalwart pioneer. His strength was failing, but his strong will was still unbending. With evident sadness he writes:

"April 4th, 1848. I cannot rise earlier than between four and five o'clock. Old age is coming on me rapidly. I am getting grey fast. My labor of body and deep mental anxiety weigh me down."

But he was never so popular as a preacher and his services were

everywhere in great demand. Stories of his quaint sayings and striking proverbs and vivid illustrations and terrific excoriations of popular vices have been handed down from father to son in all the regions of his public ministry.

Mr. Griffin reared an interesting family and gave to his children the best collegiate advantages. His oldest daughter married Mr. W. S. Lum, of Vicksburg, and there spent her useful and honored life. His son, Col. Thomas M. Griffin, became an influential citizen. His daughter, Mrs. Owen Baldwin, still resides at Canton, Miss. The last entry in his manuscript journal was January 1, 1850, and is as follows:

"I now see the first of 1850, but much doubt my seeing its close. If I fall this year may I have grace sufficient to my day and especially the dying day; and may the providence of God be over my children, is my sincere prayer."

His powers rapidly failed. Visits to Florida and the Mississippi coast only brought him temporary relief. After a time, full of years and honors, the strong man bowed to the last enemy and slept the sleep of the just. Among all the sons of the mighty—and there were giants in those early days—there was no more original, powerful and influential figure than Thomas Griffin.





Prof. L. R. Hamberlin.

LAFAYETTE RUPERT HAMBERLIN: DRAMATIC READER AND POET.

BY P. H. EAGER.¹

I.—BIOGRAPHICAL.

- February 25, 1861, just forty-six days before Beauregard's batteries answered Fort Sumter's refusal to surrender with the cannon call to civil war, in the classic village of Clinton, Miss., in a little one-story red brick cottage, on which the writer looks from his study window as he pens these words, was born Lafayette Rupert Hamberlin, the subject of this sketch.

¹ P. H. Eager was born Nov. 21, 1852, at Warrenton, Warren county, Miss., on the Mississippi river, ten miles below Vicksburg.

He is of New England extraction, his father and mother having been natives of Vermont. His father, E. C. Eager, was a devoted and scholarly Baptist minister, a full literary and theological graduate of Madison University, Hamilton, New York, now Colgate University. His mother was Miss Harriet B. Ide, first cousin to Dr. George B. Ide, for many years pastor of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia; also cousin to Judge Henry C. Ide, Ex-Chief Justice of Samoa, and present member of the Philippine Commission. She was a woman of superior character and high attainments, a graduate of the Female College at New Hampton, N. H. They were married in 1841, and, dedicating their lives to missionary labor, they were sent South by the Board of Domestic Missions. Their first field of labor was Memphis, Tenn., where they arrived in February, 1842, when its estimated population was only 800. There was then in the town only one hotel, one drug store, and one church house, which was occupied by the Presbyterians.

Mr. Eager and his wife soon removed to Mississippi, and with the exception of the few weeks spent in Memphis, their life work was in this State. From that time there was scarcely a Mississippi Baptist enterprise that did not in its incipency feel their helpful influence. E. C. Eager was pre-eminently a constructive pioneer force in Mississippi Baptist affairs.

P. H. Eager was the youngest of five sons in a family of nine children. As his childhood was in the period of the Civil War and the desolate years immediately following, his preparation for college was obtained chiefly in the family. When sixteen years old, as his only means of getting to college, he made in Jefferson county, by his own personal labor, eight bales of cotton, part of which he sold for thirty cents a pound. With nearly a thousand dollars thus made he entered first Mississippi College, and later Richmond College, Va. From that date to the present time he has been uninterruptedly engaged in educational work, either as a student or an instructor. He is an alumnus of Mississippi College and of Richmond College and a graduate student of Chicago University. He has lived the life of a Christian student, and has held prominent and responsible positions in the field of Southern education from the day of his graduation, when

His father, John B. Hamberlin, who survives him, residing now at Healing Springs, Ala., was of Virginia ancestry, his father, William Hamberlin, with a small colony from the "Old Dominion," having migrated west and settled at Natchez in 1793, five years before the territorial organization of Mississippi.

He was the son of a clergyman, a fact which so often confronts the investigator in literary history that it is deserving of notice. His father was a man of student instincts and scholarly attainments, who in 1856 was graduated with first honors from Mississippi College with her first class after passing under Baptist control, and from Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, N. Y., in 1858.

At the time of our author's birth his father was the beloved pastor of the Clinton Baptist Church. His mother died when he was but two years old, too young to have been much influenced by her, unless by heredity. Her maiden name was Virginia L. Stone. She was of a prominent Hinds county family, a cultured woman, a graduate of Central Female Institute, now Hillman College. Her remains and those of an infant child lie buried in the Clinton cemetery. Immediately after her death the child was committed to the care of his grandmother, near Clinton, and his father entered the Confederate army as chaplain in the Mississippi Department under Joseph E. Johnston.

Being early deprived of a mother's love by death, and of a father's counsel by war, may explain that homeless feeling, the presence of which as a minor note is noticeable in the whole story of his life. And being thus early transplanted from the rural village into the very heart of the country, doubtless, fostered even in earliest childhood, what was poetic in his natural temperament.

At the close of the Civil War his father, having recently mar-

he was elected Professor of Mathematics in Mississippi College, to the present time. His efficiency as an instructor, especially in the fields of literature, has been greatly enhanced by extensive European travel. He was Professor of Mathematics in Mississippi College, 1878-1882; President of Brownsville Female College, Tenn., 1882-1887; Professor of English in Baylor College, Texas, 1887-1890; Professor of Philosophy in the University of Mississippi, 1890-1891; which position he resigned for the presidency of Baylor College; President of Baylor College, Texas, 1891-1894; Professor of English in Mississippi College since 1895, which position he now holds.

On Sept. 5, 1883, he was married in St. Louis to Miss Mary J. Whitfield, sister of Chief Justice A. H. Whitfield, a woman of extraordinary qualities of mind and heart.—EDITOR.

ried again, located in Meridian as president of the Meridian Female College, and took the boy again into the reestablished home. Here, at the age of four years, he was put to school, where he remained until twelve. Even at this tender age he loved his books and was especially fond of reading. Under the literary and religious surroundings here enjoyed he formed habits of thought and refinement which became a marked feature of his character. It was at this age also that he was happily converted under the preaching of the distinguished evangelist, Rev. A. B. Earle, and united with the First Baptist Church of Meridian. This early Christian profession he adorned throughout his life.

His 13th year was spent on a farm, near Meridian, while his father was seeking to regain his health on the Gulf coast. This life on the farm and in the forest, in such close touch with nature, must have deeply impressed him, for in the last year of his life, from a rural resort in search of health, where he heard again the owls hoot, in a personal letter he wrote these words:

"Owl-hooting takes me back to boyhood, to my one year of farm life, when on many a night I have sat alone with my legs a-dangle over the eastern end of Farmer Robbin's front gallery and listened to the great-eyed, horny-headed monster owls 'ha, ha'-ing, and 'ho, ho'-ing, and 'hoo, hoo'-ing by the hour, far into the stilly night, till I leaned my head against the wall and starting awoke again at some shriller or nearer hoot of a night hawk. Somehow I love an old owl,—I hate him so."

Then, after describing his feelings, when, on the approach of night, he was returning from the distant creek farm on the edge of the swamp, he continues in these words:

"The fields for little boys should be nearer the house,—that one up there on the hill where the plum and the apple trees were,—that was the best field for me."

In his 14th year the family moved to Ocean Springs, where his stepmother died of yellow fever, which he also had, but recovered. He himself, in the Richmond College Messenger of 1892, thus writes of this period:

"When I was about fifteen years of age, I passed through an epidemic of yellow fever,—came near passing with it, and to my father's wife it proved fatal. After this breaking up of our home life, I was thrown by favoring chance a good deal with a very delightful family living just out of the village [Ocean Springs]—two families it was indeed,—a grandmother, her sons and daughters, grandson and granddaughters,—ten females and four males, ranging in years from two to fifty.

"The home of my friends was situated on a high bluff of the Back Bay

of Biloxi, an inlet from the Gulf of Mexico, in the southern part of Mississippi. Looking directly out upon our bay, you would face the sunset. To your right and north, the bay stretched nearly a mile, ending in a large bayou running east. Toward the west it narrowed away into many rivers and bayous, and its waters could be seen from our bluff for six or seven miles. Half a mile to the south, a railroad bridge, one and a half miles in length, spanned the mouth of the bay from its eastern to its western shores, the southern beaches then turning east and west. Three miles out lay Deer Island, parallel to the bridge, seven miles in length, and shutting out the Gulf from our Bay home view. Our beach waved up and down, from bluff to bayou, white and beautiful all along the water line. Get five hundred yards out in the bay, look shoreward, and in the small ravine to the right a banana tree flaunts its long, graceful leaves; by it, and above it on the rising ground, are spreading oaks and giant palmettos and great, green magnolias, through which peeps the front of one of the houses; just at the foot of the bluff, the grapevines climb the trees, and are a haunt for both birds and lesser beasts; on the highest bluff are great, great oaks whose mossy beard floats yard upon yard out upon passing breezes; at the foot of this bluff is an old stone spring, almost covered up in the tangle of falling trees and brush; back of these you will see two other houses, one of which is surrounded with two galleries, each bigger than the house itself; all along surrounding these houses, though you cannot see this from your boat in the bay, are roses in profusion, grapes of all kinds, orange trees with their white, sweet blossoms, and other fruit trees, all bearing, in their season, a perfume and a more substantial burden that render the place with its dear people the place of all places for me."

This was the home of Mrs. A. A. Staples, at Ocean Springs, one of whose daughters is now the wife of Prof. Staige Davis, of the University of Virginia. There Mr. Hamberlin spent much of his time for nearly three years between the death of his step-mother and his entrance at Mississippi College, and a good part of nearly every summer vacation from his 16th year on for many years after.

The house was a two-story mansion, on a beautiful elevation, right on the eastern beach of the Bay of Biloxi, about a mile north of where that bay joins the Gulf of Mexico, and from it across the bay to its western shore, it is three, or possibly four miles. The railroad bridge about half a mile to the left was prominently in view, and as the outward stretch of the bay to the right curved to the west, the scene in that direction at sunset was usually entrancing, "equal," it has been said, "to anything in Switzerland."

It was this fine Southern home that inspired that sweet poem, "My Bay Home," in *Alumni Lilt*s, which was first published in the New Orleans *Picayune* in 1889 under the title of "The Back Bay of Biloxi." It is one of the poems that he loved best, each stanza embalming some aspect of that complex view, which he

himself says, "My heart names first eternally." It is a delicate and tender poem of twelve stanzas, from which I select the following:

MY BAY HOME.

I love this little stretch o' sea:
Its narrowing waters wind away
Atoward the sundown up the bay,
Enshored with hill and marshy lea.

I love this little stretch o' sea,
Whose mirror-stillness many a morn
Bears wonder-ships, as double born,
And double shores there seem to be.

I love this little stretch o' sea,
Awarm and purple as the day,
Whose waters laugh and sigh and spray,
And chase the winds that o'er them flee.

* * * * *

I love this little stretch o' sea,
Where sea gulls drift on silver wing,
Or in the lolling waters fling
Their silver selves abandonly.

* * * * *

I love this little stretch o' sea,
Where falls the sunset dyes adown,
And seek, for very love, to drown
Their bright selves in these graves of glee.

* * * * *

I love this little stretch o' sea,
For were not youth and summer here
In many agone, delightful year?
And shall my love fail memory?

I love this little stretch o' sea,
Whose mossy bluffs and bosom blue
And bridge and sails and sunset view
My heart names first eternally.

Being suddenly bereft of home again, he worked two years at Scranton, first as salesman in a store and then as tally clerk at a sawmill. At sixteen he entered Mississippi College, pursuing his studies there for four years—1877-1881. At twenty he was principal of Norvilla Collegiate Institute, Greensburg, La., where he served one year, and then resuming his studies entered Richmond College, Richmond, Va., where he remained for two years, 1882-

1884, winning distinction with tongue and pen. In both colleges he was magazine editor and won medals in oratory and reading.

For both of these institutions he cherished the tenderest affection. His first published collection of poems (1880), under the title of *Lyrics* were all written while a student of Mississippi College, not yet nineteen years of age, and were dedicated to that institution in these affectionate lines:

As a burthen of love, at thy glorious feet,
I would lay, Alma Mater, this tribute of mine;
With a sense of affection for thee and for thine,
I would tender my tribute,—accept it as meet.

And I would that my verse were more perfect and sweet,
That they'd do thee more honor, and lend to thy fame;
Ah! but just as they are, I will garland thy name,
Them, with love and with pleasure, I lay at thy feet.

This volume was published under the *nom de plume* "Clinton," under which name he continued to write for some years later. Even as late as January, 1901, he wrote from Vanderbilt concerning the old town:

"Mrs. R. has been here lately and her presence put my head and heart to bobbing Clintonward. What is there in that old ugly town to draw one? Strange and strong are the spells that make my heart go throbbing when I think of my life there."

One of these spells, doubtless, hangs around the title, "Ricaré Lane," the new pen-name which he assumed about four years later.

From Richmond College he received his bachelor's degree; for two years he was a distinguished member of her faculty; he was "poet laureate" of the college and "Alumni Poet" at the annual banquets of that association three years in succession—1889, 1890 and 1891; he was guest of honor of the Kentucky Chapter of Richmond College Alumni at their annual banquet at the Galt House in Louisville, Ky., in April, 1901; he wrote her undergraduate song, "The College Bell," and her alumni reunion song, "Strike Warm Your Cordial Hands;" and he dedicated, perhaps, his best collection of poems, *Alumni Lilts*, 1892, to Richmond College. In many an introductory speech and newspaper report of the various anniversaries of that institution was he mentioned with pride, appreciation and love.

It was in these two colleges that he chiefly received his educa-

tion, this general education being supplemented, however, by special and professional studies in leading technical schools and universities almost to his death.

He left Richmond College in 1884, and after spending six years in teaching in secondary schools, Brownsville Male Academy, Brownsville, Tenn., and Thatcher Institute and Kate P. Nelson Seminary, Shreveport, La., he returned to Richmond College as instructor in elocution, which position and a similar one in the University of North Carolina, he filled with distinction until in 1892, when he was called to the University of Texas, first as instructor in elocution and assistant in English and later as adjunct professor of elocution and English, which position he filled efficiently for seven years, until, in 1899, he went to Harvard for special study as "Austin Scholar."

In the fall of 1900 he resumed teaching as adjunct professor of elocution and oratory in Vanderbilt University, which position he held until his untimely death, April 24, 1902, at the early age of forty-one, making this paper, as you will observe, an anniversary memorial of his death.

II.—DRAMATIC READER.

Mr. Hamberlin seems always to have had an impulsive instinct for dramatic action, and even when it prejudiced his work in hand, and his best friends advised against it, it seemed that, regardless of consequences, he could not but obey the more authoritative inner voice.

This impulse never left him, and it may be that Dr. Waggener, chairman of the faculty of the University of Texas, was right, when, in March, 1895, the next day after a charming evening with "The Old Favorites," by Mr. Hamberlin, he sought him out and said:

"Go on the stage! No matter what excellence you may have reached in your work here, you are hiding your light and depriving the world of an actor."

Mr. Hamberlin was at that time adjunct professor of elocution and English in the University of Texas, and having great confidence in Dr. Waggener's judgment and sincerity, and knowing him as a man of few words and with no flattering tongue, this

advice made a deep impression on him, and, in his own language, written soon after, he says:

"Just as I was beginning to feel half settled, half satisfied even, here happens a thing to upset that half-content and rouse again that old fever for the stage."

Then he continues:

"But no; I have thought that all over, and I am perfectly sure that it is too late to begin that life, at least to go through the drudgery of rising. Yet the idea that, perhaps, I have 'missed it' is somewhat annoying and content-destroying."

Even in this refusal to follow the irrepressible voice we discover in the terms "pretty sure" and "too late" a pathetic reluctance to turn away. But while he did not go on the stage as a professional actor, he did figure prominently both North and South as dramatic reader, and in this role he was a master. He was born with the artist's instinct and temperament.

Dr. Morgan Callaway, head of the Department of English in the University of Texas, who was his associate in that institution seven years, and knew him as few were privileged to know him, speaks of Mr. Hamberlin in the following words:

"Born with the instinct of an artist, he had cultivated this gift by long and unremitting study, until he stood in the very front rank of the vocal interpreters of literature; and I shall never forget the exquisite pleasure received at Professor Hamberlin's readings and recitations, especially his masterly presentation of Richelieu. The strength of his renditions lay in the eminently sane and sympathetic presentation of his selections; these he had so thoroughly mastered that in his reading every faculty of body, mind, and soul, beat in unison with his theme. And this mastery came of his belief in the 'holiness of beauty,' to the service of which he dedicated his life. In his specialty, Expression, he is an artist of the first class. He has sound theories, and best of all, he exemplifies them. His renditions of literary masterpieces are delightful; with one exception there is no one on the American stage to-day whom I should prefer to hear."

Prof. S. S. Hamill, of Chicago, founder and head of Hamill's School of Expression, said of him as early as July, 1888:

"As a dramatic reader I have never seen his superior. His rendition of scenes from Macbeth would do credit to the first actors on the stage. His reading of 'The Raven,' 'The Vagabonds,' 'Jeanette,' an original poem, and 'The Maniac,' I have never heard equaled. Nor is he deficient in the humorous. His recitation of his own poem, a parody on 'The Raven,' is well worth the price of admission to an evening's entertainment. But the highest excellence of Professor Hamberlin's entertainments is his originality. He is original in thought and expression, in reading and acting. To my mind he is destined soon to take the front place among American elocutionists and actors."

Dr. Callaway once said:

"I consider Professor Hamberlin the most finished reader I ever heard."

Ruskin says:

"If I could have a son or a daughter possessed of but one accomplishment in life, it should be that of good reading."

Longfellow says:

"Of equal honor with him who writes a grand poem is he who reads it grandly."

Dr. Waggener, of the University of Texas, in speaking of Professor Hamberlin, said:

"He is the finest exponent of Shakespeare I ever knew."

He was a member of the Board of Directors of the National Association of Elocutionists, and was many times honored by that distinguished body. He appeared on their annual programs in New York, in 1892; in Chicago, in 1893; in Philadelphia, in 1894, and in the summer of 1901, but a few months before his death, he was to have impersonated before them, in Buffalo, N. Y., "Monsiuer Beaucaire." It was early in June, just as he had finished, against the heavy odds of increasing ill health, his first year's strenuous work at Vanderbilt, and the tax was more than he could bear. An eye-witness says of this scene:

"He had not been on the platform five minutes before I saw an unnatural whiteness on his face. Then he swayed a little and asked the audience to bear with him a minute, as he felt a little faint. By that time two gentlemen in the audience went to the platform and carried him to the dressing room where he fainted."

"Tell the audience I shall be all right in a minute," but the physician who had come in said, 'No, you must not think of that, you haven't enough blood in your body to supply your brain for five minutes of speech-making.'"

This was the beginning of the end, for, with all health-seeking, he lasted through but four months of professional labor. He returned to Vanderbilt in October, and with characteristic courage and fidelity taught hard every day, but always looking so worn that one of his pupils once said of him:

"Professor Hamberlin looks so ill, that I always feel like taking him in my arms and carrying him to bed; but he teaches with the energy and strength of a strong man,—I can't understand where that strength comes from."

His work at Vanderbilt was all done while battling against ill health. The following from a personal letter, written about fifteen months before his death, presents a scene in that brave struggle. Says he:

"I am indeed a bachelor, but not the kind Holmes mentions in his 'Music Grinders.' I bring my coal, I take up my ashes, sometimes I make up my bed. I cook what cooked things I eat, and wash my own dishes, and what I use instead of pots. I took to raw eggs and milk, but, though that diet was good for me, I craved so much for something else to break the monotony that I took to boiling the eggs, to heating the milk, to toasting the bread, to making soup, etc. It's worrisome and time-some, too, and I like it about as any man would like it,—I hate it. And then, every now and then, I get reckless and eat the wrong things,—out to dine, you know, when there sits before you things that were intended to tempt you. Oh, I should have been easy for the lady to get an apple down my throat, if I had been the first man."

The relief of the seriousness of the struggle against fast failing health with such a background of pleasantries is quite characteristic of the man.

Mr. Hamberlin married late in life. It is due to this fact that he came to be called "Mississippi's Bachelor Poet." In this connection let us hear what may be called by preëminence his "Bachelor Poem:"

THE SWEETHEARTS OF BOYHOOD.

I, like the rugged old winter,
Am "a bachelor frigid and lonely,"
Kissing "the end of my pipe stem—
That, and that only," that only.

Yet, as I kiss it, I think of
The kisses of youth—God love it!
Kisses my manhood has envied,
Kisses my old age will covet.

I think of the sweethearts of boyhood—
Blondes and brunettes of all sizes,
Bonny and blessed companions—
Dream-faced or saucy surprises.

First, there was Rhoda, the peerless,
With lips to turn a boy crazy,
Then Corrie, the rusher, the whirlwind,
With kisses that used to daze me;

And Bessie, a dear little elinger,
Whose mouth was the softest caresser;
Then Millie, the fitful, inconstant—
But she loved to kiss, God bless her;

And Mabel—great Venus and Cupid!
A year of my life, without grieving,
I'd forfeit, ten seconds to linger
On Mabel's warm lips this evening;

Then Constance, the dainty, the proper,
Who'd kiss you, truly, but "Care, Sir!—
Pray don't disarrange my back hair, Sir!—
Don't hold me too tight!—Now, there, sir!"

And lastly, fair Lilith, the stately,
The Clara de Vere with her distance;
But, out in the twilight, her wisdom
Advised just a charming resistance.

And, oh, the wild picnics and parties—
The nooks and the corners—the places
Where people would chance to wander,
Coming back quite flushed in their faces!

Ah, fleet were the kisses of youth-time!—
"Those in the corner were fleetest!"
Ah, sweet were the kisses of youth-time!—
"Those in the dark were the sweetest!"

But, from Rhoda to Lilith, all wedded,—
Some dead, some widows, some mothers;
And I am forgotten, most likely,
By the girls who married—others.

And here, in the winter firelight,
"A bachelor, frigid and lonely,"
I sit, dreaming, and kissing my pipe stem,—
Kissing my pipe stem—that only.

But good may always give place to better, and so it did in his case, December 22, 1897, while professor in the University of Texas, at the home of the bride's mother, at 819 West Grace street, Richmond, Va., he was married to Miss Lily Wilson, with whom he had had a continuous correspondence of friendship and love for fifteen years. She was the daughter of one of the ablest preachers in the Southern pulpit, who died of yellow fever in New Orleans in 1878 while pastor of the Colosseum Place Church.

This private home marriage accorded well with his taste and character, as is shown by the following from a personal letter written just a year and two days before his marriage:

"Some day I'm going to take an evening stroll—maybe through the meadows where the daisies blow—with some good-looking woman (I'm sure she'll be good looking), and when we get back to her home she'll be the wife of a man just about my size. There won't be any curious eyes at that wedding; there won't be any embarrassing wedding gifts, there won't be any stuffy old candle-lit church, there won't be any critical re-

marks on 'her' dress; but blue skies, with perhaps one witness-star, maybe the daisies and clover beneath our feet, love and the blessing of God,—and that shall be my wedding."

This expresses well his love for reality and simplicity and his distaste for ostentation and mere seeming.

His marriage was especially unique in that he wrote his own marriage ceremony. For four years and four months their lives were beautifully blended, and throughout his last illness his wife's tender ministries were unceasing and filled his last hours with sweetest comfort while life's tide was ebbing back into eternity.

As a youth Mr. Hamberlin was free from the ordinary vices of many young men; his early piety was marked and beautiful. Many of his verses express the Christian's experience of trust and doubt, hope and fear, joy and sorrow. He was the soul of honor, politeness and generosity. He fulfilled his life mission honestly and faithfully. He lived and labored rapidly, and, judging by what he accomplished, he lived longer than many who could count twice forty-one years. He was handsome in person, vivacious in spirit, brilliant in intellect, fertile in fancy and strong in imagination. His thoughts and fancies took form spontaneously in verse and song. Many of his best poems were written at a single impulse.

His aged father, in speaking of his last visit to him, the summer before his death, said:

"It embalmed in the hearts of his parents the sweetest memories of the best and noblest of sons."

One who knew him long and intimately says:

"I don't believe he ever had an evil thought; his speech was always clean. He was the personification of neatness in dress. What was worth doing was worth doing well, no matter how small the duty—a bundle was tied as carefully as a lecture was prepared."

He loved nature with all of his poet's soul; his love of birds, flowers, trees was so apparent. He knew the call of every bird, the form of every leaf. The city "smothered" him. Vanderbilt campus was a delight to him, and how he watched for the redbirds of mornings. He wanted to live in the country. He himself wrote on this point as follows:

"By and by surely on some spot we may love we shall build the wall and roof by the shade and stream, where life shall be fair and restful and glad. I do not think of the city as my home, but where the air is fresh, where the flowers bloom, where the apples grow—that is what my heart longs for."

Dr. Waggener, of the University of Texas; Chancellor Kirkland, of Vanderbilt; Dr. Morgan Callaway and Dr. J. L. M. Curry were among those who best knew and best appreciated Mr. Hamberlin, and who aided him most with their counsel and cheered him most with their friendship.

In the summer of 1896, immediately after accompanying Mrs. Waggener from Colorado to Austin, Tex., with her husband's remains, he wrote of Dr. Waggener in these words:

"He has been more in my life than even I, while he was living, was aware of. How clearly now I see where his counsel was good for me, where his praise was helpful to me, where his sympathy was gracious to me, where his life was inspiring to me. Indeed I loved him; I loved him more than I knew. To-day hot tears are in my heart and my eyes, because I never truly showed him that I loved him.

"If I had one advice to give to the young, it might be this: If you would be happy, nay, if you would save your heart many a pang of remorse, be gracious to those you love. Dr. Waggener is one man I shall be glad to go to heaven to see, just to say to him: 'I love you, and I loved you on earth, where your life was a blessing to me.' God pity us poor fools who will not even say the kindly things that are in our hearts for those we love."

There are in his letters similar expressions concerning Chancellor Kirkland. These two grand men had thoroughly won his love and admiration.

Dr. Callaway, in *The Texan*, writes of his death in these words:

"The news brought sorrow to many a heart in Austin, where he lived and worked seven years, from October, 1892, to June, 1899. He had been desperately ill for two months, and death brought relief to a worn body, and transferred a rare spirit to a more congenial sphere, but his translation makes the world poorer by the loss of a gifted teacher and a singularly manly man.

"Professor Hamberlin was one of the most painstaking, accurate and conscientious of teachers. So faithful was he in small things, as well as in great, that he might well have written the essay on 'Blessed Be Drudgery.' He spared neither himself nor his pupils. To the less observant, no doubt, he at times seemed to be tithing mint and anise and cummin, but the enlightened among his students seldom failed to realize that his extreme care came from the high ideal that he set for himself as well as them; these admired and loved him and will be deeply pained to hear of his death.

"Mr. Hamberlin was a devotee of the kindred arts of music and poetry. He was a lifelong student of the greater English poets, especially Shakespeare, to the presentation of whose plays he brought such keen and penetrating appreciation.

"He published several volumes of verse, some of which is of no mean order. He was virtually the poet-laureate of Richmond College.

"But the man overtopped the artist, and, as the artist was dominated by his belief in 'the holiness of beauty,' so the man was dominated by his belief in 'the beauty of holiness.'

"To some holiness means an easy-going, negative sort of piety. This he had not; to some it means such a form of devotion to God and man as must find vent in talk as much as in work—this he had not; to some it means insistent denominationalism—this he had not; to others holiness means to carry into every word and act of life the spirit of absolute truth as revealed from on high—this he had, and this he exemplified to a degree rarely found among men. Here, too, it is probable that he was occasionally misunderstood, for to some he seemed too unyielding. But those who really understood the man, knew that, if he did not yield, it was because of his absolute devotion to truth.

"This world is full, on the one hand, of people who believe in the worship of beauty, but who are deaf to the call of holiness; and, on the other hand, of people who believe in the worship of holiness, but who are blind to the appeal of beauty. Surely the world can ill afford to lose one who, in the words of Lanier, had come to that stage of quiet and eternal frenzy in which the beauty of holiness and the holiness of beauty mean one thing, burn as one fire, shine as one light within him."

In Mr. Hamberlin we see the consistent beauty of high ideas and ideals, which make life a sweeter and happier thing: love of beauty, love of purity, a spirit of tenderness and kindness, Christian integrity and loyalty, love of friends and fidelity to friends, delicacy of thought and feeling, finish of expression, a fine sense of form, responsiveness to the touch of nature, high ideals of thought and conduct, belief in infinite pains, conceiving of one's work as the expression of his character, and, therefore, a holy thing, sublime courage to battle with the ills of life, even to the end, and Southern warmth of soul ever glowing in his heart.

III.—POET.

As a poet, Mr. Hamberlin's work was still tentative and fuller of promise than achievement, but he was beginning to feel his way safely. In 1884, in a poem of six stanzas on "Ideals Unattained," he wrote:

"Why is it that ideal
Of truth and noble name
I've pictured I should be,
And strive to reach and claim,
Lies still so far from me?"

He seems to have felt this when, in a personal letter, in 1896, he wrote these words:

"As far as poetry is concerned, I am beginning to desire—what I fear I shall never do—that I might write even one song, even a couplet, that might live."

But so did Keats write, "My name is writ in water," and instructed that it be put on his tombstone—and so it was.

He might well have written this little couplet also:

"What I aspired to be,
And could not comforts me,"

For the value of a life is not altogether in what it has left in visible form.

We do not claim for Mr. Hamberlin that he is a blinding light, but we class him among those lighter spirits, those pleasant, companionable souls, who utter the smaller and nearer things of nature and life, but who do speak, and speak sweetly and truly. His verses are mostly brief, occasional and spontaneous, produced at a sitting and presenting but a single phase of life or things, an author, not for deep counsel in the emergencies of life, but a pleasant friend for sweet confidential words on themes on a level with all, a delightful companion for our moments of relaxation, through whose genial and humorous temperament we may get a breath of nature for spiritual stimulation and refreshment.

What he said after an evening with Sol Smith Russell will apply in some degree to himself:

"I am better for having seen him. Sol. Smith Russell is becoming a very subtle force in beguiling wearied men of the cares that infest the day. And many men and women will be helped in this work-a-day world by the simple artful actor, who makes them forget themselves. I laughed all the evening. Players such as he are benefactors to the human race."

Among Mississippi writers Mr. Hamberlin takes high rank as one of her most gifted poets. He is deserving of consideration both because of the amount and the variety of his work, and for certain unmistakable points of merit, which a careful reading of his poems will verify. His writings may be classified as follows: *Lyrics*, 1880, pp. 88; *Seven Songs*, 1887, pp. 24; *Alumni Lilt and Other Lines*, 1892, pp. 108; *A Batch of Rhymes*, 1893, pp. 96; *In Colorado*, 1895, pp. 85; *Rhymes of the War*, 1899, pp. 24; a total of 492 pages of poems, besides uncollected poems, quite a multitude, published in various newspapers and magazines, and preserved only in scrapbooks, among which are many of his best

lyrics; also short stories, *Dick Richard* and *Lil*; essays, *On Matthew Arnold*, *On Robert Browning*; and a pamphlet, *Elements of Versification*.

Mr. Hamberlin's poems were published originally, chiefly in the New Orleans *Picayune* and *Times-Democrat*, the Jackson *Clarion-Ledger*, the Meridian *Democrat-Star*, the Richmond *Despatch* and *Times*, and the magazines of Mississippi and Richmond colleges and of Texas and Vanderbilt universities, and many of them were copied into the Dallas *News*, the Arkansas *Traveler*, the New York *Sun*, the New York *World*, *Current Literature*, and other journals of similar national circulation and influence.

At the age of nineteen he published in the Mississippi *Baptist Record* a poem, entitled "Homeless," and Dr. J. B. Gambrell, then editor, pronounced it the best poem ever published in the columns of that paper. In this poem, though written when so young, we can hear distinctly the still, sad, music of humanity, as also in "The Outcast's Soliloquy" of about the same date. Both of these appear in *Lyrics*, his first volume, 1880.

In commenting on "Hell-Gate," written and recited as Hernanian anniversary poem, at Mississippi College, in 1880, Mrs. J. B. Gambrell, literary editor, wrote:

"Young Hamberlin went to the devil, they say,
In mimicking drunken codgers;
But who could escape the devil, pray,
When the devil was played by Rodgers?"

But before considering his poems individually or by classes, it might be of interest to hear from a personal letter, written from Harvard, December, 1899, what he himself says of his sources, inspirations and methods of work in writing his poems. This was written in a letter to the writer, in answer to a series of questions which he had asked. Replying, he says:

"I hardly know what to say to you about my inspirations, sources, in the way of poets, and in the way of immediate causes of any poem, my models, my way of producing verses. I don't think it is very clear in my own mind.

"To something like set questions that I will ask myself as I sit here and write you, I answer thus: I have read, if not all, somewhat largely of all our great poets; I have studied no little in Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Shelley, Byron, Coleridge, Keats, Pope, Dryden, Cowper, Goldsmith, Browning, Tennyson, Arnold, Longfellow, Poe. I remember to have read with zest in my youth the tales of Byron; later I took to Shakespeare—but one must live with him forever to fully know and appreciate him, and still would the wonders grow; Swinburne was a study in

melody for me; Browning was a rough love and Tennyson a gentle one; Keats, of course, was incomparable in his odes; and Arnold pathetic in his darkness of faith, while, to go back, Longfellow's 'Hiawatha' was my first love, and 'The Raven' my next—and I have made it the subject of a month's study in my classes.

"Tennyson's, Longfellow's and Swinburne's measures have most influenced me, as I have sometimes imitated them, and also the French models, as seen in Austin Dobson, etc. But mostly my metres have been chosen to fit, as far as I felt them to fit, my thought or manner of thinking at the moment. I have dabbled a good deal in that very matter, trying to fit my thought to a suitable metre. The poems I send you in this letter, 'The Spur of the Cavalier,' a little expansion study, and 'Whar de Blackberries Grows,' a little love study, illustrate very fitly the general way in which I have been led to compose any poem.

"I should call my work, for two reasons, occasional and spontaneous: an incident, a remark, a scene, a line in a book, a picture, an experience of heart, gives me an idea that I feel like putting into verses, and I am restless till I versify, till I get rid of the burden in verse form; then, when I write, I write all I have to say at a single sitting—if I leave a thing to get cold, it is forever a broken shaft, and scarcely ever do I seek to mend and splice—complete it. The longest pieces that I have done were done this way. Sometimes I feel like writing, of course some definite thing, and I am, as now, too busy to take up my pen,—and I grow very unhappy over a thought that I feel and know shall die before it is ever born; and in my brain it lies unattended to till it turns back to nature to be scattered and lost, for I forget.

"If I get deeper in my verse than the incident, or the picture, or the thought (fancy) of the moment, I am perhaps a little disposed to seeing the pathetic in life, to encouraging the lonely, to hoping for the best. Yet I love the jingle, the color, the thrill of words and lines; and the thought—I have always tried, especially of late years, to put at least one memorable thought in each poem.

"Very oddly, only to-day I read in Anglo-Saxon the very story that years ago from the mouth of a friend gave me the desire to embody in verse the comparison of life to a bird flying into and out of a banquet hall—'Life,' amongst the later poems.

"As to reward for my work, as to fame, especially of late years, I have been perfectly satisfied with the commendation of a single, or, at most, two or three friends. And the only two pieces that I remember being in a 'frenzy' over are 'The Fifer on the Po,' and 'Our Stares Were Crossed.'"

This fact lends interest to these poems and justifies quoting them. As you read "The Fifer on the Po," I leave you to judge if it is not poetry, both in conception and execution, and if it is not a war lyric of genuine merit.

THE FIFER ON THE PO.

And Grant had said he would hammer away
Till he wore out the men who wore the gray.
And he massed his powers for the gruesome task;
Said he, "Men and time are all I ask."
And the springtime shuddered with cannon-boom,
As, Jove-like, he hurled his bolts of doom.

But, ah, the hungry men in gray,
The ragged men who blocked his way,
The men who feared no battle-blast,
Hurled back his thunder fierce and fast,
And hungrily laughed as they shouted, "You see
It's hard to hammer out Robert E. Lee!"

The wilderness thickets were blasted again;
The Po ran thick with the blood of men;
And Jerico Ford on the river Ann
Was a mark for the bolt of the Blue-Coated man;
Cold Harbor shivers with horror yet
At the slaughter of armies there that met.

But like the rebound of the wrecking sea,
The shocks of Grant fell back from Lee;
Fell back like a broken, beaten wave,
Back from the rock to its own bitter grave;
And the Bolt-Hurler found, to his great dismay,
It was hard to hammer out men in gray.

One morning, the twelfth of May, before
The dawn had peeped the hilltops o'er,
As the misting rain in the dark fell down
And wet the unsheltered faces brown
Of Southern soldiers that wearily slept
In Johnston's trenches, the blue-coats crept—

Like a beast of prey, afraid of the day—
And stealthily butchered the men in gray,
Ran them through with the bayonet-steel,
Clubbed them, while sleeping, unarmed, ere a peal
From a warning rifle could rouse the foe,
Who, roused, had driven them back o'er the Po.

The salient stood in the enemy's power,
Ere scarce a gun had alarmed the hour;
And thousands of men, in dumb surprise,
Stood prisoners there at the first dawn-rise;
And it seemed indeed, at last, at last,
That the shaft of blue through our mail had passed.

But, lo, from the rear a flash of gray,
Like the leaping dawn, to the front made way,—
Ay, swift as a comet of hopeful light,
Old Traveler bore his master right
Before the eyes of the venturesome foe
Who stood victorious there by the Po!

And the rider in gray, three stars at his throat,
Flung back the mantle of his coat,
Faced the halting men in gray,
Pointed his hand the enemy's way,
And thus, with his eyes and his face aflame,
Beckoned his veterans on to fame!

Did they falter?—yes! Did they fail him?—no!
 With a shout that startled the slumbering Po,
 They greeted their leader, Robert E. Lee;
 Then said, "Go back to the rear! and see
 How fast we'll stand by the flag whose bars
 Hold thirteen dear old Southern stars!"

For a moment, a moment, they silent stood,
 And in it, clear, from the edge of the wood,
 A single fifer's trill broke out—
 Listen!—"Dixie!"—then the rout
 Was changed to a charge! and Lee, in the rear,
 Saw his veterans forge to the front with a cheer!

And all day long the demon of war
 Held over that field a blood-red star;
 Rose once on the field a flag of white,
 But the bearer was shot and on went the fight;
 No quarter was given, no mercy was sought,
 In that bloodiest battle that ever was fought.

They say that the fifer lived to blow
 But one strain of "Dixie" there by the Po,
 When an envious ball cut short the trill
 That sounded of home while all was still;
 But who could doubt that, as well as Lee,
 He trilled those men to victory?

And I think, by and by, when the men who passed
 Through the throes of death in that battle blast
 Range up beside their leader Lee
 On the bank of the River of Life, there'll be,
 In the moment of silence while greeting there,
 One old-time strain to thrill the air;

And a fifer there in the edge of the wood,
 As long ago by the Po he stood,
 Will trill out "Dixie" on Heaven's street,
 And "Away down south in Dixie's land"
 Will break out full from Heaven's own band!

Hear also two stanzas from "Our Stars Were Crossed:"

Our stars were crossed.
 From out the infinite of chaos dashed
 Their baby-gleams of destiny, and flashed
 Along their separate ways, converging-born,
 It seemed, to merge and melt in love's quick morn.
 Our stars were crossed.

Our stars were crossed.
 We shall not meet again; and yet, we ne'er
 Shall separate: our hearts have touched; we bear
 The subtle thrill—a pain that pierceth you
 And me with self-same pang—God's ages through.
 Our stars were crossed.

I quote the following review which was published when the

volume, entitled *Alumni Lilts and Other Lines*, first appeared, in 1892:

"This volume, as its title indicates, is divided into two parts. The first consists of 'The Marble Heart,' 'Flossie,' 'The Original Bird,' three Richmond College Alumni poems, 'The College Bell,' an undergraduate song, and 'Strike Warm your Cordial Hands,' alumni reunion song; the second contains poems which, though generally shorter than those preceding, are more numerous and have a wider range of theme. The filial spirit of the author is manifest at a glance, for he dedicates the one group of poems to his Alma Mater and the other to his own loved father.

"Poet-like, Mr. Hamberlin draws his material from three main sources—legend, nature, and the passions of the soul. Of those legendary in origin, 'The Marble Heart' is a conspicuous example; of those inspired by communion with nature, 'August 28, 1890,' or 'Niagara and the Natural Bridge,' would stand as a striking representative; of those revealing the heart's deepest feelings, 'A Song of the Seas' might be mentioned.

"The author shows skill in verse-making. His compliance with the laws of rhythm and rhyme is exact, but easy and natural; while in the character and number of feet employed the reader meets with a most pleasing variety. In reading the book one could scarcely fail to be impressed deeply by the poem, 'What Is the Song?' Its happy combination of the poetic and the devout is well suited to call to mind some of Addison's religious odes. First our poet listens as if to catch 'the music of the spheres':

What is the song the bright spheres sing
As through yon shoreless depths they swing?

"Next comes a description of the song, unheard by 'mortal ear,' but as the poet imagines it to be heard by the Maker of all. Then follows this bold apostrophe:

O! wild, grand song of the swinging spheres,
The song that the Great Eternal hears,
Fill my heart with your willing praise,
That I shall voice it through endless days!

"The poet now turns his eager attention earthward—

What is the song the daisy sings—
The modest flower that summer brings?

Think you 'tis silent, since you cannot hear?
Think you it has no song for His ear?
Nay, as it grows, it sings to its God,
The tiny, frail flower that brightens the clod;
And I know that the song that the angels hear
Is as welcome in Heaven as the Peri's tear.

"The 'little flower' is invoked for inspiration, and then the poem concludes:

Sphere and flower, far and near,
Singing to Him that surely can hear,—
Swing in your shoreless deeps and far,
Blow in your valley beneath the star.
Peal your bold anthems eternal in tone,
Sing your soft matin there growing alone:
I join you, and swell the great song to our God—
The mortal, the sphere, and the flower of the clod.

"There is real poetry in the book. It reflects credit on Mr. Hamberlin, and on Richmond College, of which he is so loyal an alumnus."

How sweet is this stanza from a little poem, entitled "Far, Far to the South:"

Far, far, to the South, to the dear land of dream,
My heart slips away like a sloop on the stream,
I float as a bark to a haven of bloom,
And harbor me there 'midst the flowers of doom;
The flowers of doom! aye, the poppies are there,
The satin-weft poppies, soft-scenting the air.

Following are the closing stanzas of a very delicate little poem, entitled "The Mountain Lass:"

Ah, wild, fair life by the stream and sky,
With the world far away and God near by,
Where the body is well and the mind is free
From taint—and content by the willow tree!

O maiden up in the Mountain there,
Drinking sweet life from that buoyant air,
Who is your lover?—ah, happy is he
That woos the maid by the willow tree!

I think when I'm tired of my bachelor state,
I'll hie to the mountains to seek me a mate;
And blessing for me, if she but be
Such a lass as I saw by the willow tree!

Very sweet are the lines "Her Ways," written for the *Times-Democrat*, and copied into *Current Literature*, the *New York World*, and the *Dallas News*:

I do recall a hundred ways of hers—
When she was angry, glad, or shy, or loving:
How she would pat her little foot, perverse;
Or throw her arms about my neck, thus proving
The love that stirred within her fluttering breast;
How her blue-laced lids would slowly rise,
And give me only glimpses of her eyes,
Eyes where dear love hid, but to me confest.
These, and a hundred other woman's ways
Come back to me, as I sit here and gaze
Into the dimming coals, whose gentle heat
Feels on my cheek like her warm life so sweet,
When near my own her face lay, and her breath
Seemed like a thing beyond the touch of death.

We see Mr. Hamberlin in a vein of humor in such poems as "Kissing," "Dem Schlippers," "Vat Ish de Matter mit Jimmie Blaine?" "Sapsucker vs. Typewriter," "Her Height," etc.

Listen to these lines from "Her Height:"

How tall is Clara Mia?—
Well, now, if you could see her,
I something doubt your measure
Would always fit my treasure.

I do not take her height
In feet and inches—quite
Enough for me, to wear
Her satin-sheen of hair
Just next my heart.

And yet
At other times, my pet
Will seem a trifle taller—
Inconstant do not call her;
Still, I assure you, I
Have seen the lass stand by

Me—five feet nine, suppose,
The while, the pretty rose
Of her sweet mouth would be
Just by my lips.

How queer—
But truth I tell to thee—
About my Cara Mia.

And these from "Dem Schlippers:—"

Vat is dot mine vife has bought,
Und to me from the city brought,
Und would be nice for me she t'ought?—
Dem Schlippers!

Vat is it, ven I vas so tired,
Und feels like I vas all day hired,
Dot eases all my corns acquired?—
Dem Schlippers!

Vat is it, ven dem young brats squalls,
Und fights und fusses in dem halls,
Dot sometimes on dere breeches falls?—
Dem Schlippers!

Vat is it, ven I sits me down,
Und varins und nods mein old gray crown,
Dot calls mein vife's schweet face aroun'?
Dem Schlippers!

Vat is it dot vill always be
Some comfort to mein feet—und me?
Some t'ings I loves at night to see—
Dem Schlippers!

And how sweet is this "Slumber Song," published in the *Times-Democrat*:

I.

Sleep, my baby, sleep,
 'Neath the cold, bright moon;
 Sleep, the flowers weep,
 Morning cometh soon.
 Sleep, dear baby, sleep,
 Rosy dreams be thine,
 And of all the dreams you dream,
 May one dream be mine.

II.

Closed the brown eyes are,
 Wide lies tresses brown,
 Beams of yonder star
 Play through casement down.
 Sleep, my baby, sleep,
 Gentle dreams be thine,
 And of all the dreams you dream,
 May one dream be mine.

The inspiriting poem "Never Mind the Rain while the Sun Shines Out," reminds one of Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch. The first and last stanzas are as follows:

Often, in the queerest way,
 Though the frogs croaked loud and fast,
 Have I seen the sunshine play
 Through the rainfall pelting fast;
 And there rang all through my brain,
 As the storm was put to rout,
 This: Never mind the rain
 While the sun shines out!

And with all things that annoy,
 In the heaviest times we know,
 Is a counterparting joy,
 Is a weal to baffle woe,
 Mixed with loss there is a gain;
 So I plod along and shout
 This: Never mind the rain
 While the sun shines out.

An evidence of the lyric quality of his verse is found in the fact that so many of his poems have been set to music. Prominent among these are, "Let Love Be By," "Then the Tears Were Near to Flowing," and his numerous college songs.

He wrote also a drama, "The Strife of the Fairies," which was successfully staged in New York.

Exclusive "Hamberlin Recitals" have been given in Austin and other cities.

I close this hasty glance at his poetry with the following poem, entitled "No Castles," written March 20, 1891, for the *Times-Democrat*, having been suggested and inspired by a remark of John Ruskin's that he would not live in the United States, because we have no castles here. It embodies well the American spirit, and is a beautiful expression of the higher nobility.

NO CASTLES.

A land without a castle!—How
Can honor live in such a land?
Or how can chivalry upstand,
Where no ancestral pillars vow
Their hoary ancientness unto
The traveler? How can lineal pride
Be native found when doth abide
Within the land no castled view?

Oh, petty, mean, inconsequent!
Oh, worthless state! oh, barren shore
That boasts no ivy-mouldered wall!
Oh, base, oh, cheerless continent!
Oh, sad, where hangs not by the door,
Quaint, rusted arms 'neath dust-thick pall!

I hold,—within each free-born's breast
A castle stands of pillared worth,
And bravest fortress on this earth
Is where free manhood is possess!

I hold, too,—on this shore of ours,
The oak-breasted mountains lift to God
The noblest castles 'bove the sod,—
Where tyrants die, where freedom towers!

I hold, more,—in this land, despised,
Because, forsooth, no castles frown,
We need no dread walls where to hide
The fall of honor paralyzed,
The rotting faith of spear or crown,
The shame of knighthood thrust aside!

No castles?—What are castles for?
To bar fair woman, 'gainst her will?
The dungeons vile with foes to fill?
To pack the pillage got in war?

No castles?—Shivered falls the lance
Against our bastioned Liberty,
Within whose walls our myriads free
Defy the heroes of Romance!
No castles?—Lo, Columbia's name
Floats peerless from a battlement
Built firm of warm red hearts of right!
No castles?—Lo, the lists of fame
Hold ne'er a name with honor blent
That tops our stronghold, mossless, bright!

IV.—PROSE-WRITER.

While Mr. Hamberlin has figured chiefly as poet and dramatic reader, he has also demonstrated his ability in prose. Conspicuous among his prose experiments are the short stories "Lil" and "Dick Richard," and the essays on Robert Browning and Matthew Arnold. These first appeared in the *Richmond College Messenger* and *The Spider* and the *University of Texas Magazine*.

"Lil" is a little study of spiritualism and has in it a weird and spectral vein that is suggestive of Poe.

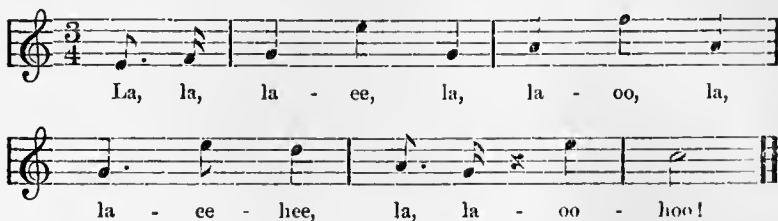
"Dick Richard" is the story of "one of the rare things," as the writer says, "that has touched my life,—a very odd little soot-black, bow-legged, bullet-eyed, cympling-headed negro runt that seemed to have come from nowhere, stayed a little while, amused and worried us a bit, heard and was able to imitate almost every sound that was made about him, ran some errands, lied some, stole a little, had a scrap or two with the town boys, went off with some of them one night and tried to wreck a train and was started to the penitentiary—but never got there, and he isn't anywhere now, I think; and that's his story." The author says of him:

"Dick had no soul; I am sure of that; many things made us all sure of that. Sound was the soul of Dick Richard. He heard everything—he could imitate all. His little voice was simply a marvel in delicacy and color and truth in its imitation of everything. He seemed to be an inspired echo-box."

The yodel was his best performance, perhaps because it was so musical and so human. The author says on this point:

"Probably you have heard how of old the brave Biloxi Indians, rather than be taken by an overpowering foe, chose to march—men and women and children—down into the salt waters of our bay for their graves; and how, ever since, the waters there have been strangely and sweetly vocal with what the legend-makers tell us is the lingering music of that Indian death-song. I have heard those haunting strains; but sweeter far to me, the reality in the days of my youth, with the memory of it now in my later years—was the clear-voiced yodel of happy children, children wandering through the jasmine-yellow woods, or along the shady road, lingering by plenteous spring or gathering grapes from the wondrous old vines, wading barefoot over the shallow sea sands or into the cooler depths of the small and flaggy bayous; boating here and there upon our loved waters; calling, ever calling, morning, noon, and night, with glad, fair voices of youth, and answering, ever answering, if only to hear the echoes that floated back from every quarter, echoes rejoicing themselves in the sweetness and simplicity of the life we led. No Indian song, of life or of death, could ever move my heart as did that simple yodel. And Dick Richard's ears

had caught it in all its music, in all its variations; and his tongue could troll it sweeter than the coal-barge horns could blow, sweeter than the mocking birds could trill, sweeter than even our girls could sound that yodel. Like a little black snipe, as the sun went down, he waded along the shore below the bluff, spearing at crabs or fish, yodeling his heart away, calling to the friendly echoes—he knew them all—that flung the melody back at the strange little imp; till the fisherman answered his notes, and the sailors blew him a blast on their conches, and the children for a mile up and down our beach learned to reply:



The scene of both of these stories is laid on the Mississippi gulf coast that "little stretch of summer-land" which had most charms for him.

As regards his essays, Dr. Callaway says:

"Of critical work, Mr. Hamberlin has published little, chiefly because his taste lay in another direction, in the field of poetry. But his essay on Browning's poetry seems to me to show keen insight and the ability to do critical work of a high order."

Mr. Hamberlin had only begun experiments in the critical essay, but the little he has done gives evidence of a high order of critical ability. His essay on Browning's poetry is genuine criticism of real merit.

Perhaps this sketch cannot better close than with his own words from a paper "On Artists," published in the *Richmond Times*. It is an attempt to express symbolically the feelings of Adam and Eve as they realized the approach of death:

"Spake the man: 'Let us make an image of ourselves, a lasting image in the daring stone, that our children may look upon it when we are gone, for the blood grows sluggish in our veins, youth has left us forever.'"

"Replied the woman: 'We are stooped and wrinkled and gray. Let us not carve the figure of age; but let us look into the mirror of memory, and copy the creatures of Eden, e'er we were driven hence.'"

"'Nay,' said the man, 'it is best to leave behind us the truth. So we will hew the bending forms from out the rock; but in the faces of these we will carve immortal hope and love.'"

"So they hewed the stubborn stone, and the aged pair stood figured forth, emblems of weakness and decay; but from the faces thereof an everlasting hope and an eternal love looked forth.

"After a little the aged pair lay down, and their children could wake

them no more; but so long as the marble should endure should the carvers be unforgotten by those left behind them."

This was the spirit that animated Mr. Hamberlin, and we trust that he has sung some song of faith or of hope or of love, whereby he will be unforgotten by posterity.

He lies buried at Richmond, Va., in "Hollywood" cemetery, with noble dead about him—President Monroe, President Tyler, President Jefferson Davis, and Winnie Davis, the Daughter of the Confederacy, John Randolph of Roanoke, Generals J. E. B. Stuart and Pickett, Commodore Maury, Dr. J. L. M. Curry, and around him the things he most loved—murmuring waters, towering trees, blowing flowers, and singing birds—fit place for the body of poet to rest till the eternal waking.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

The sources of information on which this paper is based are: Mr. Hamberlin's collected poems, in six volumes, published from 1880 to 1899; his uncollected poems, which were published from time to time, especially in the *Times-Democrat* and the *Picayune*, and in other leading journals, quite a multitude, preserved in three large scrap books, among which are many of his best lyrics, and a few poems in manuscript which have not yet been published; his critical essays and short stories published in the *Richmond College Messenger* and the *Richmond College Spider* and in the *Texas University* and *Vanderbilt* magazines; personal letters from distinguished gentlemen who were intimately associated with him in his work, prominent among whom are Chancellor Kirkland of Vanderbilt, Dr. Morgan Callaway of the University of Texas and President Boatright of Richmond College, Virginia; such more intimate and personal data as could be supplied only by his father and his widow; a complete collection of private and published tributes to his memory at his death, and the numerous press notices from Maine to Texas; over three hundred personal letters; and this supplemented by a life-long personal acquaintance, being three years his instructor, and always his admirer and friend.



RECOLLECTIONS OF RECONSTRUCTION IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST MISSISSIPPI.

BY W. H. HARDY.¹

As stated in a former article² upon this subject, Federal troops were quartered in different portions of the State. The ostensible purpose was to uphold civil authority and to maintain law and order. The real purpose was to protect the negroes from imaginary wrongs and oppression and to punish, whenever occasion might furnish a reasonable pretext, the "Rebels," meaning, of course, the native white people. It was not uncommon for the military governor to intervene in causes civil and criminal pending in the courts and oust the court of its jurisdiction to try the cause; or if it had been already tried, to set aside its judgment. When the contest or suit was between a white man and a negro, the negro was favored always.

This leaning to the negroes by the military authorities irrespective of the merits of the case had an effect to embolden them in arrogance and insolence and in the commission of crime.

THE ASSASSINATION OF GEORGE CALHOON.

I recall one of the saddest occurrences of the reconstruction period which occurred in Jasper county in the spring of 1868. Judge Henry Calhoon had amassed a handsome estate before the war, and had retired from the practice of the law to his plantation, near the town of Paulding. He had a distinguished appearance, tall, broad shoulders, florid complexion, iron gray hair, with courtly manners. He had an ideal country home, a charming family of three accomplished daughters and two sons. It was a happy home, with books, paintings, music and flowers. George, the elder son, was about 20 years old, handsome and intelligent. He pos-

¹ A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. IV., pp. 105-106.—EDITOR.

² See *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. IV., pp. 105-132.

sessed a magnetism that made him exceedingly popular with those who came in contact with him, and the idol of his parents and his sisters. He had nearly completed a law course under the tutelage of his father, and expected at the next succeeding term of court to stand examination for license to practice his chosen profession. He assisted his father in the management of the plantation, and really managed the freedmen better than his father. It might be well to state here as a historical fact that the old slave owners generally could not manage successfully free negroes. Having all their lives been accustomed to command, and to be obeyed, they lacked the tact and discretion that was necessary to be exercised in controlling freedmen. The old judge, as was his custom, made the rounds of his plantation on horseback, visiting the different squads of laborers, and had occasion to reprimand a negro man, a big, strong, stalwart, surly fellow, for the manner in which he was doing his work. The negro stopped and, leaning on his hoe, told him that he was doing his work properly; as good as any of the rest, and he did not intend to change, and that he was a free man now, and that he did not intend that any white man should ever "oversee" him again. The judge was indignant at the negro's insolence and especially his manner, and started towards him on his horse, raising his riding switch, and uttering some imprecation, when the negro promptly threatened to use his hoe on him. He desisted, but ordered him to leave the place at once. The negro told him very coolly he would not do it; that he had a contract with him for the year, that he was going to stay and that he could not drive him off. The judge on his return to his house told his son what had occurred, and suggested that he might be able to adjust the matter with the negro and get rid of him without trouble; that he was a vicious fellow, and he was really afraid that he would appeal to the military authorities, and they would interpose and cause them a great deal of trouble.

Young George Calhoun put a pistol in his pocket, mounted a horse and rode to the field where the negro was at work; told him about how he treated his father and that he had come to tell him that he must leave; that he must come to the house and he would go over the books and see what was due him, if anything, and he would pay it, and that he must get off the place and never come back. The negro said to him flatly that he was not going to do it;

that he had a contract and he was going to say there, and dared him to send him off. George Calhoon drew his pistol, told him to drop his hoe and leave instantly and never to come back; if he did, it would be at his peril.

The negro obeyed promptly, left the field, going towards the "quarters," and young Calhoon returned to the house. It happened that the night following this occurrence was the night on which weekly rations were issued to the "field hands"—usually three pounds of bacon and a peck of cornmeal for each hand.

Young Calhoon, who attended to this business, had finished weighing and measuring the meat and meal, locked the smokehouse and turned to go back to his room, having a lantern in his hand. When he was about twenty feet from the smokehouse he was shot in the back with a load of buckshot. He fell to the earth and died almost instantly. The family rushed out and bore the dead body of the idol of that home into the house. Not a negro who heard that shot came to their relief, and the female members of the family were alarmed lest the negroes would come and murder the old gentleman. The younger brother, Henry, a lad of 15 years, went through the darkness of the night to a neighbor's house and carried the information of his brother's assassination, and at once messengers were dispatched to other neighbors and also to the sheriff at Paulding, and by daylight the white male population of the whole country were aroused and on the hunt for the assassin—the negro who had been discharged. Men were sent in every direction, but no tidings were had of him. This hunt continued for a week. The mails were freely used, a description of the assassin being sent to various parts of the State. This went on for a week or ten days, when the people engaged in it gave it up and returned to their usual vocations, except a few who had been employed to keep on the lookout. Mr. John H. Cook, a neighbor of Judge Calhoon's, was riding into Paulding one afternoon and met the assassin in the public road, recognized him and stopped and spoke to him. The negro stopped and Cook engaged him in conversation in a friendly tone and manner, and asked him where he was going; he said he was going back to Judge Calhoon's, and was going back to work. He said that George Calhoon had run him off the place, and he had been to Meridian to see the officer in command, and that he told him all

about being run off of the place without being paid; that the officer told him to go back and go to work and he would see that he was not interfered with. Not a word was said by either of them about George Calhoon's assassination. Cook was unarmed and afraid to undertake the negro's arrest alone, and was about to ride on, when he saw two men riding along the road, coming from towards Paulding. He asked the negro about his trip to Meridian, what he saw, and so detained him until the men came up. They each recognized the negro, and one of them having a pistol promptly covered him and he submitted to arrest. They told him they arrested him for killing George Calhoon. He said that he killed him and would do it again if it were to do over; that Calhoon had drawn a pistol on him and run him off of his place; that he killed him and started the same night on foot through the country to Meridian and reported the case to the officer in command of the Yankee troops, and the officer took down his statement and told him to go back and go to work, and if he was molested he would have the Calhoons arrested and punished.

When the circuit court convened he was indicted for murder, arraigned, tried and convicted. The writer assisted the district attorney in the prosecution. He was defended by able counsel appointed by the court. Immediately after his conviction a petition addressed to the military governor of the State, alleging that he had not had a fair trial; that the confession was extorted from him and prayed that the conviction be set aside and that he be tried by a military court. This was signed by a great many negroes from every part of the county, and by one white man, McKnight, a native of the county. It was sent to the commandant of the military post at Meridian. He forwarded it to the judge and district attorney with the request that they endorse on it the true facts and return it to him. They endorsed on it the statement that the negro had a fair trial, able counsel appointed to defend him; that his guilt had been clearly established by testimony other than his voluntary confession.

The negro was publicly hanged by the sheriff of the county on the day fixed by the court in the sentence, and a few days after his execution the petition was returned from the military headquarters with the endorsement on it that it was not received until after the execution of the condemned man.

This was the first rebuff the negroes had received from the military power in the State, and it had a most salutary effect upon them. For the first time it had dawned upon their deluded minds that they could not rely implicitly upon the military authorities to uphold them in the commission of crimes against the white people.

THE MERIDIAN RIOT.

Garner, in his *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, published by The MacMillan Co., of New York, in 1901, gives an account of the Meridian Riot, which occurred March 6th, 1871, and while the facts stated by him are true, they are misleading, as all the material facts necessary to a correct judgment are not fully stated therein.

Meridian had been burned by Sherman after the fall of Vicksburg and Jackson. Only two houses were left standing when he evacuated the place. The Ragsdale Hotel, which stood on the east side of the Mobile and Ohio railroad, near the depot, and the Jones Hotel, which stood on the corner of Fifth street and Twenty-sixth avenue. The town was rebuilt when the war closed with cheap wooden buildings, of yellow pine, very inflammable. There was no fire department or other adequate means of extinguishing fires. Owing to the fact that Meridian was a railroad center it took on a rapid growth just after the war. Among those who flocked there were many political adventurers, black and white, seeking to share the spoils of Radical reconstruction. A bitter Republican paper, edited by J. R. Smith, was published weekly. Every office was filled by Republican appointees. The negroes were insolent and overbearing, and white men and white women often got off of the sidewalk rather than be jostled or pushed off by half drunken negroes. Drinking saloons were numerous and many of them were the resorts of the baser negro element, where the white people were roundly abused. A deputy sheriff of Sumpter county, Alabama, came over to arrest a negro criminal, charged with felony. He was not only prevented from making the arrest, but was assaulted by a Northern white man, a carpetbagger, and several negroes, for which the white man was arrested and bound over to answer at circuit court. The white people were very much incensed and threats were indulged against the carpetbagger, and becoming alarmed he abandoned his negro school and took

"French leave," forfeiting his bond. When the negroes learned this fact they became furious, and at the suggestion of J. Aaron Moore, a negro blacksmith, and representative-elect from Lauderdale county in the Legislature (whom Mr. Garner in his *Reconstruction in Mississippi* designates as "Mr. Moore, a colored minister"), a number of negroes went over to Jackson to see Governor Ames to acquaint him with the true state of affairs by telling him that the white people—"the Rebels"—had run the carpetbag school teacher out of the town. Ames gave them but little comfort, as they could produce no evidence of overt act upon the part of the white people. So they returned, and the following day called a mass meeting, which was largely attended by the negroes. Very intemperate speeches were made by Warren Tyler, a negro school teacher, and Bill Dennis, a negro barroom bully, and Aaron Moore. Dennis' speech breathed threats of vengeance and blood, and all of them said that as the governor refused to interfere in their behalf, the "colored people" would have to take matters into their own hands; that Gen. Grant, President of the United States, would uphold them. There were a few white citizens present at the meeting, and they left it with feelings of indignation as well as of alarm. They felt that a crisis was at hand; that a race conflict was imminent, in which blood would flow and lives perish, and many of them were in solemn and grave consultation about the situation when the fire alarm was given. Many thought the race conflict had begun, but a volume of black smoke told the story that a building was on fire, a peril scarcely second to that of a fight with the negroes.

It was soon discovered that the store of Bill Sturgis, on the corner of Front and Lee streets, now Second street and Twenty-seventh avenue, was in flames. Sturgis was the carpetbag mayor of the town. The flames had gained such headway that there was no hope of extinguishing them, and the fire spread from building to building. Every man turned out to fight the fire, but the negroes, who were there in as great or greater numbers than the whites, refused to aid in saving a thing from the stores, or to extinguish the fire. They said in a spirit of glee, "It's a white man's fire, and let the white men put it out." Others said, "Let the damn town burn up," and while they did not fiddle, as did Nero while Rome burned, they rejoiced, and even got in the way and pur-

posely obstructed the efforts of the whites to check the fire, and the whole town seemed doomed. The fire was finally checked by almost superhuman efforts, but not till after two-thirds of the business houses had been destroyed.

The white people were now thoroughly aroused; they were confronted by a condition that was alarming in the extreme. The belief was prevalent that Sturgis' store had been set on fire by his connivance, that it might be laid to the charge of the white people. They believed that he was largely responsible for the state of affairs existing and they held a mass meeting and petitioned Governor Ames to remove him. In the meantime, J. Aaron Moore, Warren Tyler and Bill Dennis had been arrested and brought before Judge Bramlette at the courthouse for trial upon the charge of disorderly conduct and attempting to incite a riot. Judge Bramlette was a Southern man and a Republican appointee, but he was conservative, and a most excellent magistrate. The three negroes were put on trial; the courthouse, now known as the "Con Sheehan Building," on the corner of Fifth street and Twenty-eighth avenue, was filled with people. Gen. William H. Patton was put on the stand as a witness by the State, and was testifying to some statement or remark made by Bill Dennis, when Bill very promptly in a rather loud voice said "That's a damn lie!" General Patton had a small walking cane in his hand, and raising it made a step towards Bill, exclaiming, "What did you say, sir?" when Bill drew his pistol and fired at him, but missed him, the ball striking Judge Bramlette in the forehead, killing him instantly. As quick as a flash the white men sitting in the rear drew their pistols and fired upon Dennis. By the time the smoke cleared away the court room had but few people left in it. Judge Bramlette was found dead and Bill Dennis mortally wounded. He was taken into the sheriff's office and two men left to guard him. The riot was on and white men and negroes were seen running in every direction; the white men to get their arms and the negroes in mortal terror to seek a place of hiding. Every man that could do so got a gun or pistol and went on the hunt for negroes. The two men left to guard the wounded Bill Dennis in the sheriff's office grew tired of their job and threw him from the balcony into the middle of the street, saying that their services were needed elsewhere, and they could not waste time guarding a wounded ne-

gro murderer. Warren Tyler was found concealed in a shack and shot to death. Aaron Moore had escaped from the courthouse in the confusion and lay out in the woods that night, and the next day made his way to Jackson, where he has continuously resided ever since.

The news of the riot was telegraphed all over the country and men came to Meridian both by rail and on horseback. A squad of Alabamians from Sumter county, who had many relatives and friends in Meridian, came over on horseback and undertook to overhaul Aaron Moore, but failing to do so, they returned to Meridian and burned his residence, and mistaking the negro Baptist Church for Aaron Moore's church they burned it. Aaron's was the Methodist church, and only a block away from the other. When they were afterwards advised of their mistake, with the information that the Baptist negroes were orderly and quiet, and took no part in this unhappy affair, they made up a purse and had the church rebuilt for them. It was not known how many negroes were killed by the enraged whites, but the number has been estimated at from twenty-five to thirty. The writer heard one man express the opinion that fully 100 were killed; in fact, exaggerated reports went out all over the country and grew in proportion to the distance they traveled from the field of conflict, reaching in some instances to five hundred killed and wounded.

The mayor, Bill Sturgis, was thoroughly overcome with terror at the vengeance of the people and concealed himself in the garret of his boarding house. Being a member of the Odd Fellows' order he opened communication with a member of the lodge, and it resulted in the signing of a cartel by which Sturgis was to resign the office of mayor and was to leave the State in twenty-four hours, he to be furnished an armed escort of twenty men from his place of hiding to the train and also on the Mobile and Ohio train going North till it reached the county line. This was carried out on both sides in good faith.

The riot marks an epoch in the transition period of reconstruction and really marks the beginning of the end of carpetbag rule in Mississippi. It demonstrated the cowardice of both the carpet-bagger and the negro, and that in danger, either real or imaginary, they took counsel of their fears. When the white people failed, after every possible appeal to argument, to reason, to justice,

to a sense of the public weal, they brought into full play the lessons learned in the Meridian riot, and it proved efficient in the campaign of 1875. In proof of this statement one has only to refer to the report of the Boutwell Committee, appointed by Congress to investigate the election of 1875. A show of force was made by the whites on all occasions, parades, torchlight processions, banners and transparencies, the firing of cannon and anvils, the defiant attitude of the whites towards the negroes. They no longer argued, reasoned or persuaded them. As an example of one of the methods used to put the negroes in fear, the following occurrence in Kemper county on the night preceding the election which took place November 3rd, is here recited. The writer had been making speeches throughout the eastern counties by assignment of the State Democratic Executive Committee, the last one being at Scooba on the night preceding the election. He reached Scooba on a freight train about 3 o'clock in the afternoon of November 2nd. Every business house in the town was closed and not a man was to be seen on the streets. He presently saw a man at the head of a flight of stairs that ascended to the second story of a building on the outside, beckoning to him. He proceeded at once to join him, and was ushered into a large hall filled with men—earnest men; and one was speaking. As he entered the hall the speaker finished the sentence with great emphasis: "We have got to carry the election to-morrow if we have to drive every negro and scallawag from the polls." This sentence was vociferously applauded. The presiding officer recognized the writer and arose, announced his presence and the whole house arose to their feet and gave rounds of applause. He bowed his acknowledgment and said:

"Men of Kemper: I was sent here by the State Executive Committee to address you on the eve of the election, which is to decide the fate for long years to come of our beloved State, that is bleeding at every pore, her great heart throbbing with the desire that she be rescued on the morrow from the robbers and spoilers who are preying upon her. When the great soul of the immortal Stonewall Jackson was about to leave its tenement of clay and wing its flight to God, in the delirium of his dying moment, he suddenly cried out to one of his trusty commanders, 'A. P. Hill, prepare for action!' So say I to you, men of Kemper! The time for argument is passed, prepare for action."

And they did. About dusk the tramp of horsemen was heard approaching from the east. Those not in the secret were apprehensive. Chisholm had left town the evening before breathing out

threatenings of vengeance. But soon the head of the column appeared, led by Capt. Winston, of Sumter county, Alabama. He issued his commands as would the captain of a squadron of cavalry in the regular army. They dismounted, haltered their horses, loosened the girths of their saddles and fed. After a rest of two hours or more, they mounted their horses and with lighted torches—every fourth man carrying one—with bugles and drums they started out through the country, which was densely inhabited by negroes, and they rode all night, blowing their bugles, beating their drums, waiving their torches, executing some evolutions in cavalry drill—now charging an imaginary enemy and firing their pistols. They disbanded about daylight and were soon on their way home in squads of two, three and four men.

The ruse was effectual. Not a negro in that community appeared at the polls next day to vote, and not a single one had been harmed or personally injured.

THE ORDER OF '76.

In 1870 there was a secret political society organized, at what place and by whom is not definitely known, but the impression is that it was first organized at Somerville, in Noxubee county, by Thomas S. Gathright, the founder and proprietor of Somerville Institute, a high school for boys and young men, at which many leading men in the State were educated.

The election which occurred in 1869 was the first to occur under the reconstruction law passed by Congress at which a full ticket for all State, district, county and beat offices was nominated by both the Republican and Democratic parties, and a most spirited campaign was conducted by both parties. Owing to the disfranchisement of a large portion of the whites, and the fact that nearly every negro who had reached the age of 18 years readily subscribed to the registration oath, swearing that he was 21 years old—many of them innocently, for very few of them knew even the year in which they were born. The registry of their births having been made, if they were made, by their owners, the negroes were largely in the majority in all the counties of East and Southeast Mississippi, except, perhaps, in Jones, Perry, Smith and Greene. Hence the only hope of success for the Democrats was to secure a large negro vote for their nominees. The means em-

ployed by the whites to secure this negro vote were argument, reason, persuasion and by a fearful exposure of the character and conduct of the carpetbag and scalawag leaders of the blacks. Neither force, fraud nor intimidation were resorted to; indeed it would not have been safe to resort to any such methods, as the election was held under the direct supervision of the Federal military authorities. In fact, the whites had no disposition to resort to any unfair means, because they believed they could influence the negroes to vote with them. There were good grounds for this belief. The negroes were dependent upon the whites for employment, for shelter and for food and raiment. They cultivated the white man's lands, they lived in his houses; every morsel of food which they and their dependent families ate was furnished by the whites, and the employer was in daily contact with them; many of them had been associates on the plantations in their boyhood—white and black boys growing up together—fishing and 'possum hunting together; going in swimming together, and indulging in all boyish sports together—now grown up men and voters, it was reasonable to believe that all this class of negroes could be influenced by persuasion to vote with the whites among whom they had been born and reared, and with whom they must continue for a long time to reside and look to for the means of support. But the campaign soon revealed the fact, that no set of intelligent white men ever labored under such a stupendous delusion. It was soon discovered that the carpetbaggers and scalawags had thoroughly organized the negroes in every community of every county, and they were thoroughly drilled in secret by the emissaries of the Loyal League. They were taught that the defeat of the Republican party and the restoration of the native whites to the control of the State meant their reënslavement. The poor, ignorant creatures believed it, and that belief was so firmly fixed that no argument, no reason, no tie of affection could shake it.

The Republican tickets were printed long before the election and sent out by trusty messengers secretly to the officers of the Loyal Leagues, and by them given out to the negro voters. The ticket was a long one, and the obverse side was printed in colors of the United States flag. It was thus printed for two reasons:

First, the negroes had been obligated in the Loyal Leagues³, with the flag above them as the emblem of their freedom, they knew it whenever they saw it. Second, it identified or distinguished the ticket which they were to vote. They could not read, and if the ticket had been printed on white paper, they could not have told it from the Democratic ticket.

The result of the election was the overwhelming defeat of the Democrats. This defeat was due solely to the thorough organization of all the Republican forces, while the Democrats, though united in a common purpose, had no compact organization trained to pursue that purpose by one harmonious, well devised plan.

These were the conditions that gave birth to the secret political organizations known as the "Order of '76." The fact that suggested the name was, that only a very few of all the officers elected by the Republicans—State, district, county and beat—paid any taxes, as they had nothing to tax. Especially was this true of the members of both branches of the Legislature. The opinion may safely be indulged that a single white Democrat might have been found in the State whose taxes, State and county, amounted to double the amount of the combined taxes of all the members of both branches of the Legislature, leaving out the Democrats who were elected. Hence the boast of the negro members: "We makes de laws, and de white folks pays de taxes."

This was a clear case of "Taxation without representation," the cry that fired the hearts and nerved the arms of the "Fathers of '76." No one was eligible to membership except white men 21 years of age and over, and the applicant had to be vouched for by two members in good standing as a man of honorable character and loyal to the Democratic Conservative party. When elected to membership he was carried into the presence of the presiding officer of the club, whose title was that of captain, and was informed of the objects and purposes of the club, which in substance were as follows: To secure concert of action among the white voters of the State in overthrowing the Republican party in the State, and driving the carpetbaggers and camp followers from the State; to shield, protect and defend each other, by money or by force, if necessary,

³ See "Recollections of Reconstruction in East and Southeast Mississippi," in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. IV., pp. 114-121.

from wrong and oppression, and likewise to protect and defend our mothers, sisters, wives and daughters from insult and injury; to punish lawless negroes and their white allies who were protected by the military authorities; to ostracise every native white man and his family who allied himself with the negroes; and to attend every election and vote only for true and tried men, and use every lawful means to defeat the 'black and tan ticket,' and to re-establish white supremacy in the State. When this statement was made, if the candidate was willing to proceed, he took a solemn obligation to keep the existence of the club, the names of its members and the names of its officers (who were captain, first and second lieutenants and adjutant) and the place of meeting a secret. He was to obey all orders and directions brought to him by a member from any officer of the club. No written orders were ever given. In fact, no record was kept of the proceedings except the roll of members, under the caption "Members of Robinson Club No. —," ———, giving the name of the place). On meeting a man the method of testing him to ascertain if he were a member, was as follows: On shaking hands with him, or speaking to him, the question was asked: "Do you know Robinson?" If he were a member he would reply: "What Robinson?" The answer would be "Squire Robinson." He would then promptly say "Yes, I know him," at the same time drawing his right hand rapidly across his brow and back over the right ear, as if brushing back his hair. Not unfrequently a man not a member would be asked the question if he knew Robinson, and he would naturally ask, "What Robinson," he would say "No, I don't know him," and would sometimes ask where he lived. An evasive answer was given and the matter dropped.

There were clubs organized in all the eastern counties, and soon their influence was felt in every community and county. The Republicans knew of the existence of the organization, but supposed them to be the Ku Klux, a secret organization operating in West Tennessee, Arkansas and portions of West Mississippi. Every effort was made to get definite information of the plans, purposes and doings of the order. Congress had in the meantime passed what was known as the "Enforcement Act," intended to enforce the provisions of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Under the provisions of this act the

grand jury of the United States District Court at Jackson, Miss., at the January term, 1872, returned an indictment against one L. D. Belk, of Meridian, containing four counts, but each charging practically the same offense. The gravamen of the first count was set out in the following language:

"L. D. Belk on the 8th day of March, 1871, within the jurisdiction of said court, did feloniously band together with one Thomas Williams and other persons whose names are to the jury unknown, to injure one John Harris, then and there a citizen of the U. S. and who had the right of being such citizen, granted and secured to him by the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the U. S., with intent to hinder him, said John Harris, from exercising his right to personal liberty, secured to him by the Constitution of the United States."

The second count averred that John Harris is a "Man of Color" and that the conspiracy was to deprive him of his equality of right to personal liberty.

The third count charged that the defendant "Entered upon the premises of John Harris, and with force and arms seized and imprisoned him without authority of law."

The fourth count was but a repetition of the first, with a slight variation in the form. The United States District Attorney was E. P. Jacobson, a Jew, but whence he came or whither he went is unknown to the writer. Belk was the deputy sheriff of said Lauderdale county under R. J. Mosely, a native, who was elected sheriff on the Republican ticket.

Belk was arrested, taken to Jackson and put upon trial. Judge Potter and T. J. Whorton, of Jackson, and J. Wilkes Coleman, of Meridian, were employed to defend the case. In the beginning, the prosecution was thought to be *bona fide*, but that opinion was soon changed by the course and conduct of the prosecution, and it was thought to be a "fishing" prosecution arranged between the United States District Attorney and Mosely, and his deputy, Belk, the defendant, who was a close connection of Mosely's by marriage, his sister having become Mosely's stepmother.

Fifty witnesses were subpoenaed by the prosecution, and the examination of them sought to connect Belk's alleged conspiracy with the mysterious secret order, and some of the witnesses gave names of parties who were suspected of belonging to the order. Among them was a young man who lived at Newton, Miss., T. M. Scanlan, who is still a worthy and honored citizen of that flourishing little town on the Alabama and Vicksburg Railroad, thirty-

two miles west of Meridian. Scanlan was arrested by a sergeant and a squad of Federal soldiers and carried to Jackson, and was sent before the grand jury, where he was asked if he knew anything of the existence of a secret political organization at Newton. As he was a member of the "Order of '76" he replied that he did, that he was a member of such organization. He was then asked to tell all about it, its objects and purposes, its methods, its location and the names of the officers and members. He refused to answer, saying: "If the organization is a lawful one, you have no right to extort from me any information concerning it; if it is an unlawful one, then I cannot be compelled to incriminate myself." The district attorney was called in, and he offered Mr. Scanlan immunity from prosecution if he would answer and tell all he knew about it. He replied: "If it be an unlawful organization I cannot be compelled to degrade myself by confessing that I am a member of an unlawful organization," and refused to answer. He was taken before the court (Judge Hill) and lectured and sent back and still refused. He was again taken before the court on the second day and was by the court sentenced to jail for contempt, there to be kept in confinement till he should answer the questions propounded to him by the grand jury.

The district attorney resorted to intimidation. He told Scanlan "I will find men at Newton who will gladly accept the terms I have offered you and I will use their evidence to lodge you in Sing Sing prison for a good long term." And he accordingly sent to Newton and arrested a dozen men, two of whom belonged to the order, but all testified they knew nothing about it.

The heroic young man stood firm and told him he would die in Sing Sing before he would answer. The jailor was a burly black negro, who, "dressed in a little brief authority, played many fantastic tricks before high heaven," and if he "made the angels weep," he never drew a tear from the eyes of brave Tom Scanlan. He had for his prison companions thirty black, dirty negro criminals and eight white men. Here he spent the whole of August and September, the worst months of the year, the vicarious sufferer of the noble cause of "white supremacy" and an honest and fair administration of government. A plan for his release had been formed and men chosen to execute it of undoubted courage, discretion and prudence. But fortunately there broke out among

the prisoners in jail a malignant type of yellow fever, and Judge Hill ordered Scanlan's release, as he was imprisoned only for contumacy, and Jacobson had failed to get any proofs from the other witnesses summoned.

Had Scanlan accepted Jacobson's proposition and disclosed all he knew about the order, the disclosure would have been followed by military arrests all over East Mississippi, and would have produced a reign of terror. Hundreds of men would have taken their guns and gone into hiding and a guerrilla war would have been inaugurated that would have required a large military force to quell.

The effect, however, of this procedure was practically to break up the order. That is, they disbanded and never held any more meetings, but they were in constant touch and the orders or messages of the officers were always promptly obeyed.

Belk was convicted and fined \$500. A motion in arrest of judgment was overruled and a motion for a new trial was made by his counsel, but continued. The case seems to have been dropped here, as the record does not disclose any action taken thereafter on the motion. This fact went to confirm the belief already entertained by many that, the prosecution was not *bona fide*, and that Belk knew from the beginning that he was in no danger of punishment. I am indebted to Mr. Thomas M. Scanlan for the details of his arrest and imprisonment as related herein, given in a letter dated June 6th, 1903. The concluding paragraph of his letter is as follows:

"In looking back to those days of pillage, the negro rule and anarchy, I wonder at our patience and forbearance. The whole thing seems like a dream, and our deliverance a miracle. It would be hard for the present generation to conceive that ours was such an ordeal. So let them rejoice in the happy present and future that cost us so much."

This organization demonstrated the absolute necessity for thorough organization, and contributed largely to the great victory achieved in 1875, by which the carpetbag-negro government was overthrown, the governor and lieutenant-governor impeached and driven from office and a hegira of the conscienceless adventurers who packed their carpet bags and fled from the State, and the government passed into the control of the white people of the State.

No one who did not pass through those fearful times, and who did not experience the constant, ever-present anxiety and humiliation and tyranny can form any accurate conception of the universal joy that thrilled the hearts of the white people of the State and that gushed forth through the lips in every form of rejoicing when this dark period drew to a close.







Col. J. F. H. Claiborne.

LIFE OF COL. J. F. H. CLAIBORNE.

BY FRANKLIN L. RILEY.¹

Col. William Claiborne, an ancestor of the subject of this sketch, came from the manor of Claiborne, or Cleborne, Westmoreland, England. He settled in Virginia in the reign of Charles I., and was prominently connected with the history of the colony under that sovereign, as well as under Cromwell and Charles II. His spirited struggle for Kent Island won for him the title of "The evil genius of Maryland."

William Claiborne, of Richmond, Va., the grandfather of Col. J. F. H. Claiborne, was married to Miss Mary Leigh, an aunt of Hon. Benjamin Watkins Leigh, United States Senator from Virginia. Four sons were born of this union,—Gen. Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne,² father of Col. J. F. H. Claiborne; Gov. William Charles Cole Claiborne;³ Dr. Thomas A. Claiborne; and the Hon. N. H. Claiborne, who was for twenty years a member of Congress from Virginia.⁴

Gen. F. L. Claiborne was connected with the army of the United States during the greater part of his life, and died in 1815 from a wound received in the service. His wife was a daughter of Col. Anthony Hutchins, a British officer, who in 1771 obtained from the Crown a large tract of land near Natchez, Miss., in what was then West Florida.

The eldest son by this marriage was born near Natchez, April 24, 1807. He was named after a German officer, Baron John

¹ A biographical sketch of the author of this paper will be found in Godspeed's *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, and in *Who's Who in America* for 1901-1902 and 1902-3.—EDITOR.

² A sketch of Gen. Claiborne's life will be found in Claiborne's (J. F. H.) *Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State*, p. 333, *et seq.*

³ A sketch of Gov. Claiborne will be found in *Ibid.*, p. 250, *et seq.* An account of his career as Governor of Mississippi will be found in *Ibid.*, ch. XXII., and of his connection with Louisiana history in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. III., pp. 247-259.

⁴ Campbell's *History of Virginia* contains numerous references to the Claiborne family.

Francis Hamtramck,⁵ who had served as colonel of the First regiment of United States infantry, Wayne's legion, in which the father had been captain and adjutant. A few years after the death of Gen. Claiborne his eldest son was sent to relatives in Virginia to be educated. Four years later he began the study of law in the office of his cousin, Hon. Benjamin Watkins Leigh, of Richmond. Having suffered shortly afterwards from a slight hemorrhage, he decided to return to the warmer climate of his childhood home. He resumed his studies in the office of Griffith & Quitman, of Natchez, but becoming alarmed at the condition of his health, he again gave up his work and went to Cuba, for the double purpose of regaining his physical vigor and of studying the Spanish language. His health rapidly improved, and six months later he was back in Virginia studying law in the school of Gen. Alexander Smythe, at Wytheville. In less than a year thereafter he completed his course and was admitted to the bar.

On account of his delicate constitution he abandoned his intention of settling in Liberty, Bedford county, Va., and returned to Natchez. When he reached that place he found the country greatly excited over the second presidential contest between Adams and Jackson. The young lawyer, being an ardent Democrat, was drawn into the contest in behalf of Gen. Jackson. In compliance with a request of the Democratic executive committee he took temporary control of a paper which was then published in Natchez by the venerable Andrew Marschalk. Mr. Claiborne's valuable services as a writer and speaker soon attracted widespread attention, and having once entered upon a political career he found it difficult to extricate himself therefrom. Yielding to the solicitations of his friends, he became a Democratic candidate for the Legislature from Adams county before he had reached his 21st year. He was elected for three successive terms, "each time by an increasing majority." In 1833 his friends insisted upon his becoming a candidate for Speaker of the lower House of the Legislature, but he declined an election, which it is thought would have been well nigh unanimous, and used his influence in behalf of his relative, Col. Joseph Dunbar, of Jefferson county, who was elected without a dissenting vote. In December, 1830, Mr. Clai-

⁵ A brief sketch of Baron Hamtramck will be found in Lossing's *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, p. 53.

borne delivered a speech which was probably the most eloquent and pretentious effort made by him during his services as a member of the Legislature. It was in defense of a bill for the relief of Jefferson College, and was devoted for the most part to a discussion of "the *expediency* of adopting a system of *domestic education*, and its *absolute necessity* in a free government." Although this speech was rather ornate, it showed a depth of knowledge and a brilliancy of imagination seldom excelled by a young man of twenty-three years. The following extract therefrom will show the style of Mr. Claiborne's early oratorical efforts as well as the spirit of the speaker:

"Where then, Sir, let me again inquire, where are you to educate your sons? Will you send them to the cities and colleges of the eastern States * * * * Will you drag them from their native soil, to grow up sickly exotics in a northern hot-house? Send them to the North and you change their habits; you tear away all those strong associations of childhood, those feelings and affections, that vegetate only under the parental roof. You give a new tendency to character, perhaps a worse destiny to your child * * * * Sir, I do not wish to alarm parental sensibilities; but in nine cases out of ten the dissipated circle of students at the eastern colleges, the 'Knights of the Round Table' and the gentlemen of the 'fancy' are made up of the sons of southern planters, who have been compelled, by the parsimonious policy of their own State to send them abroad, and from a mistaken affection, furnish them with an allowance of five hundred to a thousand dollars *per annum*. Sobriety and industry are not to be expected in a youth of eighteen, suddenly removed from the solitude of a country residence and from the elbow chair of a father or mother to the company of a hundred volatile young men, who teach him that tutors are tyrants and disobedience a virtue. Prompted by that innate dread of control, which prevails in every breast, the temptation becomes too strong and he soon musters under the standard of rebellion. There is too, Mr. Speaker, in all colleges, a species of vampire, that attach themselves to the southern youth—not like the fabulous monster, feeding on human blood, but equally voracious in opening the veins and arteries of the *purse*. It comes in the garb of friendship—studies the disposition of its subject and whether his propensities lead him to the gambling table or to more serious meditations of the closet, still does this vampire cling to its deluded victim, until it gorges the last cent, either by some well turned trick at cards or under the more fascinating name of *benevolence*! Thus, sir, is it with the southern youth: Turned adrift from the quiet haven into the tempestuous seas, richly freighted, but with no steersman at the helm, is it strange that they should founder along the breakers?"¹⁰

In December, 1828, Mr. Claiborne was married to Miss Martha Dunbar, of Dunbarton, near Natchez. They had three children,—

* A copy of this pamphlet will be found in the Claiborne Historical Collection.

Annie, now Mrs. Clarence Pell, of New York; Willis Herbert,⁷ who died from the effects of wounds received in the War between the States, and Martha, now Mrs. Henry Garrett, of Natchez.

About 1833 Mr. Claiborne purchased and removed to what is known as the "Standley Prairie," near the present line of Holmes and Carroll counties. A year or two later he settled in Madison county. Almost immediately thereafter (1835) he was nominated by acclamation as a candidate for Congress by the first Democratic convention that was ever held in the State, of which convention he was not a member. In the canvass which followed, Mr. Claiborne spoke in every county of the State and in every precinct in some of the counties. He was elected by a large majority, but his colleague on the Democratic ticket, Col. B. W. Edwards, was defeated by Gen. David Dickson, an independent candidate.

Mr. Claiborne was not only the youngest member of the lower House of Congress when he entered that body, but "the only member from the west of the mountain" at that time who was a native born citizen of that region. He prudently "held himself in the background" during the greater part of his first year in Congress, making his first speech late in the session. Although he was in ill health during this entire session, he was a daily attendant on the House, and discharged his duties with commendable promptness and thoroughness.

It was through his exertions that the House was induced "in the expiring moments" of this session (July 2, 1836), to pass a bill establishing what is now known as the Chickasaw School Fund. Gales & Seaton's *Register of Debates in Congress* contains the following suggestive comment upon this act:

"This bill is peculiarly interesting to the people of Mississippi. It makes an appropriation out of the Treasury of an amount equal to 5 per cent. on the net proceeds of the sales of the Chickasaw lands, probably \$30,000, and authorizes the State to locate other lands in half or quarter sections, or eighths, in lieu of the 16th sections neglected to be secured by the provisions of the treaty; and the land thus located is for the use

⁷ Shortly before he was twenty-one years of age, Willis H. Claiborne was elected without opposition to represent Hancock county in the lower House of the Legislature. At the outbreak of the War between the States, he resigned his seat in the Legislature and entered the Confederate army as a private soldier. While in the service in Virginia he was made captain and major successively. He was afterward transferred to Vicksburg, where he remained until its fall. He then served in the army of Georgia until the close of the war. In his last campaign he received a wound which ultimately resulted in his death.

of schools in the twelve counties recently organized in the Chickasaw cession. Alabama is alike interested, but in a smaller degree.”

At the beginning of his second session, Col. Claiborne produced a profound impression upon the House by the eloquent and effective way in which he announced the death of his colleague, the Hon. David Dickson. A contemporary account of this event, written by one of his political opponents,⁹ reads as follows:

“He rose to discharge the painful office under evident and strong embarrassment; but at last, controlling his feelings, he proceeded to offer a few unstudied and generous remarks on the character of the deceased, preparatory to offering the usual resolutions, but before he closed he had won every heart and elicited the sympathies and tears of the assembled multitude. Never did man effect more in so few words; never was a stronger feeling produced by the eloquence of the unpremeditated language of the heart.

“Although nothing like effect was aimed at, the speech produced everything that could have been desired, and Mr. Claiborne was immediately ranked among the most eloquent orators of the House of Representatives.”

This short but eloquent eulogy soon went “the rounds of the British press,” and was warmly commended as “a specimen of refined and effective eloquence.”

The Journals of the House and the public press of the country give ample evidence of the character of Mr. Claiborne’s services while a member of Congress. We are told that “he was placed on the Committee on Foreign Relations at a period when the northeastern boundary involved the question of war or peace.” He was thus brought into intimate association with some of the greatest statesmen of that day. Although he was in feeble health during the greater part of his congressional career, his vigorous and eloquent speeches in “Defence of the Settlers on Public Land,”¹⁰ and on the “Doctrine of Contempts,”¹¹ established his reputation as an orator and debater.

The first of these speeches was made January 4, 1837, in reply to the Hon. Clinton Allen, of Kentucky. Referring to it, the *New York Evening Post*, which was then edited by William Cullen Bryant, says, in its issue of February 2, 1837:

⁹ Gales and Seaton’s *Register of Debates in Congress*, XII., 4612; see also *Congressional Globe*, Vol. III., 483-4.

¹⁰ The Washington Correspondent of the *Pennsylvania Inquirer* (the leading organ of the National Whig party), in a letter of Jan. 28, 1837, quoted from Lynch’s *Bench and Bar of Miss.*, p. 526.

¹¹ See the *Congressional Globe*, Vol. IV., Appendix, pp. 87-9.

¹² See *Ibid.*, pp. 236-8.

"The cause of humanity and equal rights has gained an able advocate, in the Hon. Mr. Claiborne of Mississippi. High-spirited, fearless, and independent, possessing natural talent of the first order, and extensive acquirements, he bids fair to be an ornament to the House and country. His speech in defence of the settlers on the public domain, delivered upon an amendment offered by him to the resolution of Mr. Allen, of Kentucky, would do honor to the orators of Greece or Rome. The best judges pronounce it a finished specimen of logic and eloquence. It should be in the hands of every friend of humanity and equal rights."

The following extract from this speech will doubtless justify, in the mind of the reader, the sentiments expressed by the writer quoted above:

"Can the settler come in competition with the opulent planter or associated capital? Can he purchase at ten or twenty dollars per acre? No, sir; no. Deceived by his Government, cheated by the deceitful illusions, not broken until the last hour, that some reservation, authorized by law, would be made in his favor, the care-worn occupant returns with a bitter and rebellious spirit, to witness the disappointment and wretchedness of his own fireside; * * * * himself, decrepid and penniless, driven forth by the influence of wealth, and the ingratitude of his country. O, sir, it is unwise thus to sport with the affections of your people; it is hard thus to deprive one of his home, humble though it be. Sprung from the earth, and destined to return to it, every man wishes to acquire an interest in it—some little spot that he may call his own. It is a deep, absorbing feeling that nature has planted in us. The sailor on the 'vast deep'; the lone Indian and wild-bee hunter on the prairies of Missouri; the mountaineer, as he threads his chamois track; and the soldier, perishing for fame ere he freezes into a stiffened corpse, dreams, all dream of their early home; and when every other feeling is subdued and withered, the heart that would not blench at scenes of crime and blood, will soften under the *Ranz des Vaches*, the early songs of childhood.

"It is an undying feeling; and when one has gone out from his father's wasted roof, and in the untrodden forest clustered his family around some humble shed, can he see it wrested from him by the laws of his country, without cursing that country and those who govern it? Sir, what can compensate a Government for the loss of the love of its people? What is your overflowing treasury when it is filtered from the tears of the wretched, wrung from the hard earnings of those who would coin their blood for your protection, and rampart round this Capitol with their dead bodies before it should be polluted by the presence of an enemy? Sir, if you wish to perpetuate this Union, if you wish to extinguish the fatal feeling to which I have alluded, to secure the quiet enjoyment of vested rights for ages to come, you will give to every man who seeks it a home in the soil. There is little faith in parchments or charters or in the liberty they affect to guaranty; but it is probable this Government would endure uncounted centuries, if every quarter section of the public domain was the *bona fide* property of an actual settler. Incorporate every man with the soil, cluster around him the blessed endearments of home, and you bind him in an allegiance stronger than a thousand oaths.

"Mr. Speaker: For years past our legislation and our Constitution, or at least the spirit of our Constitution, have been frequently, antipodes to each other. The Constitution rose from the wreck of ancient prejudices, a structure of light and beauty, based upon the great principle of equal rights, and dedicated to rational liberty and law. The other has too often been deformed by features incompatible with the genius of the age;

stamped with the crude conceptions of feudal times; fettered with restrictions dug up from sepulchred centuries. Thus your criminal code in this age of philosophy is founded on the precepts of Draco. The dungeon and the scaffold do their work as they did a thousand years ago; and the Promethian light of science that we hold in our hands, serves but to show the skeletons of the victims shut up for debt, who have perished amid the death damps of your jails and your prisons. The same current runs through your whole system of jurisprudence * * * * *

"Mr. Speaker, this is the only Government that ever speculated in the soil. England, when she held domain here, was prodigal in her donations. Spain gave away her lands. Her sons were the pioneers of this new world; nor storms, nor famine, nor unknown seas, nor shipwreck, could deter them. On they went, in the career of high adventure. Land and honors were the rewards she held out to them, and their whole history is a series of phenomena from the outset of her great navigator to the downfall of her great Montezuma—the most extraordinary triumph ever obtained by civilized valor over physical force. Texas has pursued the same policy, and its wisdom is evident. If her public domain had been fettered with the same legal restraints to settlement that exist here, not five hundred of the many thousands now there would have crossed the Sabine. But she has invited them by liberal donations; and when that soil was invaded and the flag of despotism reeking over her beautiful prairies, look how bravely those emigrants have rushed to her defence. Oh, sir, you may rifle the leaves of history for deeds of fame; you may search among the fallen columns and mutilated tombs of Greece and Rome, immortal even in their dissolution, but you will never find a cause more sacred, that has been more nobly maintained than the cause of Texas. Land of the brave and free! refuge of the unfortunate! home of the poor! Soon may thy star shine in cloudless beauty from our own loved banner of living glory!"

Mr. Claiborne's speech on the "Doctrine of Contempts" was made on February 10, 1837, in defence of Mr. Reuben Whitney, who having been summoned before a select committee of the House appointed to investigate the management of the deposit banks, had not only declined to answer "a question which he considered disrespectful and improper," but while before the committee threw his arm behind his back," as if to draw a weapon. The committee hastily adjourned, and on the day following one of the members moved "that Whitney be arrested and brought to the bar of the House." As this committee was "evidently seeking to implicate the administration in some illegitimate transaction," the case appealed strongly to Mr. Claiborne, who was a staunch supporter of the principles of the party in power.¹² He moved in behalf of Whitney to amend by adding "and that he be allowed counsel when brought to the bar, should he desire it." This amendment being accepted while Mr. Claiborne was addressing the House, he said "it removes from this proceeding its most ob-

¹² Lynch's (James D.) *Bench and Bar of Miss.*, page 519.

noxious feature, but I doubt, if I do not deny, the propriety of dragging Whitney to this bar." He then made an eloquent and searching inquiry into the principles involved in the question under discussion, and thereby materially aided in defeating the ultimate purpose of the committee. Among other things he said:

"Sir, your doctrine of contempts is a dangerous doctrine, that originated in times unfavorable to human liberty; in those old days of privilege and prerogative, when the rights of the *Citizen*, if understood, were not defined, and when parliamentary bodies were used by kings, as instruments of oppression and persecution. The power of Congress to punish for contempts, if such a power exists at all, is not expressly conferred, but is incidental, and arises *ex necessitate rei*. Where is the clause in the Constitution making the grant and defining a contempt? Sir, it is a constructive and incidental power. The powers and privileges of Congress are not like those of the British Parliament, unlimited, and omnipotent; on the contrary they are abridged and specific. Our courts of justice have the power to punish for contempts; but it is not a constructive power, arising out of the mere act that established them, but was conferred by a statute, restraining in its character, in 1789. * * * * *

"Whence is this prerogative derived? If from the Constitution, point out the clause. If conferred by the Constitution, is it not the duty of Congress, before resorting to it, to settle and define its boundaries, and to prescribe the penalties by law? But it is said to be a *necessary incident* of a legislative body, necessary to preserve its existence, and enable it to transact the public business. There may be some foundation for this delicate but dangerous claim to be *inherent*, undelegated grants, as regards *actual* contempts committed in the presence of this body and obstructing its operations. Such a claim may be allowed on the principle of necessity; but where is the *necessity* of the power in regard to constructive or implied contempts, and what is the limitation upon it? The moment we step beyond the doctrine of punishment for actual offences of this kind, we venture upon a *terra incognita*, whose boundaries have never been delineated; whose powers and extent have never been defined by any code, ancient or modern. Let us pause, and closely examine the tenures by which we claim, before we enter upon grounds so uncertain, so dangerous, so obnoxious to the spirit of our Government and people. It may be very *convenient* for this House to punish a citizen for an implied misdemeanor but the convenience of the doctrine does not grant the power. Show me, Sir, a case of absolute necessity to warrant the exercise of this power. What is the doctrine of constructive contempts? How far does it go? Where does it stop? * * * * * Can you convert this House into a judicial tribunal, which shall be judge, witness, accuser and prosecutor, in its own case, and inflict any punishment it chooses? If so, where is the freedom of the citizen; where our boasted trial by jury; where that 'due process of law' that 'LIBERTY' guaranteed by the Constitution? Carry out these undefined, discretionary doctrines, and it will demonstrate either your unbounded power, or your utter impotency. Tell me not, Sir, of the precedents of the British Parliament. *That* is a body confessedly omnipotent. *This* is one of limited powers. *Their* claim to punish for offences of this nature is drawn from a system of recognized law. *We* are mere agents for the exercise of limited and specific grants; and I thank God that it is so. I rejoice that freedom of speech and the right of self-defense cannot be curtailed; that all your enactments in relation to these are void; that gentlemen cannot, if they would, have a legislative *auto da fe*, and burn every man for contempt who will not follow them, or applaud their acts."

In the latter part of this speech he contrasted the offence of Mr. Whitney with those of Mr. John Quincy Adams, who, as a member of the House, was arousing much animosity by persistently keeping the slavery question before that body. On this subject Mr. Claiborne spoke as follows:

"Mr. Speaker, I will not impeach the great body of the people of the North * * * * * But it will be her *crime*, if she does not resist and stifle its denationalizing strain, until it swells into a tide of blood. It will be her *crime* if she sits tamely by while her sons heave in among us poisoned missiles and *burning tiles*. Sir, in times gone by this would not have been allowed. One common blood cemented the broad altar of liberty around which we worshiped. When the iron hurricane of war swept over this country, our fainting banner was borne aloft amid the din of battle and the dusky storm by united valor. And now, when the Confederacy is sought to be destroyed; when the incendiary is lighting his torch, and the vultures of society are looking on with felon eyes—oh, now! May the sainted spirits of the dead, may the holy memories of the past, inspire the brave and patriotic, in every quarter of the North, to rally upon the ramparts of the Constitution. Sir, with my hand on this heart, I can freely say that, in defence of the Union, I would shed my blood. But there are rights and institutions dearer still, part of our inheritance, essential to our existence, indispensable to our peace; and I should be a traitor and a craven to shrink from their defence. * * * * * Mr. Speaker, if this House joins the abolitionists; if you thus permit their avowed organ upon this floor to menace us with a future interference with our domestic rights, I warn you of the catastrophe that is at hand. We will abandon your councils; we will seize our arms and tear down the banner of the Union that floats over our heads. On you be the crime—on your hands the blood. But by our common ancestry, by the recollections of the past and the hopes of the future, by the altars of our holy religion, by our hundred battlefields and the bones that rest upon them, I implore you to retrace your steps. Sir, we are on the verge of a frightful crisis * * * * * Will you pause to punish an obscure citizen, while you allow the member from Massachusetts (Mr. Adams) to banquet upon the excitement he has occasioned?"

After the death of General Dickson, Col. Samuel J. Gholson was chosen to fill the vacancy in Congress, defeating Gen. John A. Quitman in a special election. At the adjournment of the 24th Congress it was the intention of Col. Claiborne and Col. Gholson to stand for reelection at the regular election in November. But President Van Buren called an extra session of Congress to meet on the first Monday in September, 1837, and in order to provide for the representation of the State in the lower House, Gov. Lynch issued a proclamation for a special election in July. In this proclamation he stated that the representatives chosen by the special election would serve only until the regular congressional election in November. It was argued, however, by the press and the people generally that the governor had no authority to limit

the terms of the representatives to less than the constitutional term of two years, and we are told that "each party assumed that the persons elected under his proclamation would either be denied admission altogether or be admitted for the entire Congress." After a spirited contest the election resulted in the following vote: Claiborne, 11,203; Gholson, 9,921; Prentiss, 7,143; Acee, 6,691.

As Claiborne and Gholson were uncompromisingly opposed to the banking system, their right to seats in the House was challenged by one of the leaders of the bank party on the first day of the extra session, on the ground that the election under the proclamation issued by the governor of Mississippi was null and void. This objection was overruled, however, and the matter was referred to the Committee on Elections. After a careful investigation this committee reported that the sitting members had been duly elected members of the 25th Congress and were entitled to their seats. Messrs. Claiborne and Gholson continued in the discharge of their duties in Washington until the adjournment of Congress on October 16th. In the meantime the November elections were coming on and Messrs. Prentiss and Word were canvassing the State. Realizing that their right to continue in Congress would be again challenged after the general election, Messrs. Claiborne and Gholson were inclined to return to Mississippi "to argue their case before the people." The question was presented to a caucus of the Democratic members of the House, who insisted that they remain in their seats, it being thought that this course was necessary in order to carry through the House the measures outlined by the administration. The same view was expressed by the leading men of the Democratic party at home. When, therefore, the regular election was held in November fully two-thirds of the Democratic voters of the State refused to vote, on the ground that the State had chosen her representatives in the 25th Congress, as had already been decided by the House. In the November election the vote stood as follows: Prentiss, 13,651; Word, 12,340; Claiborne, 6,258; Gholson, 6,032.

At the opening of the next session Messrs. Prentiss and Word presented themselves, claiming that they had been lawfully elected to represent the State and were therefore entitled to seats in the House. The matter was again referred to the Committee on Elections, which reaffirmed its former report. When the report was

under discussion in the House, Mr. Prentiss delivered his celebrated speech which thrilled the House with his eloquence and gave him a national reputation as an orator. Under the magic influence of this great speech the House reversed its former act by which it declared that Claiborne and Gholson had been lawfully elected. It refused, however, to seat Prentiss and Word, and referred the case back to the people of Mississippi. While these stirring events were taking place in the House, Claiborne and Gholson were forced to be absent on account of sickness. At the outset of the contest in Congress Mr. Claiborne was seized with a hemorrhage in the room of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and for a period of two months lay prostrated and weakened from the loss of blood. Under the medical treatment of Dr. William G. Austin, later of New Orleans, he slowly recuperated and was finally able to return home. Acting upon the advice of Dr. Austin, Mr. Claiborne retired from public life and went to Cuba a second time for his health. At the request of his friends he permitted the use of his name in the political campaign which followed, but his former colleague, Mr. Gholson, declined to be a candidate. Prentiss and Word made their memorable canvass, speaking in every part of the State. The vote stood as follows: Prentiss, 12,722; Word, 12,007; Claiborne, 11,779; Davis, 10,346. There is little doubt that if Mr. Claiborne had been physically able to take an active part in this campaign he would have been reëlected.

The personal relations existing between Mr. Claiborne and Mr. Prentiss up to this time are best expressed in Mr. Claiborne's own language, which is as follows:

"During all the excitement of the contested election, my relations with Mr. Prentiss were perfectly friendly. He visited me while I was sick in Washington. My acquaintance with him commenced when he was a stranger—young, poor and diffident—teaching school in the family of my relative, Mrs. Wm. B. Shields, and afterwards here, in the family of my wife's mother. He occupied this very office. There stood his bed. This was the table on which he wrote. Here are the Greek and Latin authors that he read. Here is a leaf of Plato turned down by him. Here in this Greek tragedy, his pencil marks. In both families his extraordinary genius was recognized and he was treated with the respect due a Professor."

Mr. Claiborne afterwards returned to Natchez, and in July, 1841, became one of the editors of the *Mississippi Free Trader*, which was one of the most influential and widely circulated or-

gans of the Democratic party in the State. This change of occupations was in full harmony with his tastes. In speaking of journalism he said:

"It demands the seclusion of the closet, which I have always preferred to the clash and clamor of the hustings and the bar. It best comports with the habits of a student, and my practice of considering both sides of a question and the merits as well as demerits of a party; whereas, the lawyer and the professional politician examine but one side of a case, and exert all their energies in that behalf. The journalist has a grander mission, and if conscientiously pursued, it is the highest and noblest of all avocations."

His sketches entitled "Trip Through the Piney Woods" and his first contributions to the history of Mississippi appeared in the *Free Trader* shortly after the beginning of his connection with it.

In 1842 Mr. Claiborne was appointed president of the Board of Choctaw Commissioners, which was authorized to examine and adjudicate the claims of the Choctaw Indians under the 14th article of the treaty of Dancing Rabbit. The claims under this article involved the possession of many thousands of acres of the best land that had been ceded to the government by the treaty. The integrity of these claims depended upon the question as to whether or not the Indians had disposed of them within a period of five years after the treaty. It was found upon investigation that most of the claimants had violated this term of the treaty, their sworn statements before the commission to the contrary notwithstanding, and that companies of speculators composed of men of all ranks had purchased claims for a very small consideration. Mr. S. S. Prentiss was employed by the company "on a contingent fee of \$100,000," to protect its interest before the commission. While sitting at Hopahka the board gave judgment in favor of a number of claims which were sent to Washington. At a subsequent meeting of the commissioners in Yazoo village Gen. Renben Grant, a prominent citizen of Noxubee county, made charges of fraud against the claims that had been passed upon at a former meeting. As a result, Col. Claiborne advised the department to suspend all claims until they could receive further investigation. Another meeting of the commission was announced to be held at Hillsborough on the third Monday in November, 1843, to review its adjudication, the Hon. T. J. Word being appointed to act in the meantime as an agent to collect evidence relative thereto.

An article, containing further charges of fraud, which had been prepared at the request of Col. Claiborne, appeared in the *Vicksburg Sentinel* of the 10th of November, and gave what was termed the plan of the speculators for effecting their purpose.

This part of the communication reads as follows:

"The Indians were to emigrate under the charge of John B. Forrester, (the United States paying \$20 per head) who was to accompany them, and then receive the whole of their scrip, one half of which he was to retain and the other half to lay out for the Indians in goods, cattle, &c. To accomplish this plan, a crowd of speculators repaired to Washington, some going openly, others pretending that they were going to St. Louis only. Their object was to obtain *from the War Department a confirmation of their suspended claims, thus forestalling the action of the board, and stifling the proposed investigation.* They have been laboring for this scheme for weeks, and it is whispered, have received *aid from a quarter from which such aid cannot come without gross corruption* * * * *

* * * Influential men, members of Congress, and others, have been engaged at enormous fees, to effect this nefarious design of transferring these questions of fraud from the tribunal established by Congress, to the Department at Washington, where facts have been represented by interested persons only, and witnesses cannot have a hearing * * * * * And after all this, these speculators covertly go to Washington—employ members of Congress, and seek to induce the Department to overrule the objections of the Board, and pass claims to an enormous amount! This is really monstrous! The Hopahka claims alone, thus sought to be passed, over the recommendations of the Board, and in the teeth of the solemn protest of Col. Claiborne, amount to some 350,000 acres, as we learn * *

* * * * *

"We cannot believe that the Department could be so deceived. It surely will not stifle the investigation it itself recommended. It will hardly cut off Gen. Grant from a hearing, and thus facilitate the most stupendous fraud upon the Government and robbery of the Indians, that has ever been devised. It will take three millions of acres to satisfy these claims. There is not so much unsold land left in the country ceded by the Choctaws. The deficit is to be made up with scrip payable to the Indians and receivable at the land offices as gold and silver. Now will it be credited, that these speculators have, by fraud and deception, obtained from the Indians absolute deeds of conveyance for the whole of their lands, and powers of attorney to receive their scrip, having given their bonds to pay over one-half of it to the Indians when the claim was closed! Incredible as this may seem, it is nevertheless so. And all this for what? Simply for undertaking to attend the claim before the Commissioners, an attention altogether superfluous, and which the Commissioners are sent to attend to themselves; an attention, if necessary at all, certainly not worthy of the enormous fee exacted of the poor Indians—one-half their lands or scrip absolutely, and the control and management of the other * * * * * Report says that every acre of land yet patented to these Hopahka Indians, is held by one Forrester, who has not paid a dollar. It is said he held 30,000 acres * * * * * If the agencies at work at Washington succeed, Forrester will realize half a million at once out of nothing."

When the Commissioners met at Hillsborough, November 20th, 1843, Mr. Prentiss appeared as counsel for certain claims and raised the preliminary question as to Col. Claiborne's competency

to act, contending that in consequence of the article in the *Sentinel* he had prejudged the case. On the day following Mr. Claiborne presented a protest against the proceedings of the former day in which he denied the right of anyone to question his competency or of his colleagues to decide such a question. Among other things he said that until his rights and powers should be adjudged by a competent tribunal he would exercise his authority and discharge his duties, "not only as a Commissioner and counsel for the Government, but a citizen of the State and as a Reporter for the Press, for it is my intention, over my own signature, to report the proceedings under this investigation, *that all the aid and moral influence of PUBLIC OPINION may be brought to bear to sustain the rights and interests of Government.*" He closed this protest by denying the right of any agent or attorney to challenge or dispute his competency or to file or enter any paper, protest or proceeding of any kind, affecting his competency or official conduct on the records of the commission. He then left the room where the board was in session. There was much excitement among the speculators and their friends, who were collected in great numbers. Threats of violence and curses were freely uttered against Mr. Claiborne and he received notice from a number of friends, informing him of plots that had been made to assassinate him and warning him that he would appear in the streets at the peril of his life. On the morning of November 24th he resumed his place among the Commissioners, taking with him "an elaborate legal argument on the question of fraud to submit to the board." This paper was not presented, however, as it had been determined before that time that there should be no investigation. The board was, therefore, adjourned "until the authorities at Washington could be heard from."

Challenges to fight duels were then received by Col. Claiborne from Mr. Forrester and Mr. Prentiss. In his reply to the challenge from the latter gentleman, Mr. Claiborne wrote among other things:

"But whether you choose to be regarded as attorney or speculator, I deny the slightest accountability to you, or any one else, for any step I may choose to take to protect the public interest, in the legitimate discharge of my duties. And, in resisting a combination so formidable, I feel perfectly justifiable in invoking to my aid, and to the aid of the country, the moral influence of the PRESS, so far as the *power* and *threats* of your associates have left the press free to act. A thousand frowns, and a thou-

sand challenges will not deter me from my duty, if I am permitted to discharge it. My blood will not acquit the parties implicated of the charge, nor wash out the suspicions that rest upon their transactions. Investigation, deep, broad, searching and uninterrupted, can alone settle the point. Bullying, and dragooning, and even assassination will not do it."

Referring to these experiences, Mr. Claiborne wrote as follows in a communication in which he reviewed the proceedings of the Board of Commissioners:

"It is impossible for me to predict how many more of these agreeable invitations to 'coffee and pistols for two' I am to receive, but I am bound to believe that some of the parties concerned never intended there should be a formal meeting between Col. Forrester and myself, though they designed he should have all the glory of sending a challenge to a man, *placed by their own act*, in a position to forbid his acceptance. If they intended we should fight, on fair and equal terms, why threaten me with *impeachment*, at the moment of sending the challenge? and if they design to impeach why force me to *fight*, or distract my attention with challenges, until I had made preparations for defence? They have every advantage. They are a band of men, associated for a gigantic speculation, with capitalists, lawyers, prompt and willing witnesses, and even their regular bullies to back them. I am an officer of Government, opposing their schemes, exposed to their malice, all I say or do liable to be perverted, and my errors magnified into crimes. Surely when there is so much disparity, the party having the advantage, should resort to no unfair means to quash a scrutiny or put down an adversary."

The document from which the above extracts have been taken was published in pamphlet form (17 pages), and a copy of it was laid on the desk of every member of Congress. As a consequence, the speculation was crushed and those concerned therewith were ruined.

A motion was then made in the lower House of Congress by John Bell, of Tennessee, to refer the matter to a select committee. As this committee would have to be appointed by the Speaker, who was said to be interested in the claims, Mr. Thompson, of Mississippi, had the matter referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, of which he was chairman. Although President Tyler threw his influence against Mr. Claiborne, the plan which was recommended by Mr. Claiborne was adopted. It was to the effect that the Indians should receive neither land nor money for their claims, but the value of their claims for removal to the West was funded, they being paid the interest annually.

Mr. Prentiss and Col. Claiborne, both of whom were wrecked in fortune, removed to New Orleans shortly after the acrimonious conflict referred to above. They often met, but never spoke. A

few days before the death of Mr. Prentiss, John J. McRea, former governor of Mississippi, effected a reconciliation. In speaking of this incident, Col. Claiborne says that he was deeply affected and Governor McRea wept like a child.

Col. Claiborne admired the talent of the brilliant orator and expressed in the latter part of his life a purpose to write a biography of Mr. Prentiss. Referring to the biography which had been written by Mr. Prentiss' brother, Mr. Claiborne says that it was full of error of fact and a mere travesty of his career, personal and political. He stated further that this book represented Mr. Prentiss "as a semi-saint and somewhat of a Puritan, to please New England tastes, when all knew that he was the farthest possible removed from saintliness and Puritanism." Col. Claiborne said further:

"No man living knew S. S. Prentiss better than I did; he crossed my path and I crossed his, in the last blow given to his fortune. We were early friends; bitter enemies; reconciled on the death bed."

Upon his removal to New Orleans (1844) Mr. Claiborne assumed editorial control of the *Jeffersonian*, published in French and in English, and of the *Statesman*, published in German and in English. These arduous duties required twelve hours of work daily. Several years later he was induced to undertake the editorial control of the *Louisiana Courier*, which paper became under his direction one of the strongest supporters of Mr. Pierce in his campaign for the presidency. Mr. Pierce had been one of the most intimate friends of Col. Claiborne in Congress, and when he became president he offered Mr. Claiborne "an eligible diplomatic position abroad or a comfortable berth at Washington." Mr. Claiborne declined these kindly offers, however, desiring to make his home in the pine woods on the seacoast of Mississippi, where on the advice of Dr. Austin he had purchased a large tract of land. With this object in view he proposed that Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana be combined into one district and that the care of the public timber therein should be confided to him, with an appropriate salary. As this measure met the hearty approval of the senators and representatives from the three States, all of whom were Mr. Claiborne's personal friends, it was promptly passed by Congress and Mr. Claiborne was appointed to fill the newly created office. He was reappointed by President Buchanan, who

was also his intimate friend, and continued in the discharge of his duties until the States that constituted his district had seceded from the Union.

Soon after obtaining his appointment from President Pierce, Mr. Claiborne removed to a plantation which he had purchased near Bay St. Louis, in Hancock county, about twelve miles from Fort Pike, on the Rigolets. Here he engaged in the culture of Sea Island cotton. The salt sea breezes seem to have given him a new lease of life and enabled him to outlive most of his colleagues in Congress, who greatly excelled him in physical vigor.

He attributed his long life to the fact that his delicate health compelled him to be always on his guard and to be systematic in his habits. While living in New Orleans he made it a rule "to go to bed at dark and be up with the sun." Owing to his delicate constitution he was never connected with any social or political club or fraternal order, and rarely attended places of public amusement. He was strictly temperate and never gambled nor witnessed a horse race.

The following incidents in Col. Claiborne's first congressional campaign, which give an insight into his character, are here told in his own language:

"On my first canvass for Congress, Governor Runnells and I were traveling together. We halted for the night at the house of a worthy Baptist, in Noxubee county, where there happened to be three or four clergymen. I had observed them in earnest consultation during the evening, and though all were polite to me, there was no cordiality. After supper, when the ladies of the household had retired, one of the preachers said: 'Col. Claiborne, we are all of your way of thinking in politics, and were rejoiced to hear of your nomination; but we cannot support you. We can't square it with our consciences to vote for a *horse racer*.'

"I was speechless from astonishment, but at length protested that I had never owned a race-horse, and never saw a race in my life.

"They smiled incredulously, and said there was, in the next county, a gentleman who had been introduced to me on the track at Natchez; and won a thousand dollars on my horse; and then 'played poker with me all night.'

"This was piling on the agony, but I could only declare that I owned no race-horse, and never had learned a game of any kind.

"The whole thing was a puzzle, until Governor Runnells at length said, 'Gentlemen, there is a mistake here. I can vouch for all that my friend has said. But he has a brother, who is one of my aids. He is very fond of the turf, and keeps two or three fast horses, and will sometimes indulge in a game. The brothers resemble each other; own adjoining plantations, and one has been mistaken for the other.'

"These good men were greatly relieved, and before we parted for the night they gave me a special blessing.

"But now for the sequel. Our next appointment was for DeKalb, Kemper county. Parties there were pretty equally balanced, and I pro-

posed to secure as many votes as possible from the opposition. I addressed myself particularly, several times and in a very complimentary way, to a certain rich sporting gentleman, who controlled the opposition. I made the desired impression, as I thought, and directly after my speech, he took me by the arm, and led me out of ear-shot of the crowd. This alone was good for fifty votes. He then said, 'Old fellow, I saw your game, but it was not necessary; we are going for you, not for your d—d politics, *but on account of your horses*. I won a cool thousand on your Guy, the last race, and I hope to win five thousand the next time.'

"I perceived the mistake, but deemed it unnecessary to explain, and merely said: 'Colonel, if the religious folks hear this, they will go against me.'

"I know that," said he, 'we all understand it, and will be mum until after the election.' Before I left DeKalb he handed me a list of turf men on my route of travel who were in the secret, and I always found them O. K."

At the outbreak of the War between the States Col. Claiborne sent his wife and daughter to their relatives at Natchez, and he remained at home to care for his plantation. Shortly after the capture of Fort Pike by the United States Navy, a Federal force under the command of a captain visited Mr. Claiborne's home with orders to search the house for Confederate flags, which it was reported had been hoisted over the premises. After due examination the officer declared himself satisfied. Col. Claiborne then replied very solemnly:

"I confess to you, sir, that I have a flag."

The officer said in reply: "You need not criminate yourself, but if you persist in this statement my orders will require me to carry you under arrest to the fort."

The reply was: "You have overlooked one of my trunks and I wish it to be examined."

Col. Claiborne then pointed to an old weather-worn trunk, marked "F. L. C., U. S. A.," which the officer then proceeded to search. He found it in "the regalia and insignia of a royal arch Mason, the epaulettes of a general officer, a silk sash, discolored with blood, and carefully folded the old regiment flag of the 1st regiment, United States Infantry, of which Gen. Claiborne had been captain and adjutant." Col. Claiborne then said with much feeling: "Sir, this is the only flag I have ever had; if you take me to Fort Pike, that flag must go with me." Of course neither the colonel nor the flag was taken to the fort. During the remainder of the war the Union troops frequently passed his premises, but he was never disturbed, his property being carefully protected from all spoliation.

Col. Claiborne's sectional animosities seem to have partly died out after his retirement from public life. He was, therefore, enabled to view the great issues that brought on the "inevitable conflict" in a calmer and more dispassionate light than could those who were directing public sentiment. He opposed the secession of the Southern States, and had no official connection with the Confederacy. We are told that he blamed both sections for the war,—“the North for its unconstitutional encroachments, the South for its precipitate action and want of statesmanship in not providing for the general emancipation of the slaves, thus reconciling itself to the civilization of the age and acquitting its conscience of a great crime.”

After the war he was regarded as one of the most conservative and conciliatory citizens of the State. He maintained that the true policy of the South was “a pronounced loyalty to the Government.” A united effort to build up the waste places and thereby to secure public order and tranquility.¹³ To use his own words:

“The Government of our fathers, the noblest of human wisdom, perished in the war. It can never be restored. We have indeed a republic—the grandest that ever existed—but it is sectional, not constitutional. Great Britain has no written constitution but under the customs, maxims and traditions of a thousand years, there are sufficient bulwarks against usurpation and oppression, and it is the safest government on earth. We have no traditions, no common law, and are controlled by universal suffrage and popular majorities, and subjected to the rule of the ignorant and alien.

“There is no permanent security for us but in a strong national government to preserve the peace, repress disorders and develop the great resources of the country. A general attempt to revive our old doctrine of State rights will end in the loss of the remnant that has survived the war.”

In 1869 an effort was made to induce Col. Claiborne to become a candidate for Congress. In reply to a letter from Capt. P. K. Mayers, editor of the *Handsboro Democrat*, he wrote as follows, under the date of August 10, 1869:

“I have no disabilities to remove, but have scruples to overcome, and an invincible repugnance to the strife of politics. For fifteen years I have not attended a political meeting. Since the surrender I have not written a political article. It has been my misfortune, or my weakness, to differ with all parties too much, to expect to be popular with either. I differed with the Democrats in their ill-advised and abortive attempts to organize the State government under the promptings of Andrew Johnson. I witnessed with regret, the gross and unaccountable blunders committed by their Legislature and Convention. I differed with them when they elected Senators

¹³ *Lynch's Bench and Bar of Mississippi.*

and Representatives to Congress, certain to be rejected; when they blindly advised the people to vote for delegates to a Convention, after the election had been *ordered*, and thus threw the responsibility of making a constitution into the hands of their opponents, and superinduced most of our present difficulties. I differed with them in their opposition to the removal of political disabilities by application to Congress, and in their refusal to accept office—especially the appointment of Registrar—from the military authorities—thus compelling the commanding generals to confer commissions chiefly on strangers. I personally know that they would have given the preference to established citizens.

"I differed with the Republicans in the implacable resentments they manifested for the vanquished; in the political superiority they desired to confer on an inferior race, by disfranchising a heroic people, glorious in their struggle for independence—more glorious in their fall.

"I know very well that I have friends throughout the district, who remember my name and my services in the past. It would be affectation to undervalue what I know I still retain, of old-time popularity. But I stand without a party—owing allegiance to none; in fellowship with none; asking favors of none; under obligations to none; and I can bring no strength to those who wish me to unfurl their standard."

Before this time Col. Claiborne had become completely absorbed in historical investigations. Having inherited from his grandfather, Gen. F. L. Claiborne, his uncle, Gov. W. C. Claiborne, and his maternal grandfather, Col. Anthony Hutchins, all of whom were connected with the early history of the State, a large collection of "time-worn papers and documents," he set himself to work to add thereto from all available sources. He spent much time collecting matter and writing a *History of the Southwest*, upon which he says he was "long engaged." Unfortunately the manuscript of this volume "when ready for the press" was lost "by the sinking of a steamer on the Mississippi." This work contained a memoir of Sam Dale, one of the most interesting characters in the early history of the Southwest, written from notes of his personal adventures, "taken down from his own lips," by Franklin Smith and Henry A. Garrett. As is usually the case with historical investigators, having once undertaken work of this kind he was never afterwards able to abandon it. Although the history was lost and the notes were destroyed, Col. Claiborne prepared from memory the interesting book, entitled *Life and Times of Gen. Sam Dale, the Mississippi Portisan*, which was published by Harper & Brother in 1860. In the same year he also published his *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*, which was issued in two volumes from the press of the same publishers. Unfortunately for Mr. Claiborne these valuable contributions to the biography and history of Mississippi were issued at a time when the public attention was absorbed by the sectional questions which were just then culminating in war.

Shortly after the close of the War between the States Col. Claiborne, warned by declining health, retired for the most part from all other pursuits and devoted his energies to the writing of a history of Mississippi, which was the dominant ambition of the latter part of his life. In 1870 he removed to "Dunbarton," his wife's ancestral home, situated ten miles east of Natchez. The years which he had devoted to the collecting of papers, pamphlets, manuscripts, etc., had not been spent in vain. He realized that they constituted a rich historical mine, and he began to work it with an energy seldom excelled by a man of his advanced years and physical infirmities. We are told that the great object of his life was not only to make a history of his native State, but to have it printed in and distributed from a Mississippi publishing house. Against the advice of friends he, therefore, delivered the manuscript of the first volume of his history, as soon as it was ready for the press, to that great publisher and journalist of Mississippi, Col. J. L. Power, to whose care and skill the successful execution of the work is largely due. In the year 1881 this book, entitled "Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State, with Biographical Notices of Eminent Citizens, by J. F. H. Claiborne, volume I.," appeared from the press of Power & Barksdale, Jackson, Miss.

During the latter part of his life he reaped some of the fruits of his valuable services in the literary honors which were bestowed upon him at home and abroad. In 1875 he received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Mississippi. Five years later he was unanimously elected a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of England. A few months afterwards he was invited to read a paper before this learned society, but was prevented from doing so because of ill health. In 1881 he was elected to membership in the Virginia Historical Society.

By indefatigable efforts and persevering industry he completed the second volume of his history, which was unfortunately destroyed by the burning of his home on the night of March 2d, 1884.¹⁴ This calamity prevented the fruition of his cherished

¹⁴ The following communication relates to this unfortunate event :

"State of Mississippi,

"Executive Department,

"Jackson, Miss., April 8th, 1884.

"Hon. John F. H. Claiborne,

"Natchez, Miss.

"Dear Sir: It affords me pleasure to transmit to you a copy of the joint resolution unanimously adopted by the Legislature, expressive of our sense

hope. He was not spared to rewrite the pages upon which he had bestowed so much labor. His delicate constitution was unable to bear the shock and the grief incurred by this great loss, and he died at the home of his brother-in-law, William H. Dunbar, Esq., in Natchez, Saturday morning, May 17, 1884. He was buried from Trinity Church, Natchez, on the day following.

One side of his tomb bears the following inscription:

J. F. H. CLAIBORNE,
Mississippi's Historian,
Born in Natchez,
April 24, 1807.
Died there
May 17, 1884.

Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.

On the other side of the stone is written the following:

His early life was dedicated to the service of his native State and he was a member of the National Congress from 1835 to 1837.

Upon retiring from public life he devoted himself to literature and "touched nothing which he did not adorn." His last years were spent in writing History, and his work, "Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State," will be an enduring monument to his fame.

Col. Claiborne was a man of striking personal appearance. He was as straight as an Indian and walked with a firm and rapid tread. Owing to the fact that he was very strongly opposed to having his picture taken the writer has had a good deal of trouble

of the great loss we have sustained in common with you, in the destruction of Dunbarton and the rare historical documents which, after years of industrious research, you had accumulated; and tender you in this bereavement the affectionate sympathy of our people, who still cherish grateful recollections of your distinguished services of half a century.

"With renewed assurances of my cordial esteem,

"I have the honor to remain

"Your friend, truly,

"ROBERT LOWRY.

"Senate Joint Resolution.

"Resolved, by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi, That it has heard with profoundest regret of the irreparable loss which our distinguished fellow-citizen, the Hon. J. F. H. Claiborne, has sustained and it recognizes that the loss to the State is even greater, as in Dunbarton was preserved with all of a scholar's care more of the papers, records and documents pertaining to the history of Mississippi than is now left in existence elsewhere.

"Resolved 2, That we tender to the distinguished scholar and antiquary thus bereft of his valuable compilations and literary accumulations, our sympathy, and express to him our hope that his now feeble health may be restored, and that he may be long spared, and by pen and word stimulate the youth of the land to vigorous and honorable endeavors, and may long

in getting a likeness of him to illustrate this article. In fact, the one here reproduced is the only picture of him in existence, and it is said by his daughter to be a very imperfect likeness. Having been once pressed to have his photograph taken, Col. Claiborne declined for the following reason:

"Many years ago, being in an old mansion in Virginia, which belonged to a family sprung from the proudest Normans that followed the Conqueror into England, I missed the portraits which had once adorned the walls. I was told that they had been seized by the sheriff for debt, and tossed about and ridiculed by the vulgar crowd, and I then resolved never to risk subjecting my portrait to a similar indignity. In England, where estates are entailed, and titles of honor respected, portraits might be proper enough; but in this country, they are not secure for two generations."

On one occasion he said that he had never had a portrait taken, and added that there would be no monument or marble over his remains. In commenting upon these expressions he said:

"I will sleep better under the daisies and violets, and the only inscription will be FAITH. Great historical events are the proper subjects of commemoration. The Pyramids and the Assyrian inscriptions are the records of mighty nations. But any attempt to perpetuate frail mortality, to reverse the Supreme decree, 'dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return,' by gaudy monuments and chiseled panegyrics, I consider profane. For myself, when I die, I invoke the charity of silence."

Col. Claiborne had an impetuous temper and, for this reason, he was afraid to trust himself with arms at a time when a pistol or bowie knife was considered as an almost necessary part of the dress of every gentleman. He said, however, that when he was

continue to shed lustre upon the name of Mississippi. That these resolutions be communicated by His Excellency to the Hon. J. F. H. Claiborne."

Col. Claiborne's reply is as follows:

"Natchez, Miss, April 12, 1884.

"His Excellency Gov. Lowry.

"I acknowledge the receipt of your communication covering the joint resolution of the two branches of the Mississippi Legislature. I am at a loss for words to say how deeply you have touched my sensibilities by your kind expressions and generous sentiments. Your lifetime friend from your early boyhood, you are familiar with my whole career and all its vicissitudes, and such a testimonial is above all price.

"My gratitude to the Legislature, my appreciation of its sympathy in the misfortunes that have lately befallen me, and the high estimate they have placed on my humble efforts to serve my native State, cannot be expressed. Your letter and their resolution will be my monument, and will be preserved as long as one of my family survives.

"With great respect, your friend and servant,

"J. F. H. CLAIBORNE,"

in the habit of traveling on the wetsern steamboats, where "snagging and explosion" were the rule, he carried a cord, a little brandy and a bowie knife. The cord was intended to enable him to make a float, the brandy to sustain him in the water and the bowie knife to protect him and his craft against some strong man who might attempt to take it from him. He never carried arms on any other occasion.

Fortunately for posterity, Col. Claiborne had in 1882 presented his invaluable collection of historical papers to the State, and they thus escaped the flames which consumed his home. In tendering to the State these valuable sources of history, Col. Claiborne wrote to Gov. Lowry as follows:

"Age, infirmity and the necessities of every day life are pressing heavily upon me, and I cannot hope to utilize what I have gathered with so much labor and hoarded as so much treasure."

He therefore intrusted these papers to the State he loved so well and had served so faithfully, with a hope that some young Mississippian who shared the pride he had cherished for the State would be encouraged by the help of these documents to do the work his own failing powers had prevented his doing. The Legislature in a set of resolutions offered by Mr. Howry, member of the lower House from Lafayette county, voted to accept the generous donation and to place the papers in the custody of the University of Mississippi. They are now in the library of that institution and are carefully protected against all injury. In commenting upon this generous act of Col. Claiborne, the *Clarion* says:

"Mississippi, rich as she is in illustrious sons, can boast none who have loved her with a more devoted and unselfish heart than the illustrious historian, statesman and patriot to whose grateful care she is indebted for this precious contribution to her historical treasury."

The importance of Col. Claiborne's history entitles it to something more than a passing comment. As is indicated by the title, this book consists principally of two parts:—a narrative history of the State from the earliest times to the close of the Creek War and a series of biographical sketches of prominent citizens of the State.

The last two chapters of the work are devoted to the jurisprudence of the Territory and State and the Indians of Mississippi. There is an appendix which bears the title "Natchez and the

Olden Times." In his introduction Col. Claiborne states that in writing the book he was not "prompted by a desire for fame or profit, but to preserve the time-worn papers and documents" confided to him by those who had long since passed away. He also states that he did the work "in declining health, in pain and suffering" and expresses a hope that he might "plead for many imperfections."

Notwithstanding his efforts to record an impartial narrative of events and to present correct estimates of men, he did not always succeed, particularly in the latter undertaking.

That part of Colonel Claiborne's history which deals with the career of his maternal grandfather, Col. Anthony Hutchins, who became a leader of one of the factions into which the district of Natchez was divided, is not entirely free from partisan bias. A few of these mistakes are as follows:—On page 176 Col. Claiborne states that a certain memorial prepared and sent by Col. Anthony Hutchins to the Secretary of State contained recommendations which were "all in due time successful, and have shaped and colored the policy of the Territory and the State." He also states that the men who defended and supported this memorial "won the ear of Congress and the confidence of the government." An impartial investigation will reveal the fact that Col. Claiborne placed too high an estimate upon Col. Hutchins' memorial, and that the opposing faction really won the ear of Congress.

In another place Col. Claiborne incorrectly charges the delay of the Spaniards in surrendering the posts on the Mississippi north of the 31st degree to the action of Maj. Andrew Ellicott, while as a matter of fact procrastination was only in keeping with the historic policy of the Spanish nation.

On page 205 of his history Col. Claiborne makes a serious mistake in his conclusion that the opposition to Gov. Sargent was entirely personal. In making this statement the writer ignored the important fact that party lines were then closely drawn and that the Republicans of the State resented the presence of a Governor, who was not only a New Englander, but an ardent Federalist.

Colonel Claiborne also charges (page 209) Sargent and two of his territorial judges, Tilton and McGuire, with framing the code of territorial laws against which the citizens of Mississippi

protested so vigorously. As a matter of fact Judge Bruin's name was signed to many of them which are still in existence in manuscript form.

Historical writers of the present time have frequently expressed surprise over the estimate which Colonel Claiborne placed upon the character of General Wilkinson. There are no facts contained in the Claiborne collection which would lead to any other conclusion than that formed by Col. Claiborne. Subsequent investigation has thrown more light upon this subject, however, and Colonel Claiborne's conclusions are generally rejected.

Col. Claiborne has doubtless done a greater injustice to the life and character of George Poindexter than to that of any other subject of his numerous biographical sketches. There is no doubt but that in writing this chapter Col. Claiborne tried to do full justice to the career of his former antagonist, but the spirit of vindictiveness seems to have returned to him as he recorded with vitriolic pen the last page (414) of this sketch. The following extract, dealing with the closing scenes of Poindexter's life, will suffice to illustrate this point:

"His countenance had assumed a harsh, suspicious and cynical expression, and his heart, could it have been revealed, was doubtless a whited sepulcher of dead men's bones. He had contracted the habit of looking frequently over his left shoulder, as though he heard unexpected and unwelcome footsteps. Were these spectres of a guilty conscience? The vision of an innocent wife blighted in her youth and beauty by his shameful suspicions; of a son driven from his household to live the life of a vagabond and die the death of a pauper—of bloody feuds—of friendships severed—of faith and covenant sacrificed for gold—all these doubtless came like chiding ghosts, to embitter and disturb his last days. Neither the rattle of dice, the lucky run of cards nor the jests and jibes of low associates brought a smile to his lips. His licentious eye, glazed and frozen, knew not the luxury of a tear. In the largest crowds, amidst the ribaldry and revelry, he felt the solitude and the torments of Prometheus—chained to the rock of his remorse."

Col. Claiborne's mistakes in recording the facts connected with the history of the Indians of Mississippi are numerous. This doubtless arises from the fact that in order to add to the effectiveness of his style he put into the mouths of Indian heroes the thoughts of his own mind. Among the mistakes of this kind are the speeches of Tecumseh and Push-ma-ta-ha (page 487).¹⁵

Notwithstanding the blemishes, which must characterize all pi-

¹⁵ See *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. I., pages 101-103.

oneer historical efforts, Col. Claiborne is entitled to the honor of being the greatest writer of Mississippi history. His valuable work must still be considered the basis upon which rests the early history of the State, and while we are adding other stories to this great edifice, let us not forget to honor the memory of him who laid its foundations, broad and deep.

The permanent results of Col. Claiborne's life work may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. He procured the passage through the lower House of Congress of a bill establishing the Chickasaw School Fund of Mississippi.

2. He protected the State, the General Government, and the Choctaw Indians against speculators, thereby saving a vast area of the public domain.

3. He protected for many years against depredators the valuable timber resources of a large part of the gulf coast.

4. He made valuable contributions to Mississippi biography.

5. He wrote the most complete account of the early history of Mississippi, and gave a coloring to all subsequent histories of the State.

6. He collected, preserved and transmitted to posterity a large number of historical manuscripts of inestimable value.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

The Claiborne Historical Collection contains three hundred and twelve manuscript letters which were sent to Col. J. F. H. Claiborne by men in public and private life during his long and eventful career. It also contains several printed speeches, circulars and historical monographs which were written by Mr. Claiborne and several bound copies of newspapers, which were edited by him. A complete catalogue of this collection will be found in the "Report of the Mississippi Historical Commission" (*Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. V., pp. 203-227).

An interesting sketch of Col. Claiborne's life which was published in the *West Point News* in 1880 and several other clippings which relate to his life and services are now in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Henry A. Garrett, of Natchez, Miss. The only existing photograph of Col. Claiborne, from which the accompanying illustration is taken, is also in her possession. Mrs. Garrett also has the following documents that relate to the public career of Col. Claiborne:

1. Memorial of J. F. H. Claiborne to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States relative to the Choctaw Claims,—Feb. 19, 1844.

2. Copy of *Mississippi Free Trader* of Sept. 16, 1843, containing a full account of the origin and history of the Choctaw Claims.

3. A circular letter issued by Col. Claiborne on May 5th, 1845, relative to the timber on the public lands on the sea coast to Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama.

4. A copy of DeBow's *Review* of October, 1860, containing a brief notice of Col. Claiborne.

The Journals of the House and Gales and Seaton's *Register* and Benton's *Abridgements* afford ample information with reference to Col. Claiborne's services in Congress.

The Mississippi Historical Society has a valuable letter which was written by Col. Claiborne to Maj. Wm. T. Lewis, on Sept. 15, 1857. It contains a sketch of the Claiborne family.

The library of the University of Mississippi contains bound volumes of the *Louisiana Statesman* and the *Mississippi Free Trader*, both of which were edited by Col. Claiborne.

Lynch's *Bench and Bar of Mississippi* (pp. 516-529) and Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi* (Vol. I., pp. 544-546) give biographical sketches of Col. Claiborne.

The *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society* contain several interesting references to Col. Claiborne.

A bibliography of Col. Claiborne's published books and pamphlets will be found in Owen's *Bibliography of Mississippi*.

The following are the most important published contributions from the pen of Col. Claiborne:

1. Trip through the Piney Woods (a series of sketches published in the *Mississippi Free Trader* in 1841).

2. *Life and Times of Gen. Sam Dale, the Mississippi Partisan* (illustrated by John M'Lenan and published by Harper & Brothers, New York, 1860, 12 mo., pp. 233).

3. *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman, Major General U. S. A. and Governor of the State of Mississippi* (published by Harper & Brothers, 8 vo., Vol. I., pp. 400; Vol. II., pp. 392).

4. *Mississippi as a Province, Territory, and State*, Volume I., (published by Power and Barksdale, Jackson, Miss, 1880, 8 vo., pp. xxii+545).

5. *Historical Account of Hancock County and the Sea Board of Mississippi* (Hopkin's Printing Office, New Orleans, 1876, 8 vo., pp. 16).

6. *Interesting Centennial Reminiscences* (in the *Natchez Democrat*, Centennial Edition, 1876).

7. *Sketch of Sir William Dunbar* (published in the *Natchez Democrat* of Sept. 1, 1873).

8. *The Pine District of Mississippi* (published in the *Weekly Clarion*, Jackson, Miss., Dec. 27, 1876).

9. *Memorial of J. F. H. Claiborne to the Congress of the United States relative to the Choctaw Claims*, Feb. 14, 1844, 8 vo., 6 pages.

10. *Proceedings of the Board of Choctaw Commissioners* ("Col. Claiborne's Statement." Natchez, Miss., Nov. 30, 1843, 8 vo., 17 pages). veteran neighboring.

11. *Sketch of Harvey's Scouts* (published partly in the *Clarion*, Jackson, and in the *East Mississippi Times*, Starkville).

THE SENATORIAL CAREER OF J. Z. GEORGE.

BY JAMES W. GARNER.¹

General George's successful management of the Mississippi election campaign of 1875, which resulted in the overthrow of the carpet-bag régime and in the reestablishment of white supremacy, won for him the everlasting gratitude of the Democratic party of the State and insured his political elevation at an early date. In 1873 he had moved from Carrollton to Jackson and had formed a partnership with the distinguished lawyer Wiley P. Harris. It is doubtful if it would be an exaggeration to say that the partnership thus formed was one of the most successful law firms in the country. Besides General George's duties at the bar he prepared ten volumes of the decisions of the Supreme Court, which were noted for their excellence of arrangement and which served to lighten the labors of the profession. When in the year following the triumph of the Democracy the Legislature came to choose a successor to Henry R. Pease as United States Senator, some of George's friends put him forward as a candidate, but there was another to whom the triumph of 1875 was due more than to any other man and was hence entitled to the first reward. That was L. Q. C. Lamar, who had already won distinction in the lower house of Congress, notably in his eulogy on Sumner, and who had, in the campaign of 1875, canvassed the State and aroused the masses by his splendid eloquence. He was the ideal of the Democracy and it was impossible that any other should stand in his way for political preferment. Lamar was, therefore, chosen to the Senate, and George continued to practice his profession until 1879, when he was appointed to the Supreme bench for a term of nine years and was immediately chosen by his colleagues to the position of chief justice. This office, however, he was destined to hold but a short time; for the expiration of Bruce's term in the Senate, March 4, 1881, offered an opportunity

¹ A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. IV., page 89.—EDITOR.

for the transfer of the chief justice to Washington. Accordingly, in February, 1881, he was duly chosen to succeed Bruce, and at once resigned the position of chief justice. President Hayes had called a special session of the Senate to meet March 4, and when the Senate convened, Senator George presented himself and took the oath of June 1, 1789, and the oath prescribed by the Act of July 11, 1868, for senators who had participated in the service of the Confederacy. Among the distinguished Democratic Senators in Congress at the time were Bayard of Delaware, Cockrell and Vest of Missouri, Morgan of Alabama, Garland of Arkansas, Hill of Georgia, Gorman of Maryland, Beck of Kentucky, Voorhees of Indiana, Lamar of Mississippi, Ransom and Vance of North Carolina, and Wade Hampton of South Carolina. The more prominent of Senator George's Republican colleagues were Davis and Logan of Illinois, Teller of Colorado, Benj. Harrison of Indiana, Ingalls of Kansas, Blaine of Maine, Dawes and Hoar of Massachusetts, Platt of Connecticut, and John Sherman of Ohio. Of these, six are still members of the Senate, namely, Morgan, Teller, Gorman, Hoar and the two Platts, although Gorman's and T. C. Platt's service has not been continuous.

Senator George was assigned to the standing Committee on Agriculture, Claims, and Education and Labor, and to the select Committee on Woman's Suffrage. His first remarks were made in the Senate on April first on a resolution to elect certain officers of the Senate, the chief participants in the debate being Dawes, Hoar and Lamar. The incident which called George to his feet was a story which Dawes related of a venerable gray-haired man from Massachusetts, who after the war had taken up his residence in Mississippi, had invested largely in a factory and other property, and who had recently had his factory (which proved to be only a ginhouse) burned by his enemies, and was himself driven from the State by political persecution. George called on the senator from Massachusetts to disclose the name of the gray-haired fugitive, and upon the senator's refusal, he took up the cudgel in defense of Mississippi in general and of the election of 1875 in particular. He caused laughter, which was a rare incident of his speeches, by saying that in his opinion no ginhouse was burned; that the gray-haired man in question had never been to Mississippi; or that he had ever owned a ginhouse.

At the regular session of Congress, which convened in December, 1881, Senator George introduced bills to create an executive department out of the bureau of agriculture; to encourage agriculture and manufactures; for proposing constitutional amendments making United States circuit and district judges and certain executive officers elective by popular vote; to change the procedure of Federal courts in relation to pleas and exceptions and to change their jurisdiction; to protect employes and servants engaged in foreign and interstate commerce; to encourage education by applying thereto forfeited railroad lands and the proceeds of the cotton tax collected after the Civil War; to erect at Vicksburg a statue to the Italian patriot, Garibaldi; to regulate interstate commerce; to repeal the law allowing pensions to Federal judges; to improve the Mississippi river; and to reduce the duty on railroad iron. Some of these measures were re-introduced at each session and the bill to create a department of agriculture eventually became a law in 1889. It may be said that Senator George was the father of this important measure. Another measure in which he took great interest during the whole sixteen years of his senatorial career was a bill to increase the pension of Mexican War veterans, of which he was one of the few survivors in the Senate. He endeavored at the first session of his service to have a select committee appointed for the purpose and each year introduced a bill to increase the pension from \$8 to \$12. It was not until 1902, however, that a law providing for this increase was finally enacted.²

The first speech of note which Senator George delivered in the Senate was on the Chinese exclusion bill, March 6 and 7, 1882. He advocated the enactment of this measure chiefly on the ground that the white inhabitants of the Pacific coast favored it. He declared that the Anglo-Saxon should dominate, that the Constitution of the United States was made for the American people and their posterity only, and laid down the doctrine, which was bitterly attacked by the other side, that in enacting legislation of special application the known wishes of the inhabitants of the locality affected should be the guiding principle. On April 20 he ad-

² Senator George himself received a pension of \$8 per month for service in the Mexican War but regularly gave the amount to the widow of a neighboring veteran.

ressed the Senate on a bill for the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and on May 1 made a notable speech in favor of a bill which had been favorably reported by the Committee on Military Affairs, for admitting ex-Confederates to service in the army of the United States. The speech was a short but able appeal to the Northern members to forget the animosities of the late war and to treat their fellow citizens of the South not as traitors, but as brothers who may have committed errors, but who were animated by patriotic motives. In reply the opposition, which insisted that the war had a right and a wrong side, and that the statute which excluded ex-Confederates from service in the United States army should be retained as a perpetual monument to the right of the North and the wrong of the South, Senator George said:

"Sir, we acknowledge no inferiority; we confess to no crime; we profess no repentance; we ask no forgiveness. But we acknowledge our defeat, and we acknowledge also that separation is no longer desirable. We acknowledge the supreme power that compelled us to remain in the Union; but we deny the right to make us inferior in political privileges or less in the dignity and nobility of American manhood than the proudest and best among the victors. We may have erred, Sir. I shall not discuss that now, but if we erred we committed the fault of freemen jealous of their rights. Our cause was just and holy to us and it was defended with a courage, endurance, and self-deniance which bring honor, not shame to American manhood. If fidelity to the convictions of conscience; if courage and endurance in adverse fortune, if a heroic devotion to principle sincerely entertained, if love of country, if veneration for the memory and example of a great and glorious ancestry be titles to the respect and admiration of mankind, the conduct of the Southern people in the late war is worthy to be recorded on the same bright page of the history of the human race on which are written the grand achievements of the North. It can not be made the just ground of a charge of dishonor or infidelity to truth. Sir, whatever aspirations we may have indulged for separation or independence have been abandoned forever. Whatever hostility we may have had for the Union has been surrendered. You of the North have said that this broad land—all of it—shall be one country; you have said it shall be your country and our country, the common country of the whole people. Forgetting the bitterness of the past, remembering that only in the late war which honored and ennobled American manhood, we mean to serve the Union faithfully in peace contributing to our utmost to the progress, prosperity and happiness of all its people and to defend it with our lives and our fortunes in war. We make no quarrel with the convictions, the sentiments and beliefs of our brethren of the North and we claim a like toleration for ours."

At various times during the remainder of the session he spoke against the bill to create a United States Circuit Court of Ap-

* *Record 47 Cong., 1st Ses., p. 3463.*

peals, engaging Senator Hoar in debate and winning respect from both sides by his familiarity with the Federal judiciary and procedure. He also spoke in favor of a motion to appoint a select committee on strikes; for the repeal of duties on machinery for the manufacture of cotton or woolen goods, goods composed of hemp, jute or ramie, tools for manual labor, agricultural implements and cotton ties; and for the repeal of the stamp tax on checks, drafts and vouchers under \$100 in value.

At the second session of the 47th Congress, which met in December, 1882, Senator George's most notable deliverance was on the Pendleton Civil Service bill, December 27th. It is an everlasting honor to him that he was an earnest and able advocate of this important measure, which became law in the following year, and which still stands on our statute books as a monument to the wisdom of its framers. In this position he was not supported by all the members of his party; indeed, he rose above mere party interest and advocated the measure as one of interest to the whole country, irrespective of party. In a colloquy with his Democratic colleague, Senator Brown, of Georgia, who was an opponent of the bill, Senator George said:

"As his [Senator Brown's] speech seemed to be devoted almost entirely to the interests of the Democratic party of this country I hope I may be allowed the suggestion that in our eagerness to enjoy the fruits of an anticipated but not gained victory we may do the very thing which shall prevent that victory from coming; and I am sure that if the Democratic party in this body and in Congress cannot rise to a higher plane in the discussion and consideration of this question than what may be mere party advantage all the fears of the Senator from Georgia about our not being able to enjoy the fruits of the victory of 1884 are wholly useless. If political proscription be wrong in the Republican party it will be wrong in the Democratic party. If it be unjust as I say it is unjust that the Democrats of the country should have no chance to participate in the administration of the government it would be equally unjust should our good fortune lead us to victory to exclude to the same extent the Republicans from political employment in this country."

He defended the measure as "an act to purify, elevate, and keep above the dirty pool of partisan politics the civil service of the country," and declared that "the ills which it sought to remove were of the most momentous character, affecting deeply the purity of the administration and even threatening the stability of our free institutions." The bill, he said, proposed to overthrow the dangerous system which has for its legend "to the victor belongs the

spoils,"—a system at which the awakened conscience of the people revolts.⁴

At the first session of the 48th Congress, which convened in December, 1883, Senator George was re-assigned to the same committees on which he had served in the previous Congress and to the additional committees on Expenditures of Public Moneys and the Improvement of the Mississippi River. In addition to the re-introduction of most of the bills introduced by him at the previous session, Senator George introduced new bills to extend the duration of the courts of commissioners of Alabama claims; to prevent contraction of the currency; to regulate appeals and writs of error in the United States courts; and to protect American laborers. During the course of the session he offered amendments to pending bills for the establishment of a bureau of statistics; for the encouragement of common schools; and for the increase of Mexican War pensions. The measures in which he took the most active interest at this session were the bankruptcy bill; the Blair educational bill; and the judicial salary bill. His long practice as a lawyer and his thorough knowledge of bankruptcy procedure made him a valuable debater on the measure, and from the first he shared with Senator Hoar the honors of the debate on this important piece of legislation. At a later session he was put in charge of the bill and engineered its passage through the Senate. The Blair bill, which proposed to grant certain public lands in aid of the common schools, received from the first his able and earnest support, although some of his Democratic colleagues opposed it as unauthorized by the Constitution, and as a concession from the North, which their pride forbade them to accept. In a notable speech of April 2d, he planted himself squarely on the doctrine of broad construction, so far as this particular measure was concerned, and made a strong constitutional argument replete with precedents to show that the proposed Federal aid in support of elementary education was not unwarranted by the Constitution. If Texas and South Carolina, he said, did not want the aid which the Blair bill proposed to give, they need not accept it, but as for Mississippi they would be glad to get it. In the course of his long speech he said:

⁴ *Record 47 Cong., 2nd Ses., p. 281.*

"I see in the South millions of unlettered children; I see in the South wasted and desolated by war an inability to educate them; I see on the part of these illiterate children of both races and of their parents an anxiety that they be educated; I see on the part of the propertied classes of the South a willingness to help them; but with all this desire, with all this willingness there is in many of the States, my own among them, an inability to meet the demand and I gladly in behalf of the suffering population of Mississippi and of the other Southern States give my vote in support of this measure."

Senator George took a conspicuous part in the debate on this bill during this and the succeeding sessions, and the *Record* shows that he occupied a place of leadership among those in the Senate who favored it.

It is somewhat singular that a great lawyer like George, who would naturally be the first to appreciate the value of an independent and well paid Federal judiciary, should have been the most conspicuous member of the Senate in opposition to measures which sought to place the judiciary in this position. Session after session he introduced a bill to repeal the law allowing circuit and district judges to retire under certain conditions on full pay, and opposed with all his power the bill to raise the salaries of district judges to \$5,000 a year. In an argument on the latter measure, delivered in the Senate on March 4, 1884, he laid down the principle that the salaries of Federal judges in any State ought not to exceed those of the State judges, since it would give them an invidious advantage over the latter, would create a spirit of competition between the two classes of judges and tend to seduce from the service of the State her ablest lawyers by promise of large salaries. It would, moreover, tend to augment unduly the power and importance of the Federal government as over against the Commonwealth governments, which should in fact occupy the first place of importance. The senator made an exhaustive analysis of the State laws regarding the judges and showed that in only six States did the State Supreme judges receive more than \$5,000 per year. The arguments here presented were repeated and reinforced during succeeding sessions, but were unable to prevent the ultimate passage of the bill.

During this session Senator George also spoke on the bill to create a bureau of labor statistics; the river and harbor bill; and the Georgia Revolutionary War claims bill. At the first session

¹ *Record 48th Cong. first Ses.*, p. 2515.

of the 49th Congress, which was called to meet March 12, 1885, Senator George was assigned to the Committees on Improvement of the Mississippi River; Privileges and Elections; Railroads; and Territories. On April 16th he received an honor which he had coveted ever since his election to the Senate, namely, a seat on the Judiciary Committee. Upon his first entrance into Congress he had expressed a desire to be a member of this committee, saying that he was no politician or statesman, but a lawyer by training and profession, and that in this capacity he could do the best service. But his preëminent legal talent was not yet known to the Senate and no place could be made for him on a committee which is always composed of the great lawyers and jurists of the Senate. After a service of four years in Congress opportunity had been afforded many times of impressing his colleagues with his legal ability, and now that a vacancy had occurred on the committee he was, upon the nomination of Senator Beck, elected to fill the vacancy and at the same time was excused from service on the Committee on Territories. Senator George continued to serve on that committee until the time of his death, and was regarded as one of the very ablest and most useful members of that body of distinguished jurists. At this session his most notable efforts were directed in behalf of the Blair education bill. He made a long speech on this measure, saying that he regarded it as a generous offer of the North to aid in the education of the negro, and that it should be accepted by the South in the same spirit. He engaged Morgan of Alabama, an opponent of the bill, in debate, and declared that Morgan's speech in opposition was nothing but trash. In a speech on the issue of silver certificates he engaged Sherman, Coke and Edmunds.

At the regular session of the 49th Congress, which met in December, 1885, he introduced bills to establish experiment stations in connection with agricultural colleges; to regulate the wages of employes in the government printing office; to extend the land grant to the Gulf and Ship Island railroad; to protect innocent purchasers of patented articles; besides various private measures, together with most of the measures introduced at previous sessions. Senator George was particularly active as a speechmaker at this session. On March 23, 1886, he made a lengthy and able argument on the bill to repeal the remaining provisions of the

tenure of office act, showing in a most convincing way that the act was both inexpedient and unconstitutional. During the course of the session he made remarks on the interstate commerce measure; the Mexican War pension bill; the Geneva award; taxation of railroad land grants; the encouragement of silk culture, etc. He also delivered extended speeches on the bankruptcy bill; the bill to restore to the United States lands granted to the Northern Pacific railroad; the judicial salary bill; the bill to repeal all laws for the preëmption of public lands and for allowing entries for timber culture; the river and harbor appropriation bill; and the bill for regulating the count of the electoral vote. The Pacific railroad speech was a lawyer's argument, learned and lengthy. The speech on the judicial salary bill was a repetition of the argument made against the same measure at a previous session.

At the opening of the 50th Congress, in December, 1887, Senator George began his second term, to which he had been reëlected without opposition. He was assigned to the Committees on Agriculture and Forestry; Education and Labor; Judiciary, and Railroads. Among the more important general measures which he introduced were bills to regulate liens of judgment of Federal courts and to authorize certain investigations by the Commissioner of Labor. Besides these he reintroduced his bills for creating a department of agriculture; for preventing a contraction of the currency; for protecting employes engaged in foreign and interstate commerce; for repealing the law relative to the retirement of Federal judges; and for the protection of innocent purchasers of patented articles. The most noteworthy speech of Senator George at this session, and one of the very ablest made in Congress, was on the ratification of the fisheries treaty with Great Britain. On the 13th of July he delivered an address in favor of ratification, which filled thirty-eight columns of the record. It was an exhaustive analysis of our fisheries policy from the foundation of the government and a detailed historical summary of our relations with Great Britain. On August 13th and August 15th he took a conspicuous part in the debate, and finally, on August 30th, summed up the arguments in favor of ratification in a speech which filled eighteen columns of the *Record*. As a whole the argument was pronounced by the Department of State as the ablest delivered, and although it did not convince two-thirds of the Sen-

ate of the wisdom of ratification, it produced a favorable impression on all who heard or read the speech. Another speech of note, which filled nineteen columns of the *Record*, was delivered by the Senator on September 13th against the policy of Congressional inquests in Southern affairs. In this speech he reviewed at length the political history of the United States leading up to the Civil War and the policy of reconstruction, terminating in the carpet-bag and negro régime with the saturnalia of extravagance and plunder. Incidentally he justified the revolution of 1875 in Mississippi and defended his own part in that achievement. During the course of the session he took part in the debate on the bill to establish a bureau of animal husbandry, the bill to give Civil War veterans the preference in appointments to the civil service; the international copyright agreement; the Freedmen's Savings Bank; railroad land grand forfeitures; the interstate commerce bill; the proposed eight hour law; the admission of Washington Territory to the Union; the Chinese exclusion act (long speech, Sept. 5); the signal service bureau; the tariff on cotton ties; and the bill to regulate trusts. He took a particularly conspicuous part in the debate on trusts and labored earnestly to secure legislation to suppress combinations in restraint of trade.

At the opening of the first session of the 51st Congress in December, 1890, Senator George was re-assigned to the committees on which he had served during the previous Congress and in addition was elected to the Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard. Among the more important bills and resolutions introduced by him were a resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution, empowering Congress to pass laws to suppress combinations in restraint of trade and production and to prevent transactions which create monopolies; a bill to encourage the fibre industry; a bill to subject national bank notes to taxation; a bill for the purchase of the process of decorticating ramie and jute; and to declare trusts unlawful. Besides these he reintroduced several bills which he had introduced at previous sessions. A noteworthy constitutional argument was made by the senator on March 26, in regard to the nature of the office of president *pro tem.* of the Senate. The substance of his argument was that the presence of the vice-president in the chamber does not vacate the tenure of the president *pro tem.*, that the office should be held at

the pleasure of the Senate and that it is not necessary that the vice-president should preside over the Senate. The Senate, he argued, having chosen a president *pro tem.* during the absence of the vice-president, he acts as president not only through the particular vacancy but during his subsequent absences.

During the same session he made a lengthy argument against the Sherman anti-trust act, favoring the principle of the measure, but opposing it on account of the objectionable provisions which it contained. He also spoke in favor of the act to empower the States to exercise jurisdiction over spirituous liquors imported into their borders immediately after entrance, although as a member of the Judiciary Committee he had in the 50th Congress concurred in a report against the constitutionality of the measure. The bill passed both houses, has been upheld by the Supreme Court, and is regarded as one of the most important acts of Congress passed in recent years. The same may be said of the Sherman anti-trust act, which he opposed. Other measures of the session in discussion of which he took part were the judicial salary bill; the Blair educational bill; the admission of the Senators from Montana; railroad land grant forfeitures; the army canteen bill; the American merchant marine; agricultural statistics; and the case of Henry J. Fanz, of Aberdeen. Fanz had been maltreated for thwarting an attempt to burn the Secretary of War in effigy for refusing to order the lowering of the flag on the occasion of the death of Jefferson Davis. A resolution had been introduced calling upon the Attorney General for the copy of a report made by the United States marshal for the northern district of Mississippi with regard to the affair. George vigorously denied the power of the Senate to call for the report and finally succeeded in defeating the resolution. During a considerable part of the session Senator George was absent, serving as a delegate in the Mississippi Constitutional Convention. He had yielded to the general demand throughout the State that he accept a seat in the Convention and give it the benefit of his wide familiarity with State Constitutions and his advice on the delicate questions of constitutional law involved in the exclusion of the negro from the suffrage,—the chief problem confronting the Convention. Before leaving Washington to enter upon his new duties he consulted with a number of Democratic senators from both Northern and

Southern States with regard to the constitutionality of an educational test as a qualification for suffrage, and receiving a favorable reply, he carried the proposed clause to Mississippi, and, with an "understanding" supplement, it was duly incorporated as a part of the Constitution of the State. It may be said that Senator George was the dominating figure of the Convention and that the Constitution in its broader outlines—one of the best framed and most modern instruments of the kind in the country—was largely his work. The adoption of the educational and understanding test for the suffrage marked the beginning of negro disfranchisement in the South, and for some time it was not certain whether it would be accepted as consistent with the Fifteenth Amendment. As was generally expected, the question was raised in the next Congress and the "Old Commoner" was called upon to defend his work from the attacks of its enemies. The question came up in connection with a Senate resolution to amend and supplement the United States election laws and to provide for the more efficient enforcement of such laws. In the course of the debate on the resolution the Mississippi Constitution was made the subject of attack. By careful study and analysis George prepared himself for the encounter, and on December 31st, addressed the Senate for a period of four hours and a half. After the Christmas holidays he continued his defense for two days longer, concluding on January 19th. The speech fills seventy-four columns in the *Record*, being in point of length one of the most notable deliverances in the history of the Senate. In the course of the debate he was frequently interrupted by Senators Hoar, Spooner, Hawley, Wilson and others, but he parried all attacks, and exhibited a knowledge of State constitutional history and jurisprudence that was the subject of favorable comment among his colleagues on both sides. It was pronounced by a Northern senator to have been one of the ablest and clearest arguments ever heard in the Senate. The Speech was an elaborate analysis of the Northern State Constitutions from colonial times to the present, so far as their negro discriminating provisions were concerned, showing that in times past the political and civil disability of the negro in the North was quite as general as in the South. It must be confessed that his arguments from colonial experience had but little bearing upon the subject, but it

nevertheless constituted an interesting exhibit of the early attitude of the North toward the negro. George's argument accomplished its purpose and the Senatorial attacks on the Constitution of which he had been the chief framer were henceforth silenced. This was soon followed by the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Mississippi vs. Williams*, which settled the matter judicially, so that George's work has been left to stand untouched. Of its results one of his colleagues, a Northern Senator, said in the Senate:

"The most beneficent consequences have resulted from his labors. There is now an unbroken pacification of the government in his State. Civil and social order have been restored. The former disastrous conditions of riot, confusion and bloodshed have ceased. All colors and classes are at rest. Dissent has been merged into accord and satisfaction. What he wrought in this domain for human progress and happiness has not died with him. The future generations of that historic Commonwealth will say of him in the years to come, 'Senator George gave to Mississippi and all the inhabitants thereof the priceless boon of peace.'"

In the same session in which Senator George made his defense of the Constitution of Mississippi he delivered a speech on the proposed Federal election law, which fills twenty-nine columns of the *Record*. He also took a conspicuous part in the debate on the Maritime Nicaragua Canal Company.

In the 52d Congress, which met in December, 1891, Senator George introduced bills to refund the Federal cotton tax collected in the Southern States after the war; to repeal the tax on State bank circulation and to prevent trusts and combinations in restraint of trade. He also reintroduced his bills to repeal the law allowing pensions to Federal judges; to subject national bank notes to taxation, and to protect innocent purchasers of patented articles. His most notable deliverances at this session were speeches on the Davidson-Call contested election case from Florida; the Claggett-Dubois contested election case from Idaho, which was an elaborate speech, filling twenty-five columns of the *Record*; the bill to enlarge and amend the act of 1878, providing for the distribution of awards made under the convention of 1868 with Mexico; and the anti-option bill, designed to discourage dealing in cotton and grain futures. The last mentioned measure was the subject of special effort on the part of Senator George and occasioned prolonged debate in the Senate.

In the spring of 1892 Senator George returned to Mississippi

and entered upon a remarkable campaign for reëlection to the Senate. At this time the Farmers' Alliance movement was at its height, and in Mississippi it had put forward Mr. Ethel Barksdale as its candidate to succeed Senator George on a platform whose chief plank was the subtreasury scheme. Barksdale was a man of ability, of wide experience in public affairs and a popular and effective speaker. George's record in the Senate was unimpeachable, but his refusal to advocate the enactment of the subtreasury law led the Farmers' Alliance to resolve to contest his seat in the Senate. The campaign which followed was a spirited one and attracted great interest throughout the State. George boldly attacked the subtreasury scheme as delusive and impracticable and declared that it involved an undertaking which was beyond the legitimate functions of government. At several places the candidates met in joint debate, and their discussions were listened to by immense crowds.⁶ The result was the return of Senator George to the Senate by a substantial majority.

At the second session of the 53d Congress, which met in December, 1893, Senator George introduced bills to grant land bounties for service in the army and navy; to transfer the Geological Survey and the Fish Commission to the Department of Agriculture; to promote foreign and inter-state commerce; to grant certain lands to the State of Mississippi; to create a board of arbitration to settle railroad strikes; to amend the naturalization laws, and to reduce official salaries. His most notable speech at this session was on Hawaiian affairs, being a defense of President Cleveland's conduct in appointing Mr. Blount as commissioner to supersede Minister Stevens. Speeches of lesser importance were made by him on the Ford Theatre disaster; railroad mileage for Senators and representatives; the bill to appropriate one million dollars for the eradication of the Russian thistle in the West, a measure which he opposed as both unnecessary and unwarranted by the Constitution; the agricultural appropriation bill; the income tax law; the tariff bill, and the coinage of silver bullion. An incident of the session illustrative of his extreme States' rights views, which he never abandoned, was a personal explanation

⁶ It was my privilege to be present at the opening meeting of Senator George's campaign for re-election, which occurred at West Point in May. I well remember his striking figure and the rugged, fearless manner in which he demolished the arguments of the subtreasury advocates.

made in the Senate objecting to the printing of his speech in such a way as to make it appear that he referred to the United States in the singular number. In justification of the correctness of his position he entered into an exhaustive analysis of the language of the Constitution, the decisions of the Supreme Court in the early days and the opinions of the fathers to show that the plural number was invariably used in referring to the United States. During the second session of this Congress the chief measures to claim his attention were the bankruptcy bill, which he was in charge of, and Hawaiian affairs. A short eulogy on Senator Vance and an extended debate with Senator Allen with regard to the Populist party completed his record of speechmaking for the session.

At the opening of the 54th Congress in December, 1895, Senator George entered upon his duties in a state of poor health. In addition to the regular committees on which he had served at previous sessions he was assigned to the select committees to investigate the Potomac river front at Washington and the Committee on Woman's Suffrage. His most notable speech at this session—in fact, one of the most notable of his Senatorial career—and his last important deliverance in the Senate, was on the resolution to seat DuPont as a Senator from Delaware. His speech on this case was made on March 31st, April 1st and 2d and May 4th. He made speeches of lesser importance on the bankruptcy bill; the Cuban insurrection; the river and harbor bill; silver coinage; the distribution of seed; the Ford Theatre disaster; the Indian appropriation bill; the navy appropriation bill; the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bills; the issue of bonds, and various other measures.

At the opening of the second session of the 54th Congress, in December, 1896, Senator George was too ill to take his seat, and upon request of Senator Walthall he was granted indefinite leave of absence. He was unable to resume his duties during the session. His health steadily declined, and on August 14th following he died at Mississippi City, whither he had gone in the hope of being benefited by the sea breezes, his end being hastened by the death of his wife in July previous.

Upon the opening of Congress in December, 1897, Senator Walthall announced to the Senate the death of his colleague, saying

that the State had lost her most useful and distinguished servant, the Senate one of its ablest and most conspicuous members and the masses of the people throughout the country an earnest and powerful champion and defender. The Senate adopted a resolution of "deep regret and profound sorrow" and adjourned as a further mark of respect. Eulogies on his life and character were pronounced in the Senate by Senators Walthall, of Mississippi; Proctor, of Vermont, Turpie, of Indiana; Gray, of Delaware; Teller, of Colorado; Bate, of Tennessee, and Platt, of Connecticut. In the lower House addresses were made by a number of members, including most of the delegation from Mississippi. The Legislature in January following passed a resolution declaring that the State had lost an eminent citizen, an unselfish patriot, a far-seeing statesman, a wise and safe counselor and an intrepid leader, and that his services to Mississippi were so great, disinterested and beneficent as not only to win for him an undying fame, but also to merit the lasting gratitude and affection of the people.

It is not difficult to estimate General George's rank as a senator. It is the testimony of his colleagues that he took rank among the ablest of that distinguished body. His special field was the law, and as a practitioner at the bar he was hardly surpassed. He took a special interest in all measures pertaining to the law, and questions involving the principles of the common law or the constitutionality of a statute had an irresistible attraction for him. The opening gun in such a contest was the signal for him to move to the front. During his sixteen years of service he was heard on every great question before Congress, and he never failed to contribute light and information. Until his last years he was a regular attendant upon the sessions of the Senate. Whenever he undertook to discuss an important measure he equipped himself by the most patient and exhaustive research and by a system of analysis and discrimination of which he was a master. He presented the subject in a manner that rarely failed to make a favorable impression and often carried conviction. In the domains of law and constitutional history he was full of resources and was conscious of his power. His personal friend and colleague, Senator Gray, of Delaware, said of him when he entered upon the discussion of a legal question:

"I never saw the *gaudium certaminis* so plainly in evidence as in him on such an occasion. He came with faculties trained and disciplined by a lifetime devoted to the study of his profession. I venture nothing in asserting in the presence of the distinguished lawyers of this body who served with Senator George that no one ever encountered him in legal debate without being aware that all the legal acumen and ability he himself possessed would be required for the contest. I do not think I ever knew one more skilled in the dialectics of the law than he."

Senator O. H. Platt, of Connecticut, who served with him during the whole sixteen years of his career in the Senate, during six of which they were in intimate relations as members of the Judiciary Committee, said of him:

"I am convinced that if he had lived and been a member of the Senate fifty years ago he would have taken rank in the estimation of the people among the most wise and able Senators who have adorned the Senate. I think I may say and say truly that he was a great lawyer and that is great praise. He knew the methods of the attack and defense. He could wield with equal skill the broad sword or the rapier. I think I have never known a lawyer who had greater respect for the decisions of the courts. Even when they were wrong he recognized their binding form and validity and respected them. I believe had he lived in the days of Calhoun he would have been esteemed certainly as great a Senator and as great a man as Calhoun."

Senator Proctor, of Vermont, who served with him through two Congresses on the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, said of him:

"As a lawyer he was keen and shrewd to point out the deficiencies of careless legislation. We naturally relied upon his accurate judgment, regarded him as thoroughly equipped for the work of the committee as for the deliberations on the floor. As a legislator he was careful and conservative in the extreme, respecting and jealously regarding all the limitations imposed by the Constitution. He was able, learned and practiced in the science of law and legislation. He was certainly a most useful member of this body and above all no one can be better entitled to have inscribed in the records of his life, 'an honest man.'"

Personally Senator George was a man without polish or the lighter accomplishments of polite society. He was, in fact, a diamond in the rough. His dress was exceedingly plain, he was simple in his habits and unostentatious in manner. He was rugged and courageous in character, rather blunt in address and somewhat brusque in demeanor. He was sometimes impatient of opposition and was inclined to overbear those who sought to thwart his plans. However, this was more the fault of his manner than of his heart, and he was known to express great regret that

he had unintentionally wounded the feelings of a colleague. Of his usual fairness in debate Senator Turpie, of Indiana, said:

"I do not think there was ever a fairer disputant or debater. He always seemed willing to concede a certain degree of reason in the position taken by his opponent and sometimes frankly admitted that he had formerly entertained the same opinion."

As a popular orator Senator George was not a success. His speech was low and often indistinct. He rarely used gesture and his language was without embellishment or adornment. As a speaker he seldom resorted to the employment of wit or humor, never quoted poetry and never indulged in classical allusions. His style and manner of address were better adapted to the bar than the forum, although he never failed to secure the interest of Senators who wished for solid information and enlightenment. His peculiar intellectual force was that of analysis, in which he was rarely gifted. As was said of him: "He stripped off the bark of irrelevances, laid aside all manner of disguises and masks and showed in the clearest light and in open view what the proposition in question was, and in the same manner what it was not." As a constitutional lawyer Senator George belonged to the strict construction State's rights school. His views of constitutional construction were ably set forth in the minority report of the Judiciary Committee on the bill to provide for national inquests. Of this document Senator O. H. Platt said:

"I do not think I have ever seen the doctrine which that school of lawyers held so ably set forth as in that report."

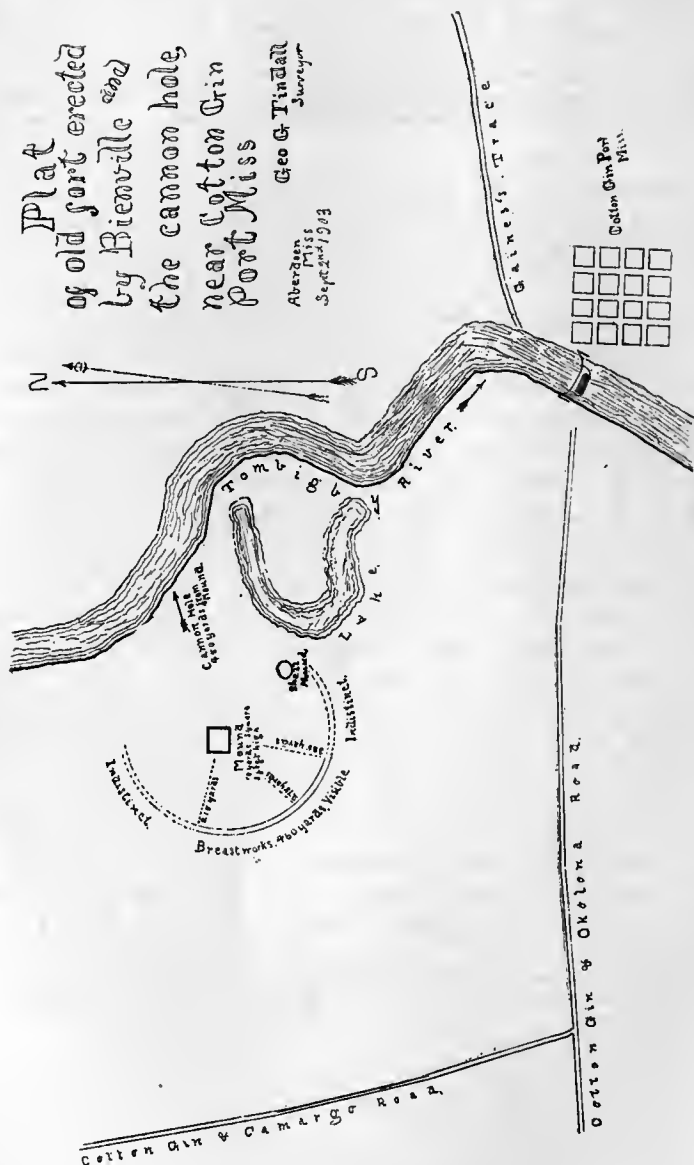
One of Senator George's finest traits was the positiveness of his convictions, which, when once formed, he was always ready to defend at all hazards. A Republican colleague said of him:

"He was not a trimmer. Right with him was right and the consequences of his action did not concern him when he knew that he was in the right."



Plat
of old fort erected
by Bienville and
the cannon hole,
near Cotton Gin
Port Miss

Geo. G. Tindall
Surveyor
Abbeville
Miss
Sept 2nd 1903



COTTON GIN PORT AND GAINES' TRACE.

BY GEORGE J. LEFTWICH.¹

I.—COTTON GIN PORT.

Cotton Gin Port, in Monroe county, is no doubt the oldest abandoned town of Northeast Mississippi. The Indians called the place Tollama-toxa, signifying where "he first strung the bow," the name having reference to Bienville's disastrous expedition against the Chickasaws in 1736. It is situated something over a mile below the junction of Town creek and the Tombigbee river, both of which streams until recent years were navigable for some distance above. A plateau of considerable elevation forms the eastern bank of the river at and near the ferry. On this the town of Cotton Gin Port was built. It is now uninhabited save by the ferryman and a widely scattered population of negroes. An artesian well pours forth a stream of pure water, which runs down the embankment. Until the building of the Kansas City, Memphis and Birmingham Railroad during the year 1887 and the founding of Amory, about two miles northeast, Cotton Gin Port was a flourishing trading point, post office, boat landing and voting precinct. Populous neighborhoods are on both sides of the river.

The river on the west is bordered by a level plain of a half to a mile in width, partly cultivated, but subject to overflow. On the western side of the plain a steep declivity rises to the level of the prairie belt, which extends north, south and west.

The accompanying plat, made after a careful survey of the locality by Mr. George Gaines Tyndall, for many years county surveyor of Monroe county, gives the student an excellent idea of this historic place. The public road leading west from the ferry, forks at the foot of the hill. One fork leads up Town creek to old Comargo, the other toward Okolona. On this latter road one mile

¹ A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VI., p. 359—EDITOR.

west of the ferry, near the top of the hill, was constructed a cotton gin by the Federal Government about the first year of the nineteenth century, now over one hundred years ago. This was then Chickasaw territory. That tribe of Indians had their principal towns northeast of Cotton Gin Port near the present town of Tupelo, and still farther on in Pontotoc county. Their wigwams were scattered over the broad prairie. They were always allies of the English. Traders from Savannah and Charleston had lived among them long before Bienville's day. Our government labored long to root out their anti-American prejudice. The erection of the cotton gin, which it is said was advised by Washington, was to encourage the cultivation of cotton among them, and was besides a shrewd stroke of diplomacy calculated to secure their friendship. Near this cotton gin (which together with the fact that boats landed here gave name to the town), was the ancient "council tree," an oak of huge proportions, under which traders and Government agents and factors treated with the Indians. It has only lately been thoughtlessly destroyed by the fires of campers built near it. This "council tree" is said to have been the rendezvous appointed by Tecumseh just before the Creek war, when the prophet was preaching his crusade for the extermination of the whites.

The Chickasaws being allies of the English were constantly giving trouble to the French and Spanish settlements on and near the gulf. This bad feeling reached the boiling point after the Natchez massacre of 1729, when some of the Indians who escaped found refuge among the Chickasaws. Bienville, the French Governor, had notified the home government of his purpose to establish a fort near the Chickasaw towns, and now he carried it into rapid execution. He transported his men and supplies up the Mobile and Tombigbee rivers in 1736, and in May of that year, after locating and erecting the fort, he fought the famous battle of Achia with the Chickasaws near Tupelo. Bienville had about 1,100 French, Choctaws and negroes with him. This point was doubtless as high as Bienville felt safe in carrying his boats. The Chickasaws' towns were in about four miles of Town creek higher up, but it was hardly safe for boats. The point selected was accessible by both land and water. This fort was seen by a well-known traveler, Capt. Roman, and was still intact in 1771. The

accompanying plat shows the location of the fort. Bienville's boats were anchored near the "cannon hole" and guarded by loopholes in the stockade. The dark lines show the embankment as far as it can now be traced. The remainder has been doubtless destroyed by the cultivation of the fields and high water. The mound is about fifty yards square. It is still elevated about eight feet above the surrounding plain. A dwelling has been built upon it, it being entirely above high water. Under this dwelling is a very large pine stump, the tree of which was growing when seen by Mr. Edward Grady, an old citizen, as early as 1842. The hole from which the earth forming this mound was taken is about one hundred yards to the north. This mound is doubtless many centuries older than the time of Bienville and perhaps antedates the Indians themselves. There are many mounds of like character, though few so well preserved, scattered over the Tombigbee basin.

The round mound on the plat is composed largely of mussel shells. Human bones are also found there. In the summer of 1903 the writer gathered a large number of bones, which were well preserved. The mussel was a common article of food, and doubtless these accumulated when Bienville and his successors prepared their food. Uncle Jack Anderson, an old colored man of good memory, now 93 years of age, says he was carried to Cotton Gin Port from Tennessee as a slave when a boy 10 years of age, about 1827. He says that soon after he went there some of the residents found a keg of bullets in this old fort. This informant relates that at that time the Indians roamed unrestrained over the prairies, the white settlers being almost exclusively east of the Tombigbee. Deer were abundant and droves of the big horned Indian cattle grazed lazily about.

Marquis De Vaudreuil, the successor of Bienville as Governor of the French colony, made a second attempt to conquer the Chickasaws in 1752. He landed also at Cotton Gin Port and used the old fort as his base of supplies. He was no more successful than Bienville and lost many men. Bienville carried no cannon, but De Vaudreuil carried a few small ones, which he left at the fort. When he returned from the battle, likewise fought at the Chickasaw Towns near Tupelo, the river had fallen to such an extent that to lighten his cargo he threw his cannon into the river. This point has ever since been known as the "Cannon Hole."

Local tradition ascribes these cannon sometimes to DeSoto, who was never nearer than about ten miles of this point and who had left his only cannon in Alabama, and sometimes to Bienville, who had no cannon at all. After the treaty with the Chickasaws in 1816, Gaines' Trace and the Tombigbee river on the west became the boundary between American and Chickasaw territory. This accounts for the importance of Cotton Gin as a frontier outpost. The territory east of the Tombigbee rapidly settled up and adventurers and traders gathered at Cotton Gin Port, the open door to the Indians, a point accessible to the Tennessee settlements by Gaines' Trace and to the gulf by the Tombigbee river.

When Lowndes county was organized in 1830, and it became necessary to reestablish the county site of Monroe county, Cotton Gin Port competed with Quincy and Hamilton for the honor. Athens was selected as a compromise, it being near the center of the county. For some details as to the early residents of Cotton Gin Port the reader is referred to Vol. V, p. 358, of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*. Many of the merchants and traders whose names are given there grew rich both before and after the Civil War. Drinking places were generously patronized and free fights and personal recounters were not uncommon. Police supervision was not very strenuous. The people gathered from many miles around on Saturdays, and every old citizen still has his store of incidents and fights and tragedies which occurred at "Old Cotton Gin." That maker and destroyer of towns, the railroad, at one stroke left the place desolate. The new and flourishing town of Amory is its successor.

GAINES' TRACE.

The establishment and history of routes of travel in the Southwest is a most interesting study in itself. The great Natchez Trace was opened by a treaty negotiated by Gen. Wilkenson for the Federal Government with the Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians in 1801. This road was through or near the present towns of Washington, Port Gibson, Raymond, Clinton, Kosciusko, Houston and Pontotoc, and crossed the Tennessee a few miles below the mussel shoals. Another great highway was from Natchez to St. Stephens. It is doubtless true that all of these roads

had been well marked Indian trails for centuries before the white man set foot upon them.

As Gen. Edmund Pendleton Gaines marched reinforcements for Gen. Jackson's army just before the battle of New Orleans over the "Trace Road," crossing the Tombigbee at Cotton Gin Port, the resident population has since assumed that Gen. Gaines opened the road and gave it the name. This is erroneous. George Strother Gaines, who was from about 1805 to 1825 Government factor and assistant factor at St. Stephens on the Lower Tombigbee, first brought this road into prominence and gave it its name. George S. Gaines was a brother of the celebrated general, E. P. Gaines, and seems himself to have held rank in the militia, as the early chroniclers refer to him as "captain" and "colonel." Both of the brothers bore a conspicuous part in the settlement of the Southwest. They were Virginians by birth, descended from a sister of Edmund Pendleton of Revolutionary fame. George S. Gaines published his reminiscences in the *Mobile Register* in June and July, 1872. It was Gen. E. P. Gaines who captured Burr near St. Stephens in 1807 and delivered him to the authorities at Washington.

The Spaniards and the French kept trading posts at Mobile and Pensacola, respectively, where constant trade and intercourse was had with the Choctaw and Creek Indians. They were thus alienated from the American settlers and led always to believe that the Federal Government was their enemy. To offset this hurtful influence, so damaging to the early American settlers, a factory was established at St. Stephens. I here quote a paragraph from Pickett's *History of Alabama* on this point:

"To this establishment, the Indians—principally Choctaws—and sometimes the American settlers, brought bears' oil, honey in kegs, beeswax, bacon, groundnuts, tobacco, in kegs, and all kinds of skins and peltries. To pay for which the Federal Government usually kept a stock of coarse Indian merchandise, besides all kinds of iron tools, ploughs, arms and ammunition. In the summer the furs and hides, often overhauled by the skins-man for the purpose of keeping out the worms, were assorted. In the fall they were packed up in bales, and shipped to the Indian agent at Philadelphia. Mr. Gaines, at first, came often in collision with the revenue authorities of Mobile, who exacted duties—delayed his vessels—and, upon one occasion, came near putting him in the calaboose of that place, for venturing to remonstrate. The Federal Government, to avoid the payment of these duties, and to prevent delays, instructed the factor to obtain the consent of the Chickasaws for a road from Colbert's Ferry to St. Stephens. The Government resolved to send supplies down the Ohio and up the Tennessee, to the former point. The faithful and enter-

prising Gaines was unable to procure the privilege of a road, but was allowed the use of a horse path. Upon the backs of horses he was accustomed to transport goods, hardware and even lead, from Colbert's Ferry to Peachland's, upon the Tombigby. There, boats being constructed, the merchandize was floated down to St. Stephens. It is singular, that our ministers, in forming the treaty with Spain, in 1795, by which we acquired all of West Florida above the line of 31° and the right of free navigation of the Mississippi, neglected to insert an article for the free navigation of the bay and rivers of Mobile and Pearl."

This trace is mentioned as follows in the treaty with the Chickasaw Indians of September 20th, 1816:

"Art. 2. The Chickasaw nation cede to the United States (with the exception of such reservation as shall hereafter be specified) all the right or title to the lands on the north side of the Tennessee river, and relinquish all claim to territory on the south side of said river, and east of a line commencing at the mouth of Caney creek, running up said creek, to its source, thence a due south course to the ridge path, or commonly called Gaines' road, along said road southwestwardly to a point on the Tombigby river, well known by the name of Cottongin port, and down the west bank of the Tombigby to the Choctaw boundary."

In the year 1819 the town of Marathon was laid out. It was located at Milton's bluff, on the Tennessee, at the northern terminus of the trace. The western boundary of the Chickasaw cession of Sept. 20, 1816, quoted from above, became the western boundary of the Huntsville survey, soon thereafter made. The trace road is, therefore, easily located to-day.

It will be observed that this trace road leaves the Tombigbee river on an elevated plateau and follows "the divide" through to the Tennessee, thus avoiding water courses. It must not be assumed that Gaines marked out a virgin path for the Government mules to carry produce over. No doubt this path had been an Indian road for communication between the Indian settlements in Alabama and Tennessee and Mississippi as long as they had inhabited the country. The English traders from Savannah and Charleston, who so long held the Chickasaws under their influence, no doubt carried their commerce over this road a century before Gaines heard of it. They are known to have assisted the Chickasaws at the battle of Achia, 1736. When Bienville attacked the town he found it strongly fortified, having the English flag floating over it. Long before Gaines opened and widened this road it had been used by Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee settlers bound for the upper and lower Tombigbee. They floated down the Tennessee on rafts to the mussel shoals and

thence crossed the country on high ground by way of this road to the Tombigbee at Cotton Gin Port long before that ancient village had its present name. At the latter point they either constructed rafts and floated down the Tombigbee or carried their produce south and southeast through the open prairies.

From Cotton Gin Port this road ran nearly due west about ten miles to a kind of tavern kept by Major Levi Colbert, a Chicasaw chief. There the road forked, one branch leading northeast to Pontotoc, whence it intercepted the Natchez Trace running to Natchez and New Orleans. The other branch turned southeast through the prairie, running not far from Muldon and West Point to Waverly, in Clay county.

At or near Waverly, where the Oktibbeha river unites with the Tombigbee, was Peachland's, the place mentioned in the quotation from Pickett's history. It was here that Gaines unloaded his produce carried all the way from Colbert's ferry on the Tennessee by way of Cotton Gin Port on pack horses and mules, and reloaded it on rafts or boats for St. Stephens. Peachland's was a famous place in early frontier days. John Peachland, or Jack Pitchlyn, as he was often called, and his two sons, Peter and Jack, owned all that section of Lowndes county and part of Clay. Jack Pitchlyn was a half-breed, the son of an Englishman. He was always a faithful and influential friend of both the Indian and the white man. His home is time and again mentioned in the early chronicles, and he is also frequently named as a participant in treaties and other important transactions. He had a commission as United States interpreter for the Choctaws, and was sub-agent. His home seems to have been once a famous stopping place for travelers. He was buried at Waverly, just across Tibbee in Chickasaw territory, that being the boundary between the Chickasaws and Choctaws. His widow and descendants made several pilgrimages to his grave after the removal of his tribe to Indian Territory, and they finally removed his bones there.

Major Levi Colbert, the famous Chickasaw Indian chief, was another conspicuous figure in these early times. One of his wives, Seletia Colbert, is said to have lived at Colbert's ferry, where the trace road crossed the Tennessee. The other wife lived at what is now known as the French farm, not far from Okolona, in Monroe county. It was near this point that one branch of the trace

road turned south through the prairie and the other northwest to Pontotoc. It is about eighty miles from Cotton Gin Port on the Tombigbee to Colbert's ferry on the Tennessee, and even a less distance "as the crow flies."

Gaines' Trace is still a public road, with some slight variations. Col. J. B. Prewett, one of the oldest citizens of Monroe county, traveled over it when a little boy with his father, who was removing to Monroe county from near Columbia, Tenn., about 1824. It was then a famous highway. He remembers seeing crowds of Indians at Cotton Gin.

From the Colbert settlement near Cowpen creek this road ran northwest to Pontotoc, being north of the present town of Okolona, near what was afterwards known as Chambers' Lake. From Pontotoc to Cotton Gin Port the distance is about forty miles. Gaines' Trace might have intercepted the Natchez Trace several miles nearer than Pontotoc, but Pontotoc's prominence among the Chickasaws, with the English settlers there, the later location of the Government land office at that point and the general course of the streams, all led travelers by that route.

Okolona is said to have been named after Major Levi Colbert's herdsman, whose name in the Chickasaw tongue was "Itta-wamba," meaning "bench chief," which he received for having gathered together the old men and boys while the warriors were off on a hunt and ambuscaded and killed a body of Creeks with whom the Chickasaws were at war. From his quiet manner he received the name of "Okolona," which means calm or peaceful.

Gaines' Trace road from the Colbert settlement to Waverly, through the midst of prairies, was doubtless the same path followed by DeSoto and his Spanish warriors in his war of conquest about November, 1540. How long before that it had been an Indian trail leading from the Chickasaw settlements in Pontotoc, Lee and Monroe counties, to the Choctaw settlements in central and east Mississippi and to the Creek settlement on the lower Tombigbee, we can never know.

THE CHOLERA IN 1849.

BY WILLIAM DUNBAR JENKINS.¹

The year A. D. 1849 will be memorable among the planters on the lowlands of the Mississippi, from the great mortality among the negroes by the Asiatic cholera. This formidable and fatal epidemic had visited the United States but twice previously in our knowledge.

In the year 1832 the disease was brought to Canada in emigrant ships from Great Britain, via Quebec. The epidemic broke out in the city of Montreal, and following the usual line of travel, soon appeared in the cities of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. It was also brought to the United States by ships entering at New York; thence it traveled through the Western States, prevailing in most of the towns upon water courses, finally reaching the city of New Orleans, where the disease was fatally malignant; many negroes were swept off the plantations upon the rivers, lakes and bayous (where the disease remained quite two years), but the mortality was by no means so great as during the visitation in the spring and summer of 1849.

"In 1835-36, the cholera again appeared in the United States. In 1846 there was another widespread epidemic in Europe and in 1848, it entered the United States through the port of New Orleans, overspread the Mississippi valley and extended across the continent to California."²

During its first visitation to this country the disease was not confined to our cities, but prevailed over extensive regions of country in the South and West. The granite region of New England was exempt from it, while the limestone lands of Kentucky, Ohio and other Western States, as well as the alluvial lands of the Mississippi Valley, were ravaged.

The number of deaths among the negroes in 1832 and 1833 was by no means great; ten, fifteen or twenty deaths on large planta-

¹ A biographical sketch of the writer of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VI., p. 283.—
Editor.

² U. S. Marine Hospital Records.

tions was the average mortality, but in 1849 the deaths on many places numbered one-half of the number upon them; in a few instances two-thirds were swept off, and upon most places the proportion of deaths to cases, one-third and one-fourth of the cases attacked; neither was the disease in 1832 and 1833 confined exclusively to the low grounds, for many upland places were attacked and suffered severely. After a lapse of sixteen years and starting again from Asia, that *hot-bed* of malignant epidemics, after sweeping over Europe the cholera asphyxia³ again came upon us. Its first onset in the United States in 1848 was upon the city of New Orleans, and the first cases occurred early in the month of December. The epidemic continued about five or six weeks in New Orleans, about three thousand or more dying in that time.

It next appeared along the coast country, being severely fatal upon many plantations; the Minor estate lost 200 negroes; in the Lafourche region 75 died upon Bibbs' estate, 54 upon Bishop Polk's place and others in proportion. The steamboats plying the Western waters lost many in their ascent from New Orleans.

Early in the spring of 1849 the epidemic seemed to take a westerly course, extending through Texas and along the Rio Grande, following the route of travel to the "El Dorado"—California. Hundreds of emigrants to the gold regions were cut off and one of the United States regiments of soldiers, the 8th Infantry, going through Texas to San Antonio, lost one hundred and thirty-nine men out of four hundred, their colonel, Major General Worth, falling a victim. Its ascent of the Mississippi river was slow, traveling at the rate of about a degree a month. The Tarbert plantation, in Wilkinson county, situated upon the 31st degree of north latitude, upon the Mississippi river, was visited the last week in March. This place had a high front, but back in the swamp, and extending north and south, was a great sheet of water; there had also just been cleared up about two hundred acres of land, in part of which the fallen timber was yet lying. In many places water was under the brush and logs. There were also a large number of decaying cane mattresses in the fields near the "quarters," all of which, no doubt, generated an impure

³ Dr. Koch, of Berlin, Germany, in 1884, discovered a specific organism and named it "Comma Bacillus," because of its shape; as seen under the microscope, it is not unlike that of a comma.

air, which gave a *nidus* to the poison of cholera. The steamboats which took cord wood at the landing soon brought the disease to the place, and before the close of March there were decided cases among the negroes.

There were two quarters on this plantation (Tarbert); the old quarters, very near the river, and the new or lower quarters, about three-quarters of a mile back from the river. The quarters were all thoroughly cleansed at Christmas, the houses whitewashed and all the filth around, under or near them burned up; the negroes were well clad and their food was sound pork and corn bread, but all this did not ward off a severe mortality, as about thirty of them died in the eight weeks of the continuance of the epidemic at this plantation; there were in all about ninety souls, and there were at least ninety cases of the disease, many of these cases, however, being relapses.

What occurred on other plantations was but a repetition of the epidemic at the Tarbert plantation, with perhaps this exception. When the disease broke out on the Tarbert plantation there happened to be a good physician on the place, prepared for the attack. Had this physician not been present at the time it is likely that all would have perished. Such was the case in many places along the river where the planter was unprepared. Many in the emergency used and depended upon nostrums and quack remedies, this and that specific; the cholera drops, &c., were merely astringent and anodyne mixtures, checking the disease very likely for a few hours, but as soon as the anodyne effect was over collapse and death ensued.

Flatboats drifted in at landings with every soul on board dead. In "Stack Island" reach, one of the largest planters, Dr. Duncan, of Natchez, lost over one hundred and thirty-three hands and the entire crop on his places, where he usually made between 3,000 and 4,000 bales of cotton. Wherever the disease occurred the loss of a great part of the crop was the consequence.

The physician on the Tarbert plantation had to watch the negroes at work in the field, as well as nurse and work with the sick; the only chance of recovery was to catch the disease in its incipency. The patient was first seized with an uneasy feeling about the pit of the stomach, cramp in limbs and headache; he would immediately seek seclusion. In fifteen or twenty minutes

he became collapsed, cold as ice, pulseless and dying. In this state remedies were of little avail, for the patient after lingering a few days died of typhoid fever from excessive debility.

It is characteristic of negroes to become panic stricken when a disease breaks out among them, if a few die at the beginning. To avoid going to the hospital for treatment they would hide in the woods or fence corners. The mortality was greatest under such circumstances, because those taken sick would slip off and be often found in a few minutes in collapse. Soon, however, the cases would multiply, so that it took all of those who were well to nurse the sick, rubbing them and giving remedies. The disease was readily curable if proper remedies were given *just at the attack*; fifteen or twenty minutes' delay, however, might lose the case.

During the first two or three weeks the disease readily yielded to appropriate treatment among the adults, but many of the children died. About the middle of April there was a lull or calm, and it was hoped it was all over, but a severe frost occurring the 15th of April, followed by heavy rains, caused the disease to break out again. A great many were attacked during this recurrence and a number died, among them several adults.

At the same time that the cholera was prevailing many were attacked with a dull pain in the head, the face about the eyes generally swollen. This disease seemed to be of a neuralgic character. A woman who was attacked violently with this pain being bled, died soon after the depletion.

They got over it gradually in a week or ten days with simple treatment: internal tonics and local applications, veratria ointment rubbed on the temples or cupping or leaching, was sufficient. There was also disease of a typhoid character, or pneumonia, and one bad case of bilious pleurisy, during the epidemic of cholera.

TREATMENT OF CHOLERA IN 1849.

The treatment pursued on the Tarbert plantation at the outbreak and during the continuance of the disease was mainly that of the celebrated Dr. Cartwright,⁴ of Philadelphia, who was highly successful in treating or curing cholera. It was simple enough:

⁴Dr. Samuel A. Cartwright, formerly of Natchez, Miss.

Say 20 grains of calomel, 10 grains of camphor and 10 grains of red pepper. These were rubbed together into a powder. A dose was given with every discharge. If taken at the starting point of the attack, three doses would generally stop the discharges, using at the same time hot mustard foot bath, hot bricks to feet, large plasters of mustard over the abdomen and on the thighs and legs, and rubbing for the cramp; if serous passages stopped and the patient slept and was quiet for eight or ten hours, he generally got up. From this on he was safe and only required brandy in suitable quantity to keep up strength, when recovery was gradual. Numbers, however, remained for a long time in a typhoid condition after getting through. In collapse, if anything would do good, it was calomel.

One stout, athletic man, who was in collapse, was given calomel in 100 grain doses. Although he was apparently dying, cold as ice, pulseless and speechless, in half an hour he jumped up and was walking about and bile was flowing. Such cases generally, however, sank under typhoid fever, which always followed collapsed cases. Calomel was the medicine, therefore, which cured cholera, and unless the liver was unlocked and bile flowed all the cases died.

A letter written from the plantation at the time of the epidemic in April describes the melancholy situation:

"When we landed at the plantation, all was quiet as a graveyard; a few negroes ran to meet us and with quiet and sad voices, gave us a warm greeting. We found the Doctor surrounded with tables of bottles of medicine; he had three large dishes each of Calomel, Camphor and Capsicum and was dishing out of each with a spoon. It would astonish you to hear the quantity, in ten days, we have consumed. Some twelve or fifteen debilitated cases, were lying in their blankets around the galleries of the house, so as to get aid, if needed, at a moment's warning. The wretched quarter dogs kept up all night a melancholy howling and have done so nightly; the atmosphere is heavy and we notice it very different from Elgin. It is impossible to eat; we keep our strength up with brandy, burnt in spices; it is a good preventive to disease, keeps the stomach warm and the brandy does not affect the head. My wife and self are perfectly well, but as you may suppose, we are all worn down, a good deal heart-sick, melancholy and gloomy."

It is admitted that low, damp situations are more subject to the epidemic of cholera and in malignant type than high, airy ones. If, then, during the prevalence of cholera in any neighborhood, a location was objectionable, the negroes should have been camped out or moved to a higher locality.

In 1833 the owner of the Tarbert plantation⁵ removed his negroes from their river quarters to the high bluffs back of the plantation upon the outbreak of the cholera among them, and there did not occur another case. He had lost three men, all of whom died in two or three hours from the first onset of the disease in their quarters on the river bank.

The type of the disease was most malignant, as there were no dejections either way, but a collapse from the start. The next day every remaining negro was sent to the "bluffs," and although they walked through the swamp to the river fields and worked all day there, returning in the evening to sleep at the "bluffs," not another case occurred. The force was small in 1833 and there were several buildings at the bluffs then to accommodate them without crowding.

If in 1849 the negroes had been removed from their quarters on the river to the bluff back of the plantation, it is probable that the disease would have been checked. That year, however, the planters were taken by surprise, and as the disease had prevailed on adjacent places without being severely fatal, it was not apprehended that there would be any necessity for removal, hence there were no camps or sheds in readiness at the bluffs. The first onset of the disease, too, being of a mild type and readily yielding to treatment, induced the owners to detain the negroes in their quarters. It was a great oversight not to have had preparations for their removal made early in the spring, as the disease finally became malignant and caused the loss of a number of the most valuable hands.

In making the sheds or camps it was important that there should not be too many crowded together, and above all, that they should not sleep upon the bare ground. Bunks to sleep upon were erected in their camps two or three feet off the ground, and if a flooring of boards was used they had a layer of sleepers under them to elevate them from the earth. This was Dr. Carmichael's plan. Great attention was paid by him also to the subject of food and drinks to see that they were good and wholesome. Bread made out of sweated or weevil-eaten corn was a prolific cause of malignancy in the disease; pork put up with inferior salt, or where the

⁵ Dr. John Flavel Carmichael, formerly Surgeon in the Legion, U. S. Army, for 17 years.

meat had been killed a good while before packing and salting, as was often the case in the West, was a fruitful cause of malignancy in the disease among the negroes. The particular kind of food was of less consequence than its entire soundness or freedom from taint; fresh meats, highly seasoned with pepper, mustard, ginger and spices, or pickled beef, was preferable to bad pork.

It is a well ascertained fact that upon every plantation where the cholera was malignant that the *drinking water* was bad.

At Miller's place, where negroes drank bayou water, 46 out of 53 souls were swept off, and on Dr. Duncan's cluster of places in Stack Island reach, where the cisterns were all inundated by back water, the mortality was excessive. Again, on many places where the disease was malignant in 1832-33, when they used river water or well or bayou water, having after then supplied their places with cistern (rain) water, they entirely escaped the epidemic or had it but slightly. On the Tarbert plantation the new quarters used cistern water, but in the old quarters the negroes made use, in a great measure, of river water to drink, and here the disease was most fatal. Upon the coast and in the Lafourche region, where the disease was awfully fatal, they had no cisterns, but used river or well water, and in our Western States, especially in those regions of the country where limestone water was in use, the cholera was a dreadful scourge. The good effects of the use of rain water by the negroes on plantations was most striking during the prevalence of the cholera epidemic, and there can be no doubt that the health of the plantations, particularly in low grounds, was improved twenty per cent. by the change from well or spring water to cistern water.

In addition to care in the use of suitable food and drink in cholera atmosphere the wearing of flannel shirts and warm socks was enjoined. At Christmas the negroes were all clothed in flannel shirts and shifts, and those that took them off in April died. If the negroes could not be camped out it was better to scatter them in outhouses, as ginhouses, corn and cotton houses, barns, &c., sleeping at night in the highest stories.

The great aim of all treatment was to bring on sweating. This effected, the internal hemorrhage at once stopped. It would not do to wait on calomel to act on the liver, as this took four to six hours, and the patient might die in two or three hours. Perspira-

tion could be produced, however, in ten to twenty minutes, and to do this they gave heating, stimulating and antispasmodic medicines, such as pepper, brandy, camphor, peppermint, &c. Calomel was used with them, as the cure was not *radical* nor life safe until the liver acted. Local applications, too, were of the greatest aid in bringing on sweating—hot clothes, hot bricks, bottles filled with hot water, mustard plasters, frictions—the patient being all the time kept under blankets.

A distinctive feature of cholera is that it attacks either adults or children indifferently. Of the diseases which have a strong family resemblance, yellow fever prevails chiefly among adults, scarlet fever is a disease of childhood for the most part. The plague is a disease incident to warm climates, and ceases when the temperature ranges above 80 degrees Fahrenheit.

Cholera is not endemic in any part of the world except Asia. Its home is in India, where, in certain localities, it has been endemic probably for centuries. Every epidemic of cholera is probably due to a spread of the disease directly or indirectly from its home in India. It is apt to be developed in the wake of moving masses of human beings; it follows the lines of great travel to different parts of the world. An infected ship may carry the disease from one part of the world to the other through the agency of the comma bacilli, which find their way into the water supply or become attached to different articles of food, or are conveyed in clothing or in merchandise of different kinds.

An attack of cholera may be of any degree of severity, the symptoms usually being after a period of incubation of from two to five days. A writer on the subject of cholera makes the following very forcible observations:⁶

"Its mode of progression favors the supposition of its being contagious more than it does that of being a non-contagious disease, dependent on some telluric or atmospheric influence for its development. It travels more or less slowly from town to town, overrunning one country after another, taking often years to traverse a continent, now diverging, then retrograding or appearing to be arrested in its course. It advances along the great lines of communication that exist between different towns or countries, along the tracks of trade and the highways of commerce and overspreads a country more or less quickly, just in proportion to the facilities of intercourse existing between respective towns."

"Cholera took 16 years to travel from Hindoostan to Great Britain in 1832; it accomplished the same journey more rapidly in 1848 and the epidemic reached Great Britain again after an interval of only five years;

⁶Rae's *Observations on Cholera*, London, Nov., 1854.

facts that militate against the idea of its atmospheric origin and show that its progress is regulated, to a great extent, by the freeness and frequency of a communication existing between the towns and countries which are the scenes of its ravages. It reached Great Britain sooner in 1853 than it did in 1832, because the facilities of intercourse between Great Britain and the Continental countries and the East have been greatly increased within the last twenty, but more especially within the last ten years."

"In fact, the rapidity of the march of the epidemic of 1853 over that of 1832, bears a strict proportion to the increased means of intercourse that have taken place during that interval, between this country (G. B.) the countries of the continent and the East, and were the means of intercourse between the different countries of Europe and Hindoostan still freer, were the same freedom and frequency of communication to exist between them as occur between the large towns in this country, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that we should have the epidemic, not after intervals of 16 or 5 years, but have one epidemic following another in close succession, until the disease became endemic amongst us. Nay, for anything we know to the contrary, this may actually become the case with Cholera."

"Again, Cholera has never been known to have reached any place sooner than the means of communication existing between it and an infected town could have conveyed the contagion and it has often taken a far longer time to arrive at a place comparatively near to an infected town, but where slow and unfrequent means of communication existed, than it has taken to traverse extensive tracts of land and ocean intervening, between towns and countries having free and rapid intercourse with an infected part."

The following statistics, taken from the records of the United States Marine Hospital, give the dates at which cholera has made its appearance in Europe and the United States:

The first wide-spread epidemic is said to have occurred in India in the year 1817.

During the years 1830 and 1832, extensive epidemics occurred in different parts of Europe and there were recurrences of smaller epidemics up to 1838.

It appeared in the United States in 1832-33, 1835 and 1836. In 1846, it again appeared in Europe and entered the United States in 1848.

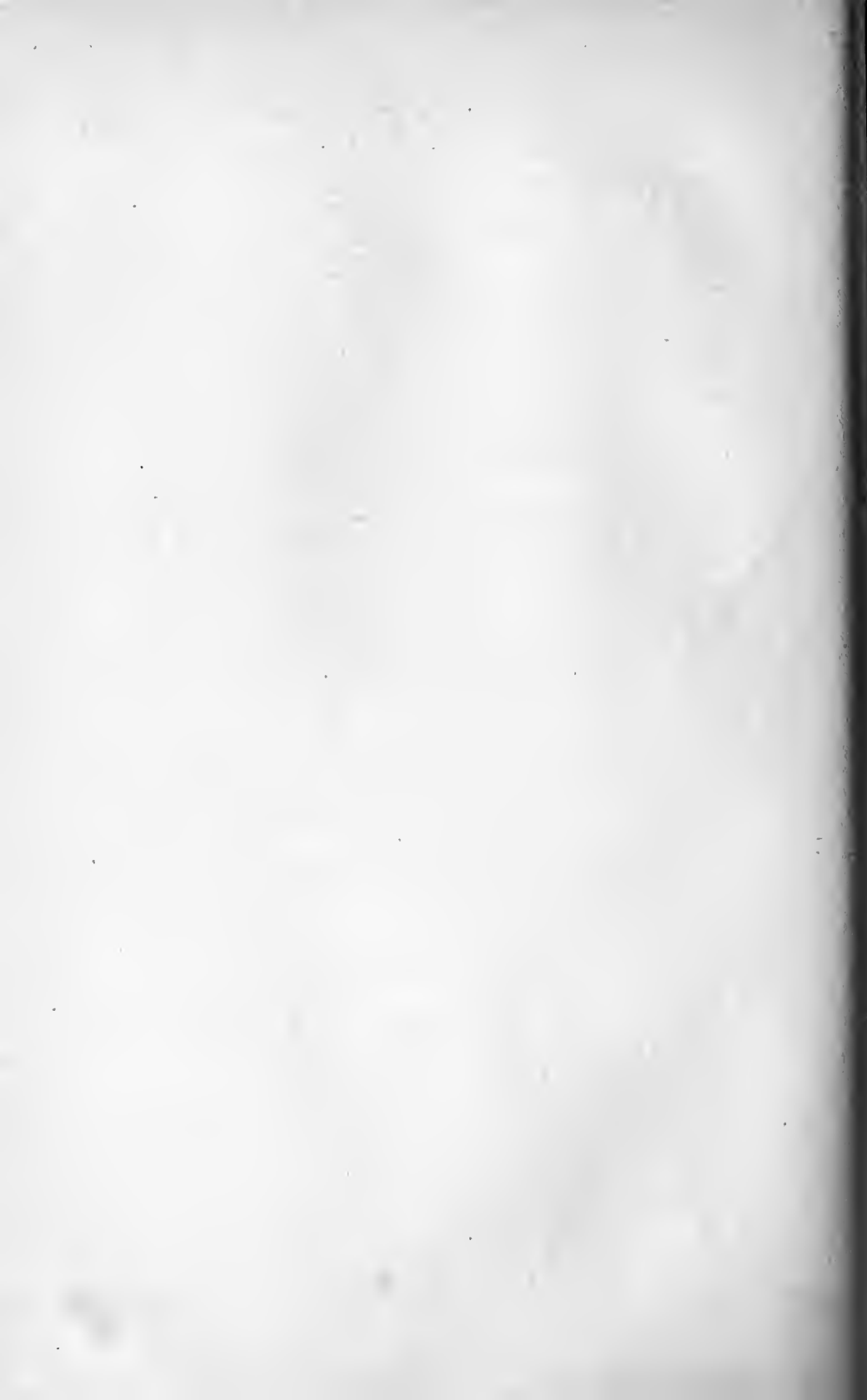
In 1854, the Cholera was again introduced into the United States through the port of New York and a wide-spread epidemic was the result.

In 1866, the disease was again epidemic in Europe, also in Arabia and Egypt, and during the same year the year following and again in 1873, smaller epidemics occurred in the United States.

In 1883-84, an extensive epidemic prevailed in Europe, particularly in France and Italy.

The last serious epidemic occurred in Europe in 1892 and 1893, chiefly in Hamburg, where it attacked nearly 18,000 persons and more than 7,000 died within a period of three months.

In 1892, a few cases were brought to New York harbor from Hamburg, but there was no spread of the disease.



HISTORIC CLINTON.¹

BY CHARLES HILLMAN BROUGH.²

Ten miles west of Jackson and thirty-five miles east of Vicksburg, on the Alabama and Vicksburg road on the watershed between the Big Black and Pearl rivers, is a little college town that in 1829 lacked only vote of becoming the capital city of our great Commonwealth, the ante-bellum house of Walter Leake, Mississippi's third governor and first United States senator; of Cowles Mead, the brilliant secretary of the Territory, who as acting governor from April 21, 1806, until February 6, 1807, had the honor of capturing and receiving the surrender of the sword of Aaron Burr; of Samuel Gwin, whose appointment by President Jackson as Register of the Land Office at Mt. Salus was the immediate cause of Senator Poindexter's political break with the president; of Dr. William M. Gwin, United States marshal for the District of Mississippi and afterwards one of California's first United States senators; of Henry Goodloe Johnstone, who for many years represented Hinds county in the Legislature and served with distinction as Probate Judge, and was the first and oldest of Mississippi Masons, serving the craft as its Grand Master for 44 years; of Amos R. Johnston, a lawyer of recognized ability and a legislator of State-wide influence, the father of Captain Frank Johnston, Mississippi's brilliant ex-attorney-general, and Dr. Wirt Johnston, for many years recognized as the leader of Mississippi's medical fraternity; of Hiram G. Runnels, the first governor of Mississippi after the division on strict party lines; of Henry S. Foote, afterwards governor and United States

¹ The writer wishes to express his gratitude to Mrs. Sallie B. Harding, Captain W. T. Ratliff, Judge E. W. Cabaniss, Mrs. Kate Halls, Mr. W. V. Abou, Mrs. Howard Cabell, Col. C. L. Thomas, President W. S. Webb, and "Aunt" Charlotte Smith for the data on which this monograph is based. The minute book of the Masonic Lodge of Clinton, the *Legislative Journals* of the State and numerous private papers have also been consulted.

² A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. III., p. 317.—EDITOR.

senator; of Dr. Walter New, a veteran of the War of 1812 and fleet surgeon of the "Wasp" on the occasion of her famous victory over the "Frolic," winning a silver medal in recognition of his bravery in this contest; of Edmund Richardson, the cotton king of the South and millionaire of Mississippi, who first worked for a monthly salary in this little town; of Rev. Daniel Comfort, Peter Crawford, William Duncan, Philip Werlein, T. G. Rice, Dr. Walter Hillman and Dr. W. S. Webb, widely known as distinguished educators; of Judge Isaac Caldwell, member of the State Senate, killed in a duel by Samuel Gwin, who himself received a wound from which he died within a year's time; of Thomas J. Wharton, who was elected attorney general of the State for two successive terms and was subsequently circuit judge of the capital district for six years; of William L. Sharkey, for nearly twenty years Mississippi's great chief justice and afterwards her provisional governor; of Dr. George Stokes, whose philippic against "Know-nothingism" in 1855 would have done credit to a Demosthenes; of Gen. Patrick Henry and Gen. John R. Jefferson, gallant soldiers, eloquent orators, and old line Whigs; of Caswell R. Clifton, for many years judge of the circuit court and Clerk of the High Court of Errors and Appeals, and father of Hon. Oliver Clifton, of Jackson; of Drs. W. L. Wydown, George G. Banks, Bruce Banks, E. G. Banks, and J. B. Williamson, eminent physicians and surgeons, the last of whom was appointed superintendent of the Lunatic Asylum in 1859; of John T. Freeman, James Hamilton, J. B. Hamberlin, E. C. Eager, Alexander Newton, Thomas Ford, and Consider Parish, distinguished divines; the famous duelling ground of Peyton and Caldwell, of Caldwell and Gwin, the first terminus of the Clinton and Vicksburg railroad, now the principal branch of the Queen and Crescent system in Mississippi; the rendezvous in the "flush times" of lotteries, of banks, and wealthy merchants and planters; the town whose vacation stillness on September 4, 1875, was broken by a race riot which sounded the death-knell of reconstruction rule in Mississippi and ushered in white supremacy; and last and most distinctive of all, the Mecca of distinguished educators, a modern Athens in its well established institutions of learning. Such is historic Clinton, in honor of whose culture and refinement Gov. Foote proposed a part of his celebrated toast:

"Here's to Jackson the seat of government, to Raymond, the seat of justice; to Amsterdam, the port of entry; and to Clinton, the seat of learning."

The present town of Clinton was first known in history as Mt. Dexter. But Mt. Dexter was only a temporary Indian agency and during the early days of the Territory and State—indeed, until 1828—the settlement which occupied very nearly the present site of Clinton, just beyond its southern boundary, was called "Mount Salus," the Mountain of Health.

The first settler of Mount Salus was Walter Leake, then a Territorial Judge, who in 1812 came to Hinds county from Virginia, purchased a large tract of land in the Choctaw cession, and with slave labor felled the forest round about, dressed the timbers, burnt the brick, and built the first brick house in Hinds county, calling it Mount Salus. This home, fashioned after the style of the old English manor-houses; square built, with wide windows, heavy doors and solid floors,³ was inviting in its hospitality and was often the scene of social gayety. While as yet the corn cribs and chicken houses of Choctaw Indians were in the land, forty-five slaves did the bidding of their master and took his name; six yoke of oxen started to Vicksburg every Monday morning to fill Walter Leake's generous larders; Chickasaw Indians came with itinerant Methodist preachers to the hospitable home and read and sang and prayed, and in 1825, "before the stars fell in 1833," the great Lafayette visited Mississippi as the guest of Gov. Leake at Mount Salus. Although the master of this manor house was a prominent member of the order of Cincinnatus, although in 1817 he was elected Mississippi's first United States senator, and in 1821 its third governor, which honor was twice conferred upon him, the friendship of Lafayette for him and his visit to him was the most highly treasured tradition of his home. While partaking of Gov. Leake's hospitality, Lafayette related this incident from the days of the American Revolution:

"When Walter Leake was a lad of seventeen years he enlisted in the army and participated in the siege of Yorktown. The following day his father sought LaFayette and told him that he and his eldest son, William Leake, had devoted their lives to the

³ Mrs. N. D. Deupree's "Some Historic Houses of Mississippi," in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VI., p. 251.

cause and his younger son, Walter, had been left to care for the home, but he had run away and joined the army, and he begged an easy berth for him, which Lafayette granted later. The *Richmond Enquirer* notes that 'Walter Leake was found amidst the foremost ranks in the tented fields, nor did his active patriotism ever slumber, until he saw achieved the liberty and independence of his country.'"

Before his second term as governor expired, Gov. Leake, who for several years had been in failing health, died on the 17th day of November, 1825, and was buried in the high brick-walled family burying-ground adjoining the grounds. Mount Salus was inherited by Gov. Leake's only daughter, who married Henry Goodloe Johnstone, a native of Albemarle county, Va., and a descendant of William Wallace. Preserved within the archives of Mount Salus are the motto, the fac-simile of the coat-of-arms, and the description of the chief-seat or home of the Scotch family of that ilk, who was chief of the clan about 1370 A. D.

The first land office and the first post office in the State of Mississippi were located at Mount Salus. As early as 1815 mail was deposited in Gov. Leake's quaint little letter-box, which is to be given to the Mississippi Historical Society by Mrs. Harding of Jackson. The land office was established immediately after the treaty of Doak's Stand, October 18, 1820, where the lands of the second Choctaw cession were sold to the highest bidders. So strenuous was the demand for more land on the part of the new settlers that it is said hundreds assembled at the land office days at a time, men and women. They came prepared to camp out, many bringing their food with them. Great excitement prevailed, "ill-feeling, angry words, and often blows, aye, sometimes more fatal consequences resulted from the competition for certain lands." The location of Mount Salus was picturesque and healthful, distinguished for the abundance and purity of its waters. Indeed, the town was regarded as a health resort for wealthy planters' families, who came out from the delta, bringing their coaches and horses and footmen. Spring Hill Hotel, a fine building for those primitive times when the citizens "dwelt in tents until they could erect cabins with earth or puncheon floors," occupied the summit of the principal hill, named for the clear limpid spring at its base, enclosed in brick, with marble basin and stone

steps leading down to it. Robertson's Spring, now known as Ousley's Spring, also afforded delicious water. Upon the brow of the hill was the handsome brick residence of Col. Raymond Robinson, a house stained with blood and veiled in mystery by reason of the fact that Mrs. Caldwell, the wealthy widow of Judge Isaac Caldwell and sister to Mrs. Elizabeth Robinson, shortly after marrying a Mr. Kearney, was found shot in her own room. On a twin hill, west from Mount Salus, Judge Caldwell owned the second oldest brick house in the county, and entertained in sumptuous style. Gray's Inn, part log and part rough boards, was constantly filled with boarders, attracted by the waters of this "Mountain of Health."

A well equipped stage line, controlled by Gen. John R. Jefferson, Peterfield Jefferson and a Mr. Richey, all of Mount Salus, ran from Jackson to Vicksburg by way of this celebrated health resort, and a branch line followed that part of the "Natchez Trace" from Mount Salus to Natchez. So great was the travel and traffic of Mount Salus that a State road leading eastward from Vicksburg to Mount Salus was opened in 1820, and on Jan. 31, 1826, an appropriation of \$500 was made by the Legislature for the purpose of completing this road to Jackson.

On January 24, 1826, the Legislature granted a charter to Hampstead Academy located at Mount Salus, the first trustees being Hiram G. Runnels, afterwards governor of the State, Col. Raymond Robinson, Gideon Fitz, Charles M. Lawson, and James C. Dickson. This, the second oldest male institution in Mississippi, began active work in 1827, under the name "Mississippi Academy," receiving for five years, from Jan. 1, 1825, the rents from certain lands that had been granted by Congress for educational purposes. In 1828 an effort was made to make "Mississippi Academy" the State university, but although five thousand dollars was loaned to the academy by the State and its name was changed by legislative act in 1830 to "Mississippi College," it remained under the control of trustees appointed by citizens of the town. At this time Mr. Moses Hall and Mr. Dwight had large boarding schools for young ladies, so while Clinton was yet Mount Salus, it gave earnest of becoming an educational center.

About a mile northwest of Mount Salus, on a beautiful slope

* See *Ibid.*, pp. 250-251.

covered with forest trees, at the edge of a large canebrake, was the site of "Greenwood,"⁴ the home of Cowles Mead, who as the third Secretary of the Territory and its acting governor from April 21, 1806, until February 6, 1807, arrested Aaron Burr at Bruinsburg, in Claiborne county, and thus stopped his mysterious expedition and fabled empire in the southwest. The sword of Burr, delivered to General Mead when Burr was captured, hung on the wall of "Greenwood" until April, 1861, when it was presented by Mrs. Mead to Captain Welborn of the Mississippi College Rifles, who lost it when he was wounded at the first battle of Manassas. Tradition has it that Gen. Mead regarded his capture of Burr as the most brilliant effort in his eventful and highly honorable career, and an amusing incident is told illustrating the pride he took in this exploit, and his frequent reference to it. One gentleman made a wager with another that Gen. Mead could not answer any question on any subject without referring to his capture of Aaron Burr, and the wager having been accepted, it was agreed that the question asked should be, "What is the price of corn." Gen. Mead promptly replied, "Corn is worth 50 cents a bushel now, but it was worth a dollar the year I captured Aaron Burr!" Soon after his defeat for Congress in 1813, a defeat which Poindexter ascribes to his driving through Wayne county in a carriage,—something entirely too extravagant and pretentious for an office seeker—Gen. Mead built the home in which he spent his last days. "Greenwood" stood in a lawn of fifty acres; its broad carriage way was frescoed with rows of magnolias, pines and liveoaks; its lawn was carpeted with a rich sward of Bermuda grass, which Gen. Mead is said to have introduced into the United States; hothouse plants, roses and crepe myrtles bloomed in rich profusion, and hospitality abounded. In his garden beneath an aged cedar tree was the wide garden seat where Gen. Mead drank his after dinner coffee and discussed affairs of State with distinguished visitors; and in this self-same garden, beneath a large pecan tree, whose seed he planted, are the neglected graves of Cowles Mead, his wife and son. Here at Greenwood, in this spot of almost forgotten greatness, the pilgrim of history may read on one side of a shaft toppled over at an angle of 75 degrees:

"To the memory of Mary Lilly, wife of Cowles Mead. Born March 10, 1797; died Oct. 27, 1834."

On the obverse side of the monument is the inscription :

"To the memory of Cowle's Mead, whose pure life beautified the spirit of an honest man. Born October 18, 1776. Died May 17, 1844."

Barely six feet away the monument to his son, Cowles G. Mead, has fallen from its pedestal to the ground, and that to his daughter, Mrs. Shearer, is broken into countless fragments.

In the fall of 1828 the inhabitants of Mount Salus changed its name to Clinton, in honor of Governor Clinton of New York, and on Feb. 12, 1830, the new town was incorporated by an act of the Legislature.⁵ The government of Clinton was vested in five trustees to be elected by the citizens, a majority of these trustees being empowered to transact all business, to elect a town treasurer, assessor, collector and constable and to levy a tax not exceeding 25 cents on every \$100 worth of property. The president of this board of trustees was made ex-officio justice of the peace and was given the power to impose fines not exceeding \$10.00 and costs for a single offence. At this time the town contained the land office, postoffice, two brick churches, Methodist and Presbyterian, four hotels, the Spring Hill Hotel, the Farmers' Hotel, the Eagle Hotel, and Gray's Inn, a brick academy with thirty or forty pupils, and in all about two hundred inhabitants.

Mississippi Academy in 1830 was co-educational, the buildings consisting of a neat one-story brick 24x40 feet for the female department; a teacher's house, 32x36 feet, brick, and an "academic" edifice, 39x50 feet, made of durable material.⁶ The walls of the lower story of the main building were 18 inches in thickness, while those of the upper story were 13 inches in thickness. There were four handsome rooms, having two fire-places each. In the largest of these rooms there was hung in a conspicuous place a neat plain frame enclosing the list of donors to the academy. On February 2, 1830, a committee consisting of James Phillips, Ralph Regan and Gideon Fitz, appeared before the Legislature and thanked the members for the liberal grant of rents recently made to the academy, and for the donation of two neat frames to enclose the

⁵ *House Journal*, 1830, pp. 84-86.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

names of the benefactors of the institution. Although the members of the Legislature seemed gratified because of the consideration thus shown them, and the academy had a strong hold on popular favor, an act to give further time to the trustees in which to repay the \$5,000 loan made in 1825 and due January 1, 1830, failed on Dec. 15, 1830, by vote of 14 to 14 in the House.

The old saying that misfortunes never come singly was peculiarly true of Clinton at this time; for added to the disappointment over the location of the State university, were two exasperating defeats for Clinton on the questions of locating a site for the county courthouse and the removal of the seat of government from Jackson.

On February 4th, 1828, the Legislature provided for the election of three commissioners to select a site for the courthouse and jail of the county and to locate the same either at Clinton or within two miles of the center of the county. On the 17th of January, 1829 on recommendation of these commissioners, an act was passed directing that the courthouse and jail be located at the centre of the county, now the town of Raymond, then a forest of pines. But the bitterest disappointment was yet to follow.

In 1829 Clinton lacked only one vote of becoming the capital of the State and was defeated in this, her greatest ambition, by the vote of Major John R. Peyton, of Raymond, whom she had been largely instrumental in electing a member of the House of Representatives from Hinds. Jackson was selected as the capitol site as early as June 30, 1822, but being an unhealthy place and Clinton at that time being a healthful flourishing town, a determined effort was made in 1828 and again in 1829 to remove the capitol to Clinton. On Feb. 13, 1828, Mr. Silas Brown, of Hinds county, moved the adoption of the report of the committee, which had reported favorably "An act to remove the seat of government" to Clinton.⁷ Franklin E. Plummer, of Simpson, moved as an amendment to strike out Clinton and substitute Georgetown in Copiah county. Mr. Briscoe, of Claiborne, moved to amend by substituting Port Gibson. Both amendments were defeated by the tie vote of 15 to 15. It is worthy of note in this connection that Clinton received the votes of the representatives from Hinds, Yazoo, Pike, Perry, Lawrence, Monroe, Green, Jackson and Wil-

⁷ Mississippi *House Journal*, 1828-29, p. 332.

kinson, and one each from Adams and Jefferson, while Port Gibson received the votes of the representatives from Amite, Claiborne, Franklin, Warren, Wayne, Hancock, Marion, Simpson and Copiah, and one each from Adams and Jefferson. Mr. Marsh of Amite then moved indefinite postponement of the committee's report in favor of Clinton, but this motion was likewise defeated 15 to 15. Mr. Plummer, who seemed to be an implacable enemy of Clinton, moved the substitution of Monticello, which was defeated by a vote of 14 to 16, John A. Quitman of Adams changing his vote to Clinton. William L. Sharkey moved the substitution of Vicksburg, but this motion shared the same fate. On February 15, Mr. Brown moved that the bill be amended by the following rider: "That the several amounts paid by individuals for lands purchased of the State in Jackson be refunded." The rider was rejected by a vote of 19 to 11. Mr. Sparks of Yazoo moved that the governor be requested to nominate and appoint three disinterested, unprejudiced men to estimate the loss that would be incurred by removal, but this rider was also rejected. The question then recurred on the original question, Shall the bill pass, and the motion failed, 13 to 17. Mr. Brown of Hinds and Speaker Charles B. Green of Adams changed their votes on the final vote, and thus Clinton met her initial defeat on the capitol question.

But nothing dismayed, another bill to remove the seat of government to Clinton was introduced in the Legislature of 1829, and on January 30th the committee reported it favorably. Amendments providing for the substitution of Vicksburg, Natchez, Port Gibson, Madisonville, Centreville, Washington, Gallatin, Monticello and Westville were defeated, and all attempts to indefinitely postpone likewise failed. But on the final vote, taken January 31, 1829, the bill was defeated by a tie vote of 18 to 18, Mr. Wright of Monroe being excused from voting. Major John B. Peyton of Raymond cast the deciding vote against Clinton,⁸ and as subsequent events proved, made permanent the present site of the

⁸The writer is unable to verify by any documentary evidence the story handed down by tradition, that a State Convention was called to settle the capitol question and that Major Peyton, as President of this Convention, cast the deciding vote against Clinton. The records show that the removal agitation was purely a legislative, and not a constitutional question. The original location of the capitol may have been determined by a State Convention, but there is no evidence to prove even this.

capitol, for in 1830 a \$50,000 courthouse was built in Jackson, and no further efforts were made to remove the seat of government.

The feeling against Major Peyton in Clinton was naturally bitter, culminating in a challenge from Judge Caldwell to fight a duel. This duel, fought on the Raymond road, about a mile from Clinton, with duelling pistols, the principals being stationed forty paces apart beneath towering oaks, miraculously resulted in no serious injury to either party, Judge Caldwell receiving a slight flesh wound in the hand.

But the historic duel fought in 1835 on identically the same duelling ground on the Raymond road, between Judge Caldwell, the law partner of Senator Poindexter, and Col. Samuel Gwin, register of the Land Office at Mount Salus, under Jackson, was a more deadly encounter. The canvass for United States senator in 1835 between Robert J. Walker and Poindexter was exciting and exceptionally bitter, and the friends of Poindexter attributed his defeat by Walker to the influence of the Gwin brothers, William M. and Samuel. The challenge passed between Judge Caldwell and Col. Samuel Gwin, and although it was customary for affairs of honor to be held beyond the limits of the State, it was agreed this time to fight at Clinton, the home of both of the distinguished principals—a fight designed to be “*a l’ outrance*” in which each was determined to kill the other. Forty paces and a fine brace of duelling pistols did their deadly work. Both fell, Caldwell dying in two hours and Gwin, shot through the lung, surviving about a year. A striking commentary on the “ethics” of the “code of honor” and the undaunted high spiritedness of a Southern woman is found in the fact that the wife of one of the principals in this celebrated duel told her husband on the morning it occurred that she would rather be “the widow of a brave man than the wife of a coward.”

Politics ran high in ante-bellum Clinton—the sword hung all too loosely in its scabbard. The “Spring Hill Hotel,” the meeting place of the politicians, witnessed many tragic events: the killing of Robinson by Gibson at dinner; the shooting between Sam Marsh and others, in which Judge Coulter was wounded while peacefully sleeping; the killing of Gilbert by Herring, a

hand to hand fight with pistols; the killing of Schackleford by Parkam,⁹ and many other less fatal but serious affairs.

These political disturbances, however, did not excite the people of Clinton and strike terror in their hearts as did the news of the approach of the notorious "Murrell gang." On June 27, 1835, Clinton, then a prosperous town numbering 3,500 inhabitants, was thrown into a whirl of excitement by the appearance of this desperate gang of desperadoes, who, making Madisonville their headquarters, raided the country for miles around. The women and children of the town and neighborhood were crowded into what was then known as the Baptist and Presbyterian church, which was surrounded by a heavy guard. Bands of organized regulators were stationed on every approach to the town, forbidding the entrance of anyone without passports, and thus Clinton was saved from the horrors of what is known in history as the "Murrell insurrection."

Although Clinton failed to become the permanent seat of government it lost little of its fame and prestige as a business and educational center. On Dec. 19, 1831, an act was passed incorporating the Clinton and Vicksburg railroad company, the first part of what is now known as the Alabama and Vicksburg ever constructed, and the second oldest railroad in the State. The capital stock was fixed at \$250,000, \$100 a share, paid for on the instalment plan, \$5.00 down. Thomas Wooldridge, Ben. W. Edwards, Walter W. New, Alexander G. McNutt, William R. Markham, William Vick, Cowles Mead, James Montgomery and William Prescott,—a majority of whom were citizens of Clinton,—were appointed commissioners of the new road. The day the first train came out from Vicksburg, a grand barbecue was given, followed by a ball that night at the Galt House. But the festivities were interrupted by a terrific tornado which in the afternoon swept the country and tore up the rails for miles. Carriages and wagons were conscripted to carry the visitors from Vicksburg back to the city, and soon order was brought out of chaos.

During the flush times in Mississippi, especially between 1832 and 1842, Clinton was bedridden with reckless railroad and real

⁹ In his trial for the killing of Shackleford, Parkam was ably defended by Henry S. Foote, Caswell R. Clifton and Edward M. Yerger, the latter making his maiden speech at the Mississippi bar in this case. Parkam was acquitted, the jury not leaving the box.

estate banks and an alluring lottery. The Commercial Railroad Bank of Vicksburg had a strong branch at Clinton and Cowles Mead was president of the Real Estate Banking Company at Clinton which issued notes "payable at their banking house" as late as 1839. It is said that when General Mead's bank failed and depositors approached him with reference to a settlement, the old General who was ploughing at the time, said with an indignant wave of the hand, "See the cashier about that matter for my mind is on things spiritual now, not on things temporal." It seems almost a travesty of fate that the present educational and denominational center of the Baptists of Mississippi should have once been the headquarters of a flourishing lottery. A fac-simile of the following ticket speaks for itself:

BIG BLACK NAVIGATION LOTTERY—FIRST CLASS.	
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> NO. 233 </div>	<i>This ticket will entitle the holder to such prize as may be drawn to its number, in the FIRST CLASS of the BIG BLACK NAVIGATION LOTTERY, to be drawn at Clinton.</i>
<i>All prizes payable on demand, subject to a deduction of fifteen per cent.</i>	
Clinton, April, 1832.	<i>G. F. Woodridge</i>

In these palmy days before the war Clinton had forty stores, mostly brick, five hotels and two livery stables, and a weekly paper called *The Clinton Gazette*, founded by Amos R. Johnston and edited afterwards by Calvin Miller, Esq., at one time a professor in Mississippi College. One of the oldest and largest Masonic lodges in the State, Clinton Lodge, No. 16, was organized June, 1834, and proved to be the parent lodge which colonized the Jackson and Vicksburg lodges. Judge Amos R. Johnson, T. J. Wharton, Ramsay Wharton, Col. Jacob Foote, Caswell R. Clifton, Henry L. Foote, Buckner, Edwards, Chilton, Parkam, Dunlap and Major Harney carried on a lucrative law practice. Drs. W. L. Wydown, William Williamson, Fenner, the father of the distinguished Judge Fenner, of New Orleans, G. F. Passmore, J. K. Phillips, George Stokes, H. W. Johnston, S. A. Alexander, George

Banks, E. G. Banks, Williams Davenport and Catchings all enjoyed an extensive medical practice in and around Clinton. Such distinguished and eloquent divines as John T. Freeman, L. R. Holloway, C. L. McCloud, J. B. Hamberlin, Benjamin Whitfield, Valentine Brock and E. C. Eager, Baptists; Alexander Newton, Daniel Comfort, James A. Hamilton, Battle, Shepard and Consider Parish, Presbyterians; and Thomas Ford, O. L. Nash, James A. Godfrey and W. C. Black, Methodists, filled the pulpits of their respective denominations. Wealthy planters made Clinton the headquarters for their trade and the suburbs of Clinton the sites for their houses. Here was the postoffice address of Hugh Campbell, who owned 2,700 acres of land and 100 slaves; of Andrew Thomas, with 6,260 acres of land and 100 slaves; of B. O. Williams, with 1,000 acres of land and nearly a hundred slaves; of Col. J. W. Welborn with 2,000 acres of land and 90 slaves; of Benjamin Whitfield, with 2,000 acres of land and 140 slaves. Four and a half miles from here to the northeast was the celebrated "Anchorage," the home of Dr. Walter New, while almost on the same road two miles beyond was the plantation manor of Rev. Benjamin Whitfield, a godly man who believed in music, melody and the ministry. In this manor of 2,000 acres there were 20 acres of lawn and $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of flowers. Forty children and grandchildren were reared here, and such was the hospitality of the home that it was the proudest boast of its master that no wayfarer ever went away hungry. Here in ante-bellum Clinton were the large furnishing stores of W. W. Dunton, the Barrymore Brothers, Smith and Hood, Charles and England, Criddle and Thomas, Wilkes and Jim McRaven, Lewis and Summerfield, J. W. Welborn, J. B. Abou and Mrs. Parsons—stores where silk dresses sold from \$50.00 to \$125.00 per pattern and whose 20,000 bale shipment of cotton each year made Clinton the largest cotton point between Vicksburg and Meridian. Here fashionable and elegantly dressed ladies rode in \$1,500 carriages, with footmen in livery and blooded horses. Here were the early political hustings of W. A. Lake, Sargent S. Prentiss, O. R. Singleton, Charles E. Hooker and Dr. George Stokes, who in his famous speech denouncing Know-nothingism delivered in the old Presbyterian Church in 1855, vehemently wiped his foaming mouth with his coat-tails and said to his opponent:

"When I first came to America from Ireland I brought with me two suits of clothes, when you came, you landed as naked as a bird."

But it is preëminently as a symposium of scholars and a center of educational institutions that Clinton possesses historic interest. Here the talented Mrs. Harry Lee wrote *The House of Bouverie*, Dr. John Davenport published his *Humbugiana*, a Don Quixote satire on all professions and especially on self-made men, and Dr. S. A. Alexander, a steam doctor, penned learned treatises on evolution and other scientific subjects. Here in the early thirties Mrs. Thayer conducted a young ladies' seminary of the highest grade, enrolling an average of 250 annually. Here Mississippi College, the successor of the Hampstead and Mississippi Academies, struggling with poverty and a constant change of administration and denominational control, became the Alma Mater of some of the South's most distinguished sons. Here, in 1853, Central Female Institute, now Hillman College, under the control of the Central Association of the Baptist denomination, commenced its ennobling career of educating and training for domestic usefulness the womanhood of our land. Here the Rev. Daniel Comfort, an "Old School" Presbyterian, opened opposite the College on the present campus a private school and taught until he reached the semi-centennial of his school life. When the semi-centennial was reached, the distinguished educator was tendered an ovation by his pupils, one of whom was Ex-Governor Brown, then United States Senator. Captain W. T. Ratliff, who was present at the time, relates that Senator Brown, while addressing the large assemblage of citizens and former pupils who had come together to do honor to the old instructor, said, among other things, that the end of fifty years of unceasing toil in behalf of others finds this venerable servant of God in the condition of his Master, who said of Himself, "The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head." "Fellow-citizens," Senator Brown continued, "this ought not to be, it must not be." "As the Senator was a man of deeds, as well as words," says Captain Ratliff, "he soon had a house in the town of Clinton, bought and paid for by the old pupils where the first president of Mississippi College under denominational control

spent the last days of his useful and unselfish life."¹⁰ In this educational center Dr. Hewlett taught a boys' school which averaged from 50 to 60 pupils. Mrs. Cary, Mrs. Theyer and Philip Werlein conducted schools for young ladies, Werlein's school-room being the top of the old Spring Hill Hotel.

In 1857 Mr. T. G. Rice bought from Mrs. Calvert, a wealthy widow, her magnificent residence a mile and a half north of Clinton and established the Mt. Hermon Female Institute. This institute had an average patronage of 100 boarding pupils until the outbreak of the Civil War, and was one of the few schools in the South that kept open doors during the war. Shortly after the war it was closed as a school and used as a private residence by Mr. Rice's family until 1875 when Miss Sarah A. Dickey, who had purchased it in 1873 for \$6,000 entered into possession and re-opened it as Mt. Hermon Female Seminary for the education of negro girls. For twenty-eight years Miss Dickey has presided over this institution with marked success, the attendance averaging 100 each session and the property, consisting of a college building and three dormitories, being valued at \$25,000.

Reverting to the history of Mississippi and Hillman Colleges, the two institutions with which Clinton is most generally associated in the public mind, we find that both schools have had checkered though useful careers.¹¹ Until 1842 Mississippi College was under the management of the citizens of Clinton. Its first president, elected in October, 1836, was Mr. Elliot, and its first graduate, the first student to receive a diploma from an institution in the State, was Augustus M. Foote, Jr., of Jackson, who became a prominent Mississippi lawyer and afterwards moved to Memphis. "The gross earnings at this time were less than \$580, with \$8,000 subscribed, of which only \$2,000 was available, while the expenses amounted to \$6,000 per term."¹² The effort of the trustees of the sixteenth section fund to establish a "respectable school in Clinton" resulting in little or no good to the college, an

¹⁰ *Minutes of Central Baptist Association*, pp. 24-25.

¹¹ In tracing the history of Mississippi College the writer is largely indebted to Rowe's *History of Mississippi College* (1881) and Captain Ratliff's Report on Mississippi College before the Central Baptist Association (1900). Many interesting and valuable additions, however, have been made by the writer who has in his possession the only complete file of the catalogues of Mississippi College.

¹² Rowe's *History of Mississippi College*, pp. 7-8.

offer of the college was made and accepted in April, 1842, to the Clinton Presbytery to be exclusively under their control. As the Presbyterian denomination was strong in Clinton at that time and had been recognized for years as a leader in education, the college made substantial advancement under the new management. In a short time degrees and diplomas were conferred by the board of trustees. The honorary degree of D. D. was given Revs. Alexander Newton, Alexander and Elias Converse, of Philadelphia. A theological professorship was added, and Dr. Newton was called to fill it. In 1846 after due examination on the part of a committee from the board of trustees, Robert Campbell received the degree of A. B., and is thus entitled to the honor of being the first graduate of Mississippi College. In the midst of this seeming prosperity, an unfortunate controversy which divided the Presbyterians into the "Old School" and the "New School" seriously impaired the usefulness of the college. The president of the college, the Rev. Daniel Comfort, was of the "Old School" while their leading preacher, Rev. Consider Parish, was of the "New School." In the course of time the President was displaced by a man of the "New School," Rev. P. Cotton, whose able administration inspired the hope of continued success. President Cotton, however, soon resigned, having been tempted by a better offer elsewhere. Although well-manned under the Rev. Consider Parish, who became president in 1848, the college so suffered for want of patronage that after eight years of partially unsuccessful effort, the Presbyterians were ready to turn it back to the citizens of Clinton. This was done on July 27, 1850, by the passage of the following resolution:

"Resolved, That this Presbytery relinquish forever our right to nominate gentlemen to fill vacancies occurring in the Board of Trustees of Mississippi College, and that the relation, heretofore existing between this Presbytery and the Board be hereby dissolved."

This was immediately followed by a resolution on the part of the board:

"That this Board do now tender this Institution unincumbered by any claims on their part to this community and agree to elect as their successors any persons who may be nominated by the community."

The citizens were at a great loss to know what to do with the elephant on their hands. Many public meetings were held and

many suggestions made but nothing definite had been decided on when Dr. D. O. Williams offered a resolution at one of the meetings that the college be tendered to the Baptist denomination. The resolution was seconded and ably supported by Rev. Thomas Ford, a local Methodist preacher of learning, eloquence and piety. This resolution was laid on the table and on August 26, 1850, the following, in lieu thereof, passed:

"That Mr. Ford be requested to correspond with such members of the Baptist Church as in his opinion would take an active interest in the matter on the subject of establishing a Baptist College in Clinton on the basis of the present Board of Trustees, and we will turn over to them the present building of the Mississippi College upon the payment of a debt of \$500 against the College. *Resolved*, further, That he, Mr. Ford, be authorized to make no offer but only address letters of inquiry."

The original resolution authorizing tender finally passed, and a committee composed of Messrs. Williams, Banks, Whitfield and Stokes were appointed by the trustees to tender the college, with all its franchises, free from debt, to the Baptist State Convention, then in session in Jackson "on condition that said convention, or those acting for it, use said buildings and apparatus for school or college purposes." The offer was accepted, and the convention immediately nominated nine men who were elected trustees, one by one, as the members of the old board retired. The new board organized by the election of Rev. Benjamin Whitfield as president. I. N. Urner, an educator from Pennsylvania, was elected principal of the preparatory department, and afterwards president of the colleges by the new board of trustees.

In the fall of 1850 Mississippi College opened its first session under the auspices of the Mississippi Baptist State Convention. There were enrolled during this session eighty-four students, who recited to three teachers. In 1851 the State Convention, in session at Aberdeen, resolved to raise a \$100,000 endowment fund, and W. M. Farrar was employed as agent for the ensuing year. At the end of the convention year the agent reported that \$20,430 had been raised of which he had collected \$13,962. With high hopes of the ultimate success of the endowment undertaking, Rev. E. C. Eager began work as agent immediately after the Convention to complete the endowment. An endowment fund of \$102,800 was subscribed by taking scholarship notes of \$500 each, and, in addition,

\$30,000 was raised by the energetic agent to build a college chapel. So greatly did the college prosper that at the outbreak of the war the faculty had been increased to six, the students to over two hundred, the college chapel built, and \$40,000 of the endowment fund collected. But this all gave place to ruder scenes; for the awful war between the States leveled everything before its raging fury. Endowment paper became worthless, and one hundred and twenty of the two hundred scholarship notes were unpaid. Many of the students went home to answer the call to arms. Sixty of them with three teachers and about forty citizens of Clinton formed a company called the Mississippi College Rifles, and, under command of one of the college trustees, awaited orders from the seat of war. During the session of 1861-2 there were only forty students and two graduates. No catalogue was issued and only the appearance of an organization was maintained. Indeed, the history of the college during the Civil War is little more than that of an ordinary town school with the single exception that the teacher wore the dignified title of President and Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy and Evidences of Christianity.¹³

At the close of the war the college owed a balance of over \$7,000 for unpaid salaries, \$6,681 being due to President Urner alone. The president secured judgment against the college for this amount, and the property would have been sold under the executioner's hammer had it not been for the timely aid rendered by Mrs. Hillman, who, at no expense to the college or its friends, went North and obtained contributions and loans sufficient to lift the judgment and put the buildings in repair, with additions to the library. On September 21, 1867, Dr. Walter Hillman, the President of Central Female Institute, was elected president of the college, with the agreement that he was to give half of his time to the college and the other half to the institute. His six years' administration

¹³ Dr. Riley in his *History of Mississippi*, (p. 289), is right when he says that "the Trustees of Mississippi College had unwisely tried to run that institution in spite of the war," and Captain Ratliff observes that the end sought to be accomplished by doing this was a still greater mistake. In order to be in condition to go into the courts and collect by law the unpaid scholarships it was thought necessary to keep up the appearance of an organization of the college. As soon as the courts were established after the war suits were begun on these unpaid notes—a policy which brought very little money but much ill-will to the college. Many of the best friends of the college were alienated by these suits, and no one profited by them save President Urner.

proved a decided business success, and under his skilful management, in spite of the many financial difficulties confronting him, there was steady and continued growth. By 1872 the last dollar of a \$10,000 debt due Dr. Hillman and other creditors was paid, largely through the efforts of Professor M. T. Martin, of the chair of mathematics, and the mortgage held over the college property was cancelled.

The college had now arrived at a period in its history where it needed all the time of its president and, as Dr. Hillman could not leave the institute, he resigned the presidency of the college. Dr. W. S. Webb, at that time instructor in theology in the college and pastor of the church, was elected as Dr. Hillman's successor, beginning his administration in the fall of 1873. President Webb, with an able faculty, continued the efficient work begun by Dr. Hillman, and it seemed as if the institution had reached safe ground, when another difficulty presented itself. Each holder of the eighty scholarship notes that had been paid on the endowment was entitled, by the terms of the note, to enter a student without paying any tuition. Just in proportion as the college was not able to carry these scholarships were the holders disposed to use them, and it was plain that it would be only a question of time when the college would have to be abandoned by the denomination, as the burden imposed by those scholarships was greater than the value of all the buildings, grounds and other belongings of the college. To meet this exigency Professor M. T. Martin took the field with a good saddle horse with a view of inducing the holders of these scholarships to surrender them to the college. He succeeded admirably in this great and arduous undertaking and at the end of six weeks rounded up at Clinton with nearly all of the eighty scholarships cancelled and surrendered to the college. As soon as this difficulty was surmounted the board, at the suggestion of the faculty, changed the method of instruction by the adoption of the university plan of departments or the schools which has been continued to the present time. The work done at the college at this time was good, but the expenses were greater than the revenues. To meet this financial condition President Webb and the professors proposed to the board of trustees that if they would turn over all the revenues of the college to the faculty they would accept what was received in full payment of their salaries. The board accepted the proposition, and ever since

1877 the faculty of Mississippi College has worked on a contingent basis and not for guaranteed salaries. It has been the exception rather than the rule that they have received the small salary of \$1,200 promised them, thus exhibiting a noble, self-sacrificing spirit rarely seen in the history of higher institutions of learning.¹⁴ In 1889 Dr. J. B. Gambrell was employed as agent by the board to raise a much-needed endowment fund and within three years he succeeded in securing subscriptions amounting to \$60,000, \$40,000 of which was collected before the disastrous panic of 1893. The balance of the subscription has never been collected, but the \$40,000 paid in and invested in bonds has proved an essential blessing to the college. In 1892, Dr. Webb, full of honors and "bearing the marks of many years well-spent, with virtue, truth, well-trying and wise experience," resigned the presidency of the college after eighteen years of most efficient and self-sacrificing service. "Great in the arduous greatness of things done," President Webb spent the last years of his active life as professor emeritus in the college he loved so well and had served so faithfully. His memory will always be a benediction; his work, an inspiration. The far-reaching consequences of his work and his life illustrate the truth of the saying, "I looked behind to find my past, but, lo, it had gone before."

Dr. R. A. Venable, one of the foremost Baptist preachers in the South and an alumnus of the college, was elected as Dr. Webb's successor. The new president popularized the college by delivering a number of able lectures in its behalf over the State, in this way reaching the masses of the people and the ministry as they had never been reached before. During his administration an effort was made to remove the college from Clinton to Meridian and succeeded so well that the removal resolution was passed by a substantial majority in the State Convention which met at Meridian in the summer of 1893. The best friends of the college were divided on this momentous question, and the bitterness engendered by the discussion boded no good to the college. After the passage of the removal resolution, the citizens of Meridian entered vigorously upon the work of raising funds and providing buildings and grounds, but subsequently withdrew their offer when

¹⁴One session President Webb received the pittance of \$400.00 after paying his faculty for their year's work.

Judge Shelton, of Jackson, rendered an opinion to the effect that the college could not be removed from Clinton under the terms of its charter without forfeiting the buildings and endowment to the town of Clinton. This contention on the part of the citizens of Clinton led a great many friends of the college to refuse to contribute to its further endowment on the ground that it was really "*Clinton College*," and not "*Mississippi College*." In order to remove this obstacle in the way of the hearty support of the Baptists of the State at large, the citizens of Clinton by the execution of the proper papers, supplemented by an amendment to the charter, renounced all title to the property, transferring their vested interests in the college to the Baptist State Convention. This settlement seems satisfactory to all parties, and the bitterness attending the removal agitation is a thing of the past.

On Dr. Venable's resignation from the presidency of the college in 1896 to accept the pastorate of the First Baptist Church of Meridian, Dr. J. W. Provine, professor of natural science, was made chairman of the faculty, and in 1897 was elected president.

His aggressive administration was characterized by splendid internal improvements, over \$8,000 being expended in building a laboratory, renovating the old buildings and beautifying the campus. Dr. Provine proved a most capable business president, placing the college on a self-supporting basis, and it was with genuine regret that the board of trustees accepted his resignation as the executive head of the college in 1898. Just as the college boasted a surplus in the treasury after paying all expenses a panic of pestilence threatened its prosperity. On the sixth of September, 1897, yellow fever appeared in Edwards, and before the end of the week the contagion spread to Clinton. Disorganization and disease stared the college in the face, but through the active exertions of Dr. Provine and the prudence of the students, the student body escaped the scourge. However, the epidemic so reduced the attendance of the college and depleted its resources that it became necessary to appeal to the denomination for financial aid. Dr. W. T. Lowrey, at that time president of the Blue Mountain Female College, led the appeal movement and raised from his desk \$3,300, which paid the faculty and tided over the financial crisis.

When Dr. Provine resigned the presidency in the summer of 1898,

the board of trustees immediately turned to Dr. Lowrey as his successor, and, after much solicitation, finally induced him to accept. No estimate can be made of what Dr. Lowrey has accomplished for the college during the five years of his presidency. From an attendance of 115 in the yellow fever year, 1897-98, the patronage of the college increased to 302 in the session of 1902-03. A new school of philosophy, history and economics was organized in 1898 and placed under the direction of Dr. Brough. The State was thoroughly canvassed, and the college thus became better known and stronger in the affections of the people than ever before. Dr. Lowrey, carrying with him a wonderful acquaintance over the State, a magnetic personality and the confidence of the denomination, increased the endowment fund of \$40,000 in 1901 to \$100,000 in 1902 and in addition raised \$3,300 to build a new president's home. Many permanent improvements have been made during his administration, notably the erection of the president's home, a preparatory hall and a minister's cottage, and in every respect the college seems on the eve of greater things. Closely identified with Dr. Lowrey in his plans for the advancement of his Alma Mater's best interests has been Captain W. T. Ratliff, a student of the college in 1852 and president of its board of trustees since 1872. Captain Ratliff's name was enrolled in the first catalogue of the college issued in 1852, since which time 8,017 students have been enrolled and 345 have graduated.

Such, in brief, is the history of an institution that has given to the ministry such powers for good as R. A. Venable, George B. Eager, A. V. Rowe, B. D. Gray, W. A. McComb and W. F. Yarborough; that has sent as missionaries to heathen lands John H. Eager, J. W. Sanford, J. W. Lumley, J. F. Chastain and A. C. Watkins; that has equipped for college presidents W. T. Lowrey, J. C. Hardy, B. G. Lowrey and Barron D. Gray; that has given to the world of scholarship P. H. Eager, L. E. Menger, L. R. Hamberlin, O. M. Johnson and Franklin L. Riley; that has trained such financiers as B. W. Griffith, Richard Griffith and D. J. Morrison; that has given to the bar such legal lights as George S. Dodds, B. H. Wells, A. S. Bozeman and W. L. Easterling, and to the bench J. H. Price, P. H. Lowery, George Anderson and D. M. Miller; that has illuminated the annals of civic usefulness with such names as A. H. Logino, Henry L. Whitfield, A. Q. May,

Captain Edward Brown and William Williams. Like the Roman mother, Cornelia, Mississippi College can point with pride to her sons and exclaim, "Those are the only jewels I can boast of possessing."

Parallel with the history of Mississippi College in point of time and educational importance is that of Hillman College, formerly Central Female Institute, the pioneer female college of Mississippi. This institution for the higher education of young ladies was established in 1853 by the Central Baptist Association. For sixteen years it was under the direct control of this Association, hence, the original name "Central Female Institute." William Duncan was the first principal, but he served only one session, being succeeded in 1854 by Rev. Peter Crawford, a Virginian by birth and education.¹⁵ The new principal served two years (1854-56) as both principal and general agent, associating with him Professor Emil Menger in the department of music. For forty three years Professor Menger was the faithful and efficient teacher of music in the institution and by his ability and thoroughness contributed much to its success and prestige. In 1856 the principalship and agency were separated, Dr. Walter Hillman, a graduate of Brown University, being appointed to the former and Rev. C. S. McLoud to the latter.

Mrs. Adelia M. Hillman was a zealous and able co-laborer with her husband in the work of up-building the institution, and under their joint management, the Institute greatly prospered. During the first year of their administration (1856-57) there were 109 students, 73 of whom were boarders and 7 seniors, the first grad-

¹⁵ Some of the early rules and regulations of the Institute seem comical in the light of present-day disciplines. The following rules taken from the Catalogue of 1854 (pp. 9, 19 and 11), will serve for illustration:

"The Boarders are allowed to spend no more than fifty cents per month from their pocket money."

"Any young lady Dipping Snuff or bringing Snuff into the Institute, is liable to instant expulsion."

"To promote habits of economy and simplicity, a Uniform Dress is prescribed. For winter it is a Dark Green Worsted. Of this fabric each young lady should have *three Dresses, with three sacks of the Same*—one of the Sacks to be large and wadded. For Summer, each Pupil should have *two Pink Calico, two Pink Gingham or Muslin, and two Common White Dresses with one plain Swiss Muslin.*"

"Bonnets—One of *Straw*; in winter trimmed with *dark Green Lustring ribbon, plain and Solid Color*; in summer, trimmed with *Pink Lustring*, plain Solid Color only with *Cape and Strings*—may be lined with *Pink* only—no flowers or tabs."

uating class in its history. So great was the increase in patronage that an effort was made by the agents of the Association, Revs. C. S. McLeod, H. Nabring and J. S. Antley, to raise a "Building Fund" for a new Institute building. About \$18,000 was subscribed for this purpose before the outbreak of the war in notes due "when the roof was put on." The entire foundation had been laid and the walls of the first story nearly completed when the war put a stop to all further efforts in this direction. So the notes by their terms never became due. Yet in spite of the presence of contending armies, epidemics and pecuniary embarrassment the Institute kept open doors during the war, enrolled an average of more than one hundred pupils each session and boasted of graduating classes ranging from nine in 1860 to two in 1865. It is said to be the only educational institution in the South whose exercises were not interrupted for a single day by the war between the States, a striking tribute to the prudence and diplomacy of Dr. and Mrs. Hillman. But the ravages of the four years' war practically ruined the Institute financially. Want of funds suspended operations on the new building; money subscribed could not be collected; debts accrued; and the Association was compelled to borrow money of Dr. Hillman to liquidate these debts. Dr. Hillman was secured by a deed of sale to him of the Institute property and although he voluntarily proposed to give the Association three years to redeem the property, the Board of Trustees reported to the Association, on October 7, 1869, that all efforts to redeem the property having proved futile the titles are now invested entirely in him.¹⁶ While the Institute thus became the absolute property of Dr. Hillman and the pecuniary responsibility of the Central Association ceased, the relation of co-operation and influence between the Association and Institute continued and the name "Central Female Institute," still attached.

Under the absolute ownership as well as management of Dr. Hillman, the usefulness of the institution was greatly enlarged. The Lesbian Literary Society, organized by the young ladies in 1857 from an insignificant nucleus, accumulated a library of nearly three thousand volumes. The Alumnae Association, organized on Commencement Day, 1875, enrolled a membership of 250 dur-

¹⁶ Minutes of Twenty-Fourth Annual Session of Central Baptist Association, October, 1869, p. 11.

ing the administration of Dr. Hillman as president. The Institute possessed a museum containing at one time the largest and best selected collection of specimens in geology, mineralogy and natural history in Mississippi. "Adelia Hall," named in honor of Mrs. Hillman, completed at a cost approximating \$13,000 and dedicated in 1891, was filled with boarding pupils the very first year of its opening without canvassing.

In view of these achievements of the president and his wife, it is not surprising that the Board of Trustees, on June 24, 1891, should have passed the resolution that "the name of the institution be changed from 'Central Female Institute,' to 'Hillman College' in honor of those who have done so much for it, Dr. Walter Hillman and Mrs. Adelia M. Hillman, his wife." Dr. Hillman enjoyed his new honors less than three years, laying down all earthly tasks April 9, 1894, after a protracted illness. His life's work was continued by his devoted co-laborer, Mrs. Hillman, who served as president from 1894 to 1896. Mrs. Hillman was an A. M. graduate of Brown University and proved equal to the charge committed to her keeping. But the physical strain and mental worry was too great for a woman of her years. So in the summer of 1896 she transferred the active management of the presidency of the institution to Dr. Franklin L. Riley, a first honor graduate of Mississippi College, who had just completed with distinction a course for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Johns Hopkins University. Mrs. Hillman still retained all her property rights, which, however, were sold to Rev. George Wharton, in 1897, for a substantial consideration, Dr. Riley having resigned the presidency to accept the chair of history in the University of Mississippi. During the three years' administration the new president, a first honor graduate of Mississippi College, enlarged the patronage of the college by offering one of the best music courses in the State under the direction of Miss Joy Bond. On January 28, 1901, Dr. Wharton was succeeded to the presidency and later to the ownership of the property by Dr. John L. Johnson, a graduate of the University of Virginia, and for fifteen years professor of English in the University of Mississippi. Dr. Johnson ranks as one of the foremost English scholars in the South and naturally his name and attainments have lent Hillman College continued prestige and patronage. This well

established Alma Mater of some of the Southland's most talented women, which has educated since 1857 approximately 5,000 young ladies and graduated over 300, is prospering with wonted usefulness and seems destined to have a yet greater career of Christian endeavor.

During the Civil War Clinton witnessed the movement of great armies and had within its corporate limits the quarters of great generals. Especially was this true in the third campaign against Vicksburg, when the little college town became a strategic point. In a dispatch dated May 13, 1863, General Joseph E. Johnston ordered Pemberton "to move toward Clinton and attack Grant's rear," and there is little doubt that the famous battle of Champion Hills would have been fought at Clinton had Pemberton not felt that his forces were too weak to go from Edwards to Clinton in the face of a superior enemy. A majority of Pemberton's general officers advised that he should obey Johnston's order, but Pemberton, not knowing the locality of Grant's army and fearing that it might get between his army and Vicksburg, decided to move south from Edwards and attack a body of Federal troops said to be at Dillon.¹⁷ General Grant, while he had his headquarters in Clinton, was considerate of the rights of the citizens, and at the request of Mrs. Hillman, placed a guard about Central Female Institute. Later General Sherman with four divisions camped in Clinton in order to intercept the desired union of the forces of Johnston and Pemberton. His headquarters was the little brick house now used as a drug store by C. B. Watkins. General Sherman pursued his policy of pillage and devastation at Clinton, his troops being ordered to fire W. W. Dunton's store and other places of business. However, he stationed a guard around the two schools, one of which, Mississippi College, was used as a hospital, and the other, Central Female Institute, kept open doors throughout the war. In this campaign a number of skirmishes occurred in and around Clinton between the Confederate and Union troops, the chief of these being a fight on the "Atkinson Place," two and a half miles east of town, between the cavalry of Gen. Wirt Adams and Gen. A. J. Smith. On the whole, however, the town fared

¹⁷ Lee's *The Campaign of Vicksburg*, *Pub. Miss. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. III., p. 31.

well, for, with the exception of the business block, all the houses were left standing and personal property was untouched.

Perhaps the most important and certainly the most tragic event which occurred in Clinton since the war was the "Riot" which broke the vacation stillness of the little college town on September 4, 1875.¹⁸ On this September Saturday an old fashioned political barbecue and joint discussion of the issues of the day was held on "Moss Hill," situated a quarter of a mile northwest of the Clinton depot. Under orders from the "Loyal League," the negroes assembled here from every part of the county. Fully three hundred of these negroes were armed with pistols, knives and clubs, while not more than fifteen of the seventy-five whites participated in the fighting. The origin of the "Riot" is enveloped in mystery, one version being that some negro policemen patrolling the grounds attempted to arrest a party of young men from Raymond for drinking, another being that a personal difficulty between one of the men from Raymond and a negro was the immediate cause. Immediately orders were given by the negroes, led by Eugene Welbourne, a mulatto member of the House and a notorious character, to "rally;" the snare drums began to beat a rapid and continued roll; the cry of "Kill the white men" was raised and the woods fairly swarmed with threatening negroes. In the melee Louis Hargrove, a negro policeman from Dry Grove, shot and desperately wounded Frank Thompson, one of the Raymond party, and Thompson returned the fire shooting Hargrove in his right temple and killing him instantly. An investigation after the furious fusilade showed that two negroes were killed outright and five desperately wounded, while among the whites, John Neal was shot in the breast, the ball passing entirely through his body; W. T. Asquith was shot in the back and shoulders, a dozen or more irregular slugs having been extracted afterwards from his body; Ramsay Wharton was badly beaten about the head; Frank Thompson was shot through the thigh and Dr. W. E. Todd was slightly wounded. Soon after the shooting the whites left the grounds in small parties, separate crowds of negroes pursuing in different directions. Martin Sivley, overtaken by the negroes, was beaten into a jelly by the cowardly brutes.

¹⁸ For a fuller account of "The Clinton Riot," Cf. the author's article, *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VI., p. 53.

Captain B. S. White, the leader of the Raymond party, who was with Martin Sivley when he was pursued, was overtaken by another squad of negroes, stabbed in the back, cut about the head, stamped and kicked, thrown into a ditch and left for dead.

Frank Thompson, the first white man to receive a wound in the riot, becoming separated from the Raymond party, tried to make good his escape in the direction of Bolton, but falling from his horse through sheer loss of blood, he was discovered by some brutal negroes who shot him down, disemboweled him, cut off his finger to procure a valuable ring and ran an iron ramrod through his head. Mr. Charles Norton Chilton, a useful, peaceable citizen and a man of prominence while protecting negro women and children in his own yard, was shot in the back and instantly killed by an unknown negro.

When the telegram sent by Judge E. W. Cabiniss announcing the riot reached Vicksburg, the regular eastbound passenger train had left. Upon its arrival at Edwards, the negroes gathered *en masse* and endeavored to prevent the whites from boarding the train but a posse of twelve or fifteen determined citizens from Edwards and about the same number from Bolton, under the command of Col. W. A. Montgomery and Col. R. J. Harding, succeeded in boarding the train and reached Clinton soon after the first shot was fired. Obstructions placed on the track by the negroes who were hiding in thickets all along the way with their guns pointed at the train prevented a carload of Jackson citizens under command of William Fitzgerald and Captain Frank Johnston from reaching the scene of action until nightfall. Still later, between seven and eight o'clock that night, Captain Andrews and Captain Kinney arrived on a special train from Vicksburg, bringing with them a company called the "Vicksburg Modocs," who soon put the country-side in fear, asking no questions and submitting to no commands. Major Allen, commandant of the Federal post at Jackson, accompanied by Lieuts. Mahan and Brown, had driven through the country that afternoon to ascertain the cause and extent of the race war which had assumed such alarming proportions. An arrangement was made with the citizen soldiery now fully two hundred strong that if they would stop the killing of the negroes the United States officers would not assume command but leave matters in charge of the civil authorities. There-

fore, upon the request of the citizens of Clinton and by virtue of the commission given them by its mayor, Col. J. B. Greaves, Col. Harding became military governor, and Col. W. A. Montgomery was placed in charge of the mounted men. No accurate estimate has been made or can be made of the number of negroes killed after the arrival of the troops; suffice it to say that a mild reign of terror existed in the community for several days subsequent to the riot, because everyone feared that the negroes would burn the town and massacre men, women and children. All the roads leading to Clinton were picketed and scouting parties scoured the woods in all directions in search of negroes implicated in what seemed to have been a meditated conspiracy. Thoroughly alarmed many negroes in the surrounding country left their houses and crops to seek shelter in the friendly woods and swamps while others camped around the Federal courthouse at Jackson, feeding on the ill-advised charity of Governor Ames who but a short while before had made the reckless assertion that "the killing of a few negroes would only have the effect of influencing Northern elections in the interest of the Republican party." While their cotton crops were rotting in the fields these African Cincinnati were besieging the governor for the State arms with which to defend themselves and it actually became necessary to detail a squad of forty whites to guard the Capitol where the arms were stored.

On September 7th, three days after the riot, Governor Ames issued a proclamation commanding all members of military organizations in different sections of the State to disband forthwith and requiring all citizens to assist the peace officers in the preservation of order and the enforcement of the law. This the whites refused to do, at the same time placing at the disposal of the governor a number of military companies composed of white men, irrespective of party affiliations to maintain order. But Governor Ames, having little confidence in white militia, telegraphed President Grant on September 8th that "domestic violence in its most aggravated form prevails in various parts of the State beyond the power of the authorities to suppress." Then it was that the laconic president advised the hot-headed Governor that the general public were tired of these annual autumnal outbreaks in the South, and announced a policy of non-intervention on the part

of the Federal government. This opportunity for home rule granted by President Grant sounded the death knell of reconstruction rule in Mississippi and thus the Clinton riot of September 4, 1875, indirectly made possible the glorious triumph of Democracy at the polls in 1876. The return of the terrorized negroes to their homes after the riot was gradual, and their return to municipal, county and State politics was like that of the ship homeward bound but never reached its long looked for destination. This lesson of Anglo-Saxon supremacy, written in letters of blood, will ever remain the most important of the many lessons taught to the rising young manhood of a proud and untrammelled Commonwealth.

Since the "Riot" a number of other tragedies have interrupted the peacefulness of Clinton, but none have assumed such large proportions. On a December night in 1875, Charles Caldwell, one of the most daring and desperate negroes of his day, a slayer of two white men, at that time State senator from Hinds, the dominant factor in local Republican politics, the county Warwick of the Ames administration and the official dispenser of carpet-bag patronage, was riddled with bullets while drinking in the basement of one of Clinton's stores. His brother, Samuel Caldwell, the same night was shot from his mule while riding up to the same store. Both were intoxicated when killed and it is said that Charles Caldwell had laid in wait all afternoon for D. W. Rice with a double-barreled shotgun. In the late eighties Mr. England, a prominent merchant of the town, was sandbagged and robbed while returning from his store to his home, only a few yards away. It was the custom of Mr. England to take his money and valuables to and from the store in a tin box, with the fate that he was knocked in the head, his skull fractured and he was robbed of the box in the light of his home and almost within sight of his wife. In the winter of 1888 Mr. G. M. Lewis, for many years a resident of Clinton and at that time its postmaster, was assassinated in cold blood by Anderson Harris, a fanatical negro preacher, who incited the negroes round about to fresh crimes by "going to heaven rejoicing" on the gallows. About this time Aaron Page, for many years station agent, was killed by Mr. Briggs, the section foreman; Mr. Charles Armistead, a prominent railroad man in A. and V. circles, was shot

and almost instantly killed at the depot by Charles Bradley, of Bolton; Captain B. S. White, of Raymond, was brutally murdered while attempting to arrest a notorious criminal. Mr. Whitaker, of Clinton, was seriously wounded in a similar experience; and three negroes were lynched on the outskirts of the town for plundering stores at McRaven's station. But, withal, Clinton has been a town of comparative peace and safety, a center of educational enlightenment rather than a place of sensational denouements. Cultured and cosey, nestled amid the worn hills of "Mount Salus," the little college town of scarcely three hundred inhabitants pursues the even tenor of its way. "The monk of Bologna and the maker of Bologna sausage" have never agreed and Clinton is no exception to the antithesis of the town and the gown. Commercially, with only two hotels and ten small stores it is dead as compared with its former self. But intellectually it is still a Mecca to which hundreds of young men and young ladies make a pilgrimage each fall. It stands with its treasured history in the retrospective past and with its institutions of learning in the hopeful future.



LA CACHE.

BY IRA M. BOSWELL.

No section of our country has a more romantic history than Mississippi. Sixty-seven years before the first settlement was made at Jamestown and eighty years before the Pilgrims made their landing at Plymouth Rock, DeSoto crossed the Tombigbee. Our State was once the home and hunting ground of a superior race of red men upon whose naked breasts the bold and adventurous Spaniard broke in vain swords which had been victorious on many a field of battle, where sword met sword and shield clashed against shield—a race of red men that time and again humbled to the dust the proud banner of France. Within her soil repose the noblest warriors of Spain and France, and resting side by side, awaiting the trumpet call lie the Blue and the Gray. Above her executive mansions have waved the Lilies of France, the Crimson Cross of England, the Banner of Castile, the Stars and Stripes and the Stars and Bars.

Intimately associated with the earliest history of our State, Claiborne county is a most inviting field for the historical novelist. Port Gibson, the delightful and cultured county seat, is a city of roses and romance. Where the wistaria now pours down its fountain of purple beauty Indian maidens once listened to the love stories of trembling warriors, and solemn pines have caught and tell again the sighs of hearts that long ago were broken. Like the music that lingers in the air after the bells are stilled, the voices of the past whisper to us the most beautiful romances long after the actors have gone to their silent sleep. Romance makes history readable, and is to history what fragrance is to flowers. As sunbeams with golden shuttles weave into the warp of blooms the many colored threads of the rainbow so do the fingers of fancy weave with the warp of history and the woof of romance the delightful and varied tapestries of the past. In and around Port Gibson history and romance have met and married. Here that strange man, Harmon Blennerhasset, who seemed to seek seclu-

sion, met and mingled with his fellow men; and not far from here he built his second and last home.

Many conflicting stories have been told concerning this peculiar character, each one differing according to the writer's lack of information and preconceived opinion. A few bricks left from the ruins of a cabin have often been sufficient material to build an imaginary palace, and a few facts born of fancy have made a demigod out of a demagogue. How much of this has entered into the story of Blennerhasset is hard to determine. Time like space makes objects "more sweet than all the landscape smiling near," and with curious fingers weaves subtle garments to clothe her children of the past. These garments hide or discover deformities or beauties in men, events, and conditions, according to the position we occupy when they are under review.

It is my purpose to write the story of LaCache, and of Blennerhasset only so far as he is connected with Mississippi history. I shall relate facts as I find them after a careful personal investigation.

LaCache is situated about seven miles southeast of Port Gibson. For more than eight years it was the home of Harmon and Margaret Blennerhasset. On Feb. 10th, 1810, Blennerhasset bought the place from Drury W. Breazeal, paying for it the sum of four thousand dollars. LaCache is described as a certain piece of land, containing one thousand English acres more or less, and situated on what was then called Chubby's Fork of Bayou Pierre. On a slight elevation not far from this beautiful little stream, in the midst of a primeval forest of stately oaks from whose huge limbs hung in graceful folds the weird but beautiful Spanish moss, Blennerhasset built his home, and to indicate his intention to loose himself from the world called it "La Cache,"—The Hiding Place. This piece of land forms a parallelogram with its longest distance lying east and west. An old plot attached to the original deed given by Breazeal to Blennerhasset gives a Spanish oak, a red oak, a dogwood and a sassafras as the four corner marks. Breazeal, who was a prominent lawyer and planter, bought the place on the twenty-eighth day of March, 1808, from Isaac Fife for eight hundred dollars. In 1795 Isaac Fife received it by grant from the Spanish government. The original grant signed by the Baron of Carondelet and all other original papers are in possession

of the present owners. The red seal attached to the Spanish grant is still legible. The Fife deed reveals the fact that Nancy Fife, Isaac's wife, could not write, but had to make her mark.

LaCache was not a hiding place of sufficient security to prevent trouble from finding Blennerhasset. In 1814 there were sixteen suits pending against him in the county court. Debts were about to drive him from his home. December the twenty-sixth of this year he mortgaged his home to Lyman Harding. According to an old deed book in the county courthouse in Port Gibson, he not only mortgaged his home, but "also all the stock of horses, mules, horned or black cattle, blacksmith tools, farming utensils, and implements of husbandry on or belonging to said plantation, also all said Harmon Blennerhasset's library of books now at his residence on said plantation; also a negro fellow named Jasper and a negro wench named Louisa, slaves for life." The same record gives the reason for this mortgage. "For and on account of the said Lyman Harding having become security and bail for the said Harmon Blennerhasset in the several suits mentioned and set down in the schedule herein annexed." La Cache was released December twenty-first, 1818, Lyman Harding receiving on that day a negotiable note for four thousand five hundred dollars, due sixty days, signed by Robert Cochran and John Murdoch. On the same day Blennerhasset sold LaCache and eighteen slaves to the signers of the note for twenty-five thousand dollars. Cochran and Murdoch held the place until the twenty-fifth of December, 1822, and on Christmas day sold it to Thomas Gale for ten thousand dollars. Evidently this did not include the slaves as no mention is made of them in the record. Nearly eleven years later, April thirty-first, 1833, Thomas Gale sold it to S. & J. B. Cobun for ten thousand dollars. These two bachelor brothers lived with their sister at LaCache until their death of yellow fever in 1853. The Cobun brothers willed the property to their nephew George W. Humphreys, provided he legally took the name "Cobun." Since then it has never passed from the Humphreys family, being now owned by Mr. L. J. Butler, whose wife is a niece of George W. Humphreys.

LaCache has been added to, but the original tract has never been divided. Plows are still following the furrows made by the plows of Blennerhasset, and every year the fields where his slaves

picked cotton to the music of the old time melodies, grow white again, and like echoes from the past, there fall upon the evening air the songs of happy darkies as they come from the fields with snowy baskets, ready at the sound of the banjo to forget all their cares.

A large two-storied house still stands on an elevation near the creek. Gloomy and imposing in its neglect and desolation, it bears silent testimony to the lives and ambitions of those whose voices once sounded through its halls. In its day it was a house to attract attention, and it is said that people came sixty miles to see it. The house is square with a large hall running from front to rear. In the center of the hall is a beautiful fluted arch and at the rear is a self supporting winding stairway leading up to the second floor. Two rooms of large dimension are on both sides of this hall. All the doors and windows are extra large. Double doors open from the hall into the two front rooms. Up stairs is a large ballroom made by leaving out the partition between the hall and one of the front rooms. The chimney pieces extend out into the rooms and look as if they could take a load of wood at a meal. The paneled mantels extend not only across the front of the chimney but also across each end. Those in the ballroom and the two front rooms down stairs are handsome ones. Besides being paneled, they have two short round columns on both sides of the openings. The blinds are hung with homemade strap hinges big enough to swing a farm gate. The plastering is still good except where it has been knocked off, and I doubt if in all the interior work there can be found a crack large enough to insert a knife blade. The paint on all the fluted door and window facings and other parts, put on not less than three quarters of a century ago, is still strong and white. The baseboard in the hall seems to have been painted to resemble a blue black marble. The kitchen and all other out buildings, as well as the two small colonial porches at the front and rear have long since disappeared. Some of the sills have rotted, but the brick foundation is still well preserved. Every piece of timber seems to have been selected with the greatest care, and was got out by hand. The front and back doors are gone, but the handsome frame to the front door with its arched transom is in good condition. The

exterior of the building is dilapidated; the interior presents no indication of decay, however it has been greatly abused.

It has been more than twenty years since the house has been used as a home by the owners. At present it is occupied by a family of negroes, who work on the place.

There is no positive proof as to who built this house. Good authority says it was built by Thomas Gale between 1822 and 1833; that on account of the death of his only child, a daughter, he sold it; and no one but the rats ever danced in its ball-room. Most every one accepts this as final, but notwithstanding its reliability it is not positive, and I am inclined to believe it was built by Blennerhasset. In support of my opinion, I offer the following: The fact that Gale bought it for ten thousand dollars and sold it for the same amount indicates no considerable improvements. The house that stands there now would have in those days cost several thousand dollars. The ball-room was something new to the hardy pioneers of this section, and points to builders with the social proclivities of the Blennerhassets. It is unlike other houses built in this section during that period, other houses being influenced by Spanish architecture while this is colonial. The house is in shape, design, and size an exact reproduction of the center building of his island home. This is shown by comparing what remains of the house with a picture of the home on the island. In the absence of positive proof to the contrary, I think the presumption is in favor of Blennerhasset's being the builder.

There are evidences which point to the fact that at one time the house was surrounded by beautiful gardens and drives, but all that now remains is the remnant of a drive of "Gloria Mundi" trees.

Not far from the house are the graves of the two Cobun brothers. The place of burial is a small square inclosed by a strong iron fence. In the center of the square between the two graves is a handsome monument. From the massive base the tall twin columns, twined with a chain of roses, and the double capital have fallen to the ground. If their monument is to be trusted, these brothers were inseparable in life. Under clasped hands upon the front side of the base is engraved this couplet:

In life they were united,
In death they were not divided.

Samuel was born in 1798, and John B., in 1800.

A short distance back of the house traces of an old mound can still be seen. Many curios have been taken from it. Mrs. Butler has in her possession a vase (I know of no better name to give it) which is in shape and size very much like a flared-neck cuspidor. It is exceedingly smooth and hard. It is a rich chocolate, and is engraved with classic scrolls. She also has a small frog cut from some material resembling stone, which was evidently intended for a pipe. A skull with the forehead slanting backwards from the eyes has also been taken from the mound.

The main interest attached to La Cache is, it was once the home of Blennerhasset. Notwithstanding this companion of Burr spent more than a third of his American life in Mississippi, writers with the exception of a few local historians usually dismiss his Mississippi experience with a sentence or at best a short paragraph. These are generally as erroneous as they are short. In the *July Century* for 1901, Mrs. Blennerhasset Adams writes what she calls "The True Story of Blennerhasset." Of his life in Mississippi she says:

"After his island house was no longer an abode, Blennerhasset and his family removed to a plantation on the Mississippi river, six miles above Port Gibson. This home he called 'La Cache,' and there they lived for twelve years, when they sold the property for twenty-eight thousand dollars."

All this is correct with these exceptions: La Cache is not on the Mississippi river, it is not above Port Gibson, they did not live there twelve years, and did not sell the place for twenty-eight thousand dollars. A careful study of his life in Mississippi will explode many of the gay balloons of fancy which have been blown by the imagination, and turned loose to float before the eyes of those who believe him to have been something superior to the ordinary race of men.

August 1, 1796, Blennerhasset landed in America, having come to this country to escape the result of his marriage with Margaret Agnew, his sister's child. Others have told of his life on Blennerhasset's island, and of his connection with Aaron Burr. He came to Natchez in January or February of 1807, but returned to

the North to look after his property, leaving his wife and two sons, Dominic and Harmon Blennerhasset, Jr., with friends in Natchez. After his trial in Richmond, he returned to Natchez, where he remained until he bought his Claiborne county farm. The fact that Breazeal in his deed to Blennerhasset refers to him as "Harmon Blennerhasset, of Natchez," leads me to the conclusion that he did not move to Claiborne county until the date of the purchase, 1810.

While living at La Cache two children were born to him—a daughter, Margaret, who died in infancy, and Joseph Lewis. The site of little Margaret's grave is unknown: her older sister bearing the same name was buried on the island where once the beautiful home of her parents stood. The Blennerhassets were as unfortunate with their children as with their own lives. Dominic was a moral degenerate. Harmon was little better than Dominic. He died a sot in an almshouse. "Joseph Lewis was a man of classical education; he was graduated in law with high honors, and was a fine linguist," yet his life was a failure. With his death, it is said, the last of his father's descendants passed away. In a letter to Dr. Franklin L. Riley last March, Mr. A. C. Warton, of Union Church, Mississippi, a gentleman well posted on all things pertaining to Claiborne county, says:

"Soon after its publication [*A Sketch of Blennerhasset*] a gentleman in Louisiana wrote me that I was in error in asserting that no descendants of Blennerhasset still survive—that while visiting in California last summer, he met a gentleman of cultivation and intelligence who claimed to be the son of Harmon Blennerhasset, Jr., and the grandson of Burr's associate."

Blennerhasset and his wife were no doubt highly educated. In his petition to the Legislature of Mississippi he says of himself: "I am LL.B. Barrister of the honorable Society of the King's Inn in Ireland." They were of fine family, and were accustomed to the lavish expenditure of money, but their life in Mississippi proves that they were far from refined or cultured. The degenerate condition of their children can be traced more to the manner of life and true character of the parents than to their marriage. Shadowy traditions still exist in this section concerning the carousals at La Cache. An old darkey who was once a slave of Blennerhasset told a gentleman now living of high times at La Cache. Among other things he said: "A gentleman who came

to visit Blennerhasset got into a difficulty with him, and Blennerhasset shot him as he was going over the stile." He came near being killed by Breazeal, his neighbor, on account of an insulting word,—his life was saved by the daughter of Breazeal, who clung to her father's arm and prevented his using the axe with which he intended to strike him. Mr. John A. Watkins, in an article entitled "The Mississippi Panic of 1813," in speaking of a Mr. Smith, who ran a store in Port Gibson, says:

"I have often heard him play and witnessed the dancing of the men of that day in his back room. Here, in more peaceful times, he and Mrs. Blennerhasset of Aaron Burr notoriety were in the habit of exercising their skill on the violin, and rumor says that she could put as much Bourbon under her belt as the best drinker in the county."

It is true, no doubt, that the people of Natchez and vicinity received them with open arms, but they were on their good behavior, and were welcomed more on account of their wealth and intellectual worth than on account of their refined manners. Their intimate association with Burr would have given them an "open sesame" to the best families anywhere. Had they not been associated with Burr, I doubt if they would have excited more than a local and passing interest. After moving to La Cache Blennerhasset seems to have enjoyed considerable prominence. Besides being appointed to lay out a public road he was one of the men appointed by the citizens, in 1813, during the Indian panic, to superintend the erection of stockade forts. However in my investigation of the records I find his name appearing more often as defendant to some suit than in any other connection.

In February, 1818, after dark, Blennerhasset and his son Dominic, went to the home of John Hays, who lived on an adjoining plantation, called him to the gate, and after beating him into insensibility, left him for dead. The Blennerhassets were arraigned before the county court on a charge of assault with intent to kill. They asked for a change of venue on the following grounds: "John Hays' efforts to influence and excite the public mind; of the prejudice of many men of weight and influence; and of the malice and ill will of the sheriff." The change of venue was granted, and the case was tried in the court house at Greenville, which was then the county seat of Jefferson. The case was ably managed on both sides. A verdict of "guilty" was rendered, and a fine of eight hundred dollars was imposed on the father, and

one of two hundred on the son. This affair is supposed to have resulted from some hogs of Hays getting into Blennerhasset's field. Hays was a brother-in-law of Hon. Steven Archer, who was one of the judges of Mississippi Territory.

The Blennerhasset case was tried in Greenville in 1818 during the March term of court. On the twentieth of that month a motion for a new trial was made and Judge William B. Shield rendered the following decision: "Motion for new trial in this case on reasons filed, and ordered by the court that the points therein made be transferred to the Supreme Court for their consideration." One of the points made in the motion for a new trial was that one of the jurors was unacquitted of the charge of murder. The case was taken to the Supreme Court, and the following decision is found in Walker's *Reports*:

"The offence was highly atrocious and aggravated. The circumstances attending the assault, the weapons used, leave no doubt of the intention of the defendants. It must ever be a consolation to them that the intention was not carried into effect. The court do not think the fine in this case so excessive as to demand their interference.

"Motion for new trial overruled and judgment to be executed in Claiborne co."

This was the second case decided by the Supreme Court of Mississippi.

When the Legislature met in 1819, Blennerhasset petitioned them for relief. "A Bill to Be Entitled, An Act for the Relief of Harmon Blennerhasset" was presented to the Legislature, but on the 18th of February it was indefinitely postponed. In his petition Blennerhasset says:

"I am ready to declare upon oath that I heard the Hon. George Poin-dexter when giving testimony on the part of the United States against Aaron Burr at Richmond, Va., declare that any man's word in the Mississippi Territory would sooner be taken than the oath of the Attorney General (Lyman Harding)."

He wished the Attorney General to be impeached. He furthermore says, that he was taken by the sheriff of Adams county to Fort Gibson, and that neither the sheriff nor jailor could be found until he had spent eighteen hours in jail. That he tried to get the jailor to deduct these eighteen hours from the four days he was sentenced to jail and from the one day Dominic was sentenced. That the jailor refused, and he was thus forced to remain in jail eighteen hours longer than the sentence required. He thus

expresses his opinion of the jail: "The condition of which was only rendered supportable by the most energetic acid fumigation, during the heat that prevailed in this county above the season of the summer solstice." There is no doubt as to his imprisonment. A letter from the sheriff, explaining why he nor any deputy could be found was attached to the petition, and the sheriff says, "Blennerhasset was put in jail at nine o'clock on the 18th and released at nine o'clock, Monday, the 22d." The records of the court show no sentence of imprisonment. The verdict of the jury was, "We, the jury, find the defendant guilty in manner and form as charged in the indictment, and assess the fine to eight hundred dollars."

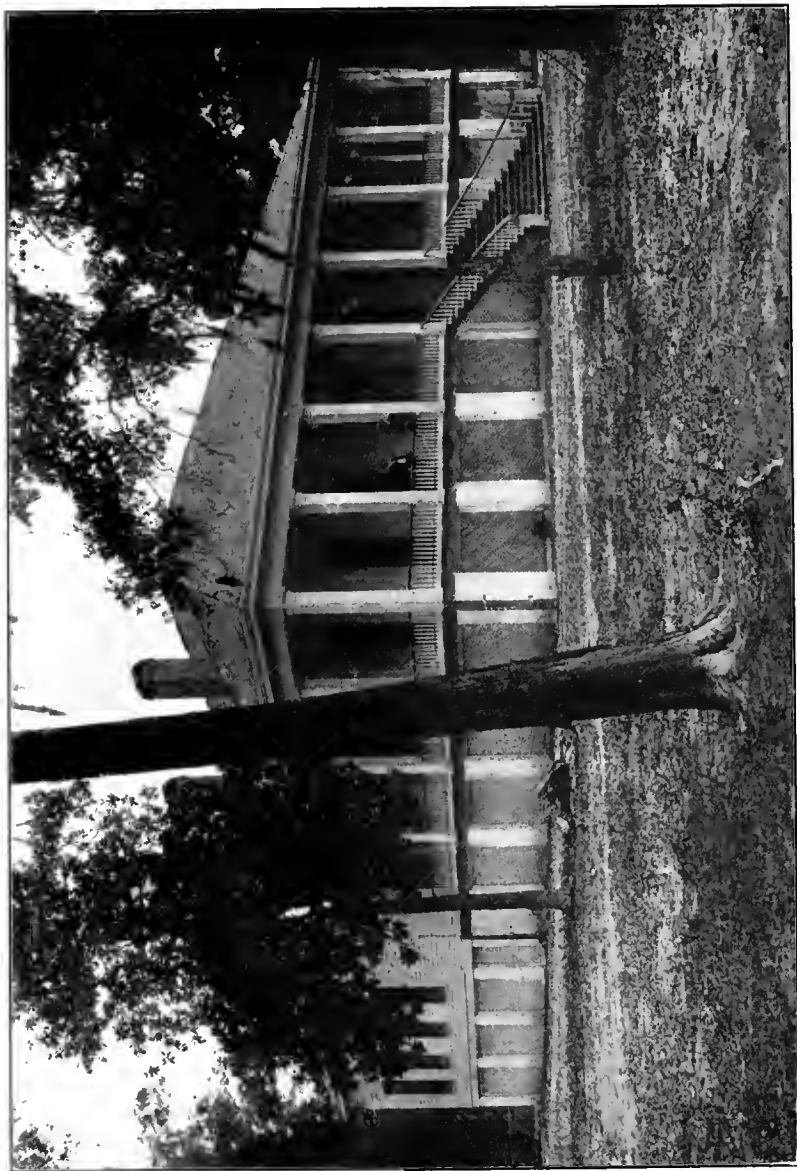
According to affidavits sworn to by Blennerhasset and his son, Dominic, John Hays, John Norris and James Barton came to his house about daybreak on the morning of the third of February, 1818, and took four bales of cotton from his ginhouse. Blennerhasset interfered, and Hays left saying he would return the next day and get the remainder to the number of thirty-three bales, and if Blennerhasset should show firearms, he certainly would kill him. The next morning Hays and his companions returned. Blennerhasset offered to leave the matter for John Murdoch and Col. Willis to arbitrate, but Hays refused. Blennerhasset then told Hays that he would shoot down the first horse that entered his yard. Hays thereupon drove round to the back of the yard, tore down the fence, and began to throw out the cotton. When Blennerhasset threatened to shoot Hays he offered him one of his pistols, but Hays refused, saying, "the ——— old rascal dared not to fire." Blennerhasset threatened to shoot any man that would throw out the last three bales which he was holding for gin charges. He attempted to prevent Hays from taking these bales, whereupon Hays made an attack upon him, threatening to cut off his ears and do him some private bodily harm. Dominic and his father fired at the same time, but think they failed to hurt him. Dominic says he shot at his legs. How far this affair was connected with the final difficulty with Hays I am not prepared to say, but it seems to me that this was the cause of the trouble and not Hays' hogs. Until a few years ago the old ginhouse stood not far from the "big house." It was de-

stroyed by fire, as were the old gins which I am told were made entirely of wood, with the exception of the saws.

Some time during the year 1819 Blennerhasset left Mississippi. That he was a man of learning and high birth can not be denied. He loved his books and brought them into the wilderness with him. Perhaps his experience with Burr, the loss of his fortune and his island home, brought to the surface those lower traits which would otherwise have remained dormant. The curtains have been rung down, they and the other actors who occupied the stage with them have passed away, but the audiences of different generations still hiss or applaud as their opinions incline them.







Beauvoir.

SOME HISTORIC HOMES OF MISSISSIPPI.

BY MRS. N. D. DEUPREE.

Many of the old homesteads in Mississippi are rich in romantic legends and historic incidents. Some are interesting as the homes of men of great achievements or of women of commanding brilliancy and beauty. Many are famous as the scenes of stirring dramas in exciting periods of the State's history. Others have gained renown through the hospitality of the owners. Some have survived the flight of time and are still occupied by descendants of the builders, while others have gone to decay leaving only the memories of their gorgeous and majestic past.

We give below short sketches of some of the most famous. For other sketches see Volume VI. of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*.

BEAUVOIR.

The property in Harrison county, lying along the Gulf coast about half way between Biloxi and Mississippi City, now known as "Beauvoir," purchased in 1849 by Mr. James Brown, a planter, of Madison county, was in its primeval state, a beautiful grove of live oaks, magnolias, pine, cedar and other trees indigenous to the coast; vines of great variety and luxuriance twined in and out among the branches forming many a leafy hammock. Here the sweet songsters of the sunny clime poured forth their melodies from the first pink flush of dawn till the twilight shadows fell over the sylvan scene. A clearing was made on an elevation close to the sea, and a small cottage erected as a summer home for the family of a Mr. Brown. Oranges, figs, pomegranates and other fruits were planted; and the family came to the new home where they continued to reside for a number of years, enjoying the products of the sea and the fruits of their orchards and groves, gathering health and strength from the salt sea air and the resinous breezes that blew over the forests of pine and cedar. The place was then known as "Orange Grove."

In 1855 Mr. Brown having obtained, by a decision of court, an indisputable title to the property, built the present residence of native timbers of the most enduring quality, all whip-sawed, for there were no sawmills, and all hand-dressed. In those days men built for art and not for greed, and they lavished skill in lieu of gold; they worked to leave some record of their toil, heedless how their names might be forgot. The new home stood where the sylvan glory was untouched by the Vandal of Progress and the Goth of Steam that are so swiftly sapping the forests of our State. It is a large and commodious home, with a frontage of sixty feet and a depth of seventy feet. It stands in the center of an enclosure five hundred by seven hundred feet. It fronts the south and the sea, where the placid waters roll lazily over the white sands or the great waves chased by the storm king break over the beach with the sound of distant thunder. Twenty-five broad steps lead up to the wide verandas which extend along three sides of the house. The veranda roof is supported by huge fluted columns. The whole structure is upheld by tall brick pillars. The entrance is made through folding doors with wide glass panels. A hall sixteen feet wide extends through the house from south to north. On the left of the entrance are the parlors, dining-room, and the family sitting-room; on the right are the bedrooms and nursery; this was the arrangement when it was the home of Mr. Brown and family. The rooms are all large, and high-ceiled, with two long wide windows in each. Generous fire-places attest that even beside the summer sea a fire is sometimes necessary. This home was ever the seat of the most lavish hospitality. Scores of pleasure seekers were entertained, and many others who sought restoration to health in the salubrious atmosphere. In the fall of 1868, Mr. Brown moved his family to Madison county that he might be nearer his large planting interests. Since that time none of the family have resided at Orange Grove. The casualties of war compelled them to remain on the plantation. Mr. Brown died soon after the war, leaving his widow with eleven children to rear and educate; that she was successful in this great work is attested by the fact that when the venerable mother laid down the burden of earthly cares, in September, 1903, all of her children were living and filled positions of honor and respect. Mrs. Brown did not feel justified in keeping a home

for occasional use, and sold Orange Grove to Mr. Frank Johnson. A few years later he sold it to Mrs. Sarah Anne Dorsey, who changed the name to "Beauvoir," because of the exceeding beauty of the place. After the death of her husband in 1873, Mrs. Dorsey went to live at Beauvoir. Here she entertained most generously. Especially were ex-Confederate officers and soldiers ever welcome guests. She was a talented and cultured woman and devoted much time to literary work.

In 1877 Mr. Davis went to the coast in search of a home. Mrs. Dorsey offered Beauvoir as a gift; this Mr. Davis declined. She then agreed to sell the property; he accepted the offer and took up his residence there. Mrs. Dorsey remained at Beauvoir and, acting as amanuensis, was of great assistance to Mr. Davis in his literary labors, especially in the preparation of *The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy*. At her death, which occurred in New Orleans in 1879, she left Beauvoir by will to Mr. Davis and his daughter, Winnie.

It may be interesting to note something of the home life of the last occupants of Beauvoir. On the right of the entrance, the first room was Miss Winnie's special room; here she reigned queen; her artistic taste and dainty fingers had arranged every article of furniture and adornment, from the neatly arranged personal belongings to the lovely decoration of the wooden mantelpiece which surmounted the fireplace. The next room was that of Mrs. Hays; the next was the dining room, with its furnishing of massive mahogany table, sideboard and china cabinets. On the left of the hall, the first room was the parlor; opening into the parlor by folding doors was the library, where still stand the bookcases, empty now, but whose shelves were once filled with one of the finest selections of books in the State. Handsome marble mantles surmount the fireplaces in these rooms. Just north of the library was the bed room of Mr. Davis; next to this was Mrs. Davis' room. The home bore the imprint of the exquisite taste and deft fingers of the loyal chatelaine, who made this an ideal home for the world-weary man, who after many years of wandering had come back to his own to rest, to write, to die.

To the east of the residence stands a little one-story cottage, of one large and two small rooms, with a wide porch. The front room was the study of Mr. Davis. Here he did the most of his

writing, including *The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy*, a brilliant vindication of a great cause, a monument to the gallant achievements, sacrifices and patriotism of its soldiery, and an imperishable tribute in its dedication to the peerless womanhood of the South. In this quiet, beautiful home, beside the sounding sea, bearing on its shining expanse of blue countless vessels, from the tiny sail boat to the large ship whose great white sails glitter in the sunlight as she slowly ploughs her way to the ocean, the gentler, nobler side of a well rounded character was exhibited, and his words were jewels, treasured by his devoted wife and daughter as sweet memories to brighten the coming years.

Few places are so rich in inspiration as Beauvoir; and the memories, historical and personal, that cling around it, render it almost sacred, and will live when bronze and marble shall have crumbled to dust. The place is instinct with the dignity and chivalry of the leader of the Confederate cause. He remained aloof from the influences of the times, and thus showed to the world there is such a thing as victory in defeat. With the death of Mr. Davis in 1889, Beauvoir ceased to be a home; and, as turn by turn the wheel of time goes on, the old home is slowly sinking into the sere and yellow leaf. Let us hope the sons and daughters of those who followed the mandates of the Southern chieftain will restore it to its pristine beauty; and let it be done quickly. It has become necessary to provide a home for the homeless veterans, and it is especially fitting that the last home of the President of the Confederacy should shelter those of his followers against whom the gales of adversity are now blowing inhospitably. Beauvoir is a magnificent estate and will make an ideal home for those on the shady side of life who are unable to provide for themselves. These old veterans will find every thing to woo them to peace and happiness; listening to the murmuring waves, the sighing of the pines and the songs of the birds, they can forget the misfortunes which have forced them in old age to appeal for assistance to the State they fought to save from disgrace. Treading these stately halls, they will no longer think of bleak and barren walls, empty cupboards, and depleted purses, though time is speeding and its waves are rapidly bearing them onward and outward to the shores of eternity.

LONGWOOD.

Longwood, the home of Sargent S. Prentiss, stood in the center of a noble forest of live oaks. The trees were of gigantic height, lifting their plummy heads heavenward as the lower limbs fell away. A tiny stream flowed between the highway and the enclosure and was spanned by a small rustic bridge, with cedar boughs twisted into a balustrade. Along the banks of the winding stream blue violets, primroses and ferns grew rankly in the cool, moist ground. Heavy iron gates admitted to the lawn; a smooth broad carriage road led up the hillside to the residence; along the margin of the drive tall elm trees stood at regular intervals; their long branches meeting overhead formed a leafy bower along the way. As one climbed the hill the outlines of the house became visible, a stately, typical Southern mansion like hundreds that formerly opened wide their doors to welcome the coming guest, but which alas! are fast becoming traditional to this generation. No mansard roof here, no Queen Anne hybrids, no feeble imitation of Elizabethan facades and Tudor towers, that in these latter days do duty as the vanguards of culture. Instead, one sees a substantial square-built house of lofty height and wide dimensions; the central halls, on both stories, divided the space equally, into four rooms on each side. Along the wide front ran a lofty piazza, the roof supported by smooth, round pillars. The broad, square windows of the upper rooms looked down on the floor of the piazza where generations of children had played, and lovers had promenaded in the silvery moonlight. This spacious colonnade extended around the northern and eastern sides of the house. Across the western side the conservatories were built.

This was the home of the beautiful Mary Williams, who became the wife of Mississippi's silver-tongued orator, Sargent S. Prentiss. Here he wooed and married the gentle girl "who never seemed to know that he was lame." Prentiss was never so happy as when at Longwood with his wife and children. He often wrote to his mother, in a far away State, of the fruits and flowers; the quiet, and the joys of delightful Longwood. The room he loved best and where he delighted to gather his loved ones around him was the southwest room, which was fitted up half library and half playroom; the south windows opened on the lawn and gave fine views of the elm avenue, and the brook and bridge at the foot

of the hill; the west windows opened to the floor and led to the conservatory. In this home and this room, with nature and his little ones about him, Prentiss forgot the cares and vexations of public life, and became the charming, genial host, the loving father and devoted husband. He breathed his last in the beloved home July 1st, 1850, and lies buried in the family burying ground of Winthrop Sargent, first governor of Mississippi. The great orator sleeps under a coverlet of ivy leaves. The place is more like an old-fashioned garden, crowded with shrubs and flowers that mingle their sweet perfume over the resting place of this distinguished citizen of Mississippi.

After the death of Mr. Prentiss, the family removed to New Orleans, and the old home was torn down to make room for a more magnificent structure, which was in course of erection when the Civil War came on. It has never been completed, but even in its unfinished state it is one of the handsomest places in the South.

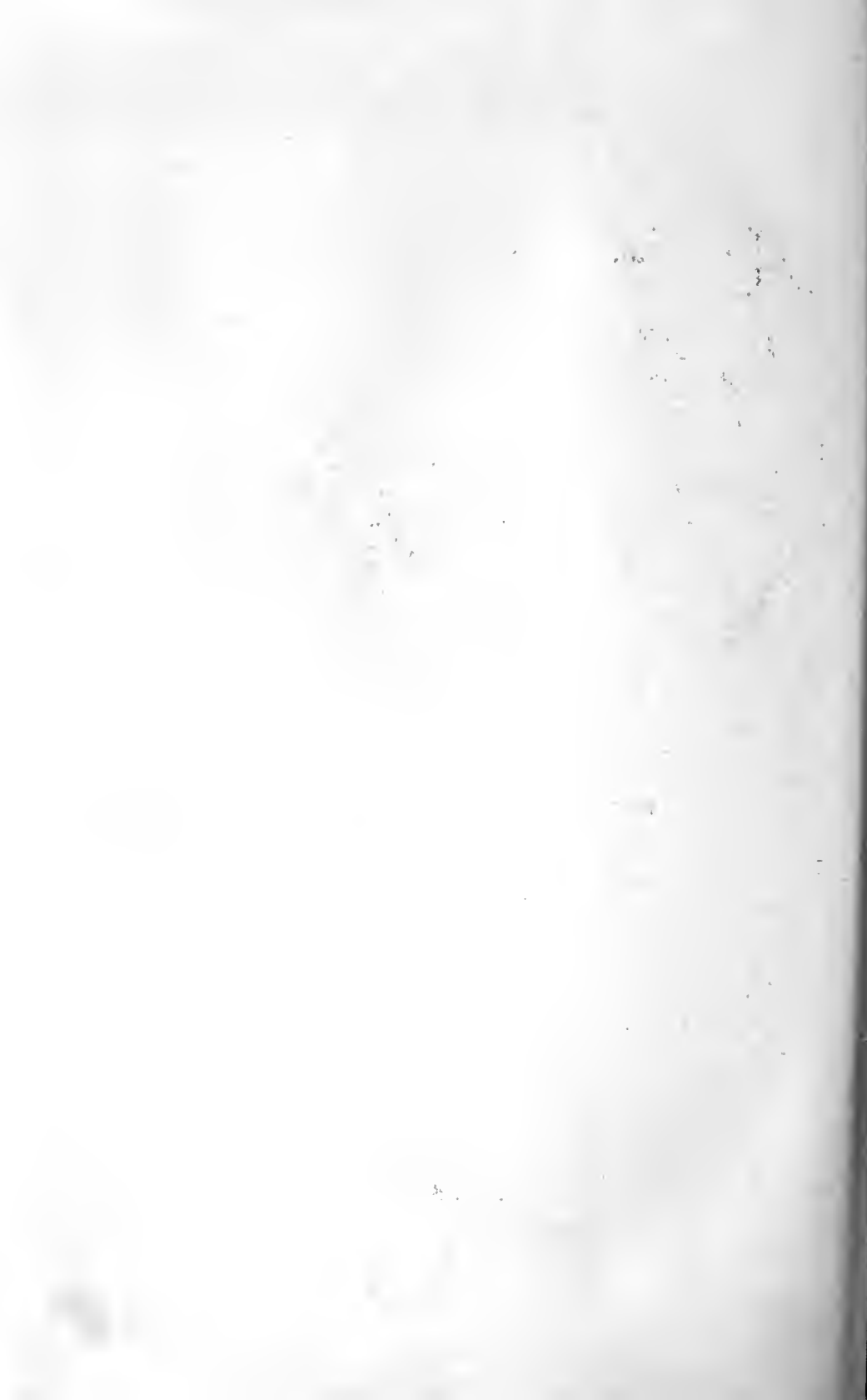
BLAKELY.

Nine miles north of Vicksburg, crowning a lofty hill overlooking a fertile valley and several miles of the Father of Waters, stands Blakely, the plantation home of several generations of Blakes. The first of the name of which we know anything was a young gentleman of wealth and culture from Virginia, who came West in 1834 seeking a home in the new Eldorado. He traveled leisurely, viewing the lands as he journeyed. When this lovely valley met his eye we can easily imagine he cried "Eureka" and set about the task of possessing the fair land. Upon the site of the present residence there stood a rustic log building once used as a rendezvous by the notorious highwaymen, Murrell and Phelps. It is said that when Mr. Blake began to plan his home he removed the log structure and found beneath the floor a cavern filled with bones of men and horses, gruesome relics of the victims of the robbers. A trap door in the floor of the room above would open mysteriously and let the hapless man or beast fall into the cavern below, but it never opened to let one out.

The first home, the one story part seen at the right in the picture, was built in 1835. Several years later the two-story building was added. A wide hall joins the two parts; wide porches extend across the entire front and partly across the south side.



Blakey.



The first door to the right of the entrance leads to the dining room, a large lofty apartment with windows on the east and west sides. Those opening toward the east give most beautiful views of the sloping hills and grand old trees; those, toward the west give pictures of the valley and distant winding river. The open fireplace, with its handsome mantel and jambs, speaks of blazing fires when the Frost-king becomes too bold and crosses the line that marks the land of sunshine and flowers. The furniture is of mahogany of elegant designs and polished to mirror-like brilliancy. North of the dining room and connected with it by folding doors is the library. The walls are lined with shelves filled with books of history, poetry and fiction. Easy chairs, couches, tables and desks insure an hour of pleasure and profit to any one who wishes to avail himself of the advantages of this quiet place. The broad, low windows of the library open into the rose garden, where the queen of flowers holds high carnival throughout the long sunny season, almost from the beginning of the year to the end. To the left of the entrance are the parlors, where taste and wealth have combined to make almost ideal apartments.

South of the home and in full view from the south porch is the sunken garden. It was stated in a Northern paper some time during the year 1902 that the only sunken garden in America was in process of construction on the estate of Mr. Gould, in New Jersey. Mississippi can claim a sunken garden that antedates Mr. Gould's by several years. This fair garden covers quite a large amount of ground; the embankments are twenty feet high and covered with the richest verdure. It is laid off in the highest style of landscape gardening. The walks converge at the center, where the greenhouses are built to shelter the delicate plants brought from tropical climes to shed their beauty and fragrance over this home. A tiny stream flows through the garden to a fountain sending aloft a jet of water, which falls in a misty spray into the basin in which gold fish disport themselves.

At the foot of the hill on the western side is a garden of native flowers and plants. Here are long avenues bordered with roses, syringa and crepe-myrtle,—flowers that speak eloquently of the old South and her hospitality. Blakely has lost none of her fame for generous hospitality; for in recent years a little

white messenger bearing the words "At Home" (Blakely), is sure to cause a thrill of delight in the heart of the recipient, be she maiden fair or matron staid; be he gay, gallant, or dignified lord of creation. Each and all know there's a good time in store.

The grounds about this home lacked nothing, it would seem, in natural beauty; but art has lent a hand, and trees and shrubbery from many lands have been transported here and persuaded to add their charms to those of native growth.

It gives great pleasure to be able to state that this beautiful home is still in the possession of the heirs of the Mr. Blake who established it, and is occupied by them. May it never pass into stranger hands.

THE YERGER HOME.

Among the many handsome homes that adorned our State in ante-bellum days, none could claim greater distinction as a home of culture and hospitality than that of Mr. George S. Yerger, in the city of Jackson. It was built in the year 1850 and was a three-storied structure of fifteen lofty apartments. The wide veranda ornamented with heavy Corinthian columns presented a pleasing appearance; the heavy oak doors rolled silently back and admitted to the spacious hall furnished with handsome reception chairs and davenports, all elegantly finished; the walls were adorned with figures of gorgeous birds of Paradise and peafowls painted in the rich colors of nature. On the left side of the hall were the double parlors carpeted with the richest velvet, and filled with carved rosewood furniture upholstered with pale yellow damask; the windows were draped with the finest Brussels net curtains, and over these heavy yellow silk curtains lined with white, and caught back with tasseled cords. Soft rugs of long white fur were scattered here and there over the floor, and tall mirrors reflected oriental magnificence. On this side of the hall there was also a large billiard room which afforded recreation to lovers of the game. The long dining room opened into an exquisite conservatory, and while the lights from chandelier and candelabra gave luster to massive silver, and sparkling cut-glass, rare exotics lent their fragrance to further enhance the pleasure of the guests whom the genial host and his beautiful wife delighted to gather about them in their lovely home.

The first room on the right was a dear one to all book lovers; the library was lined from floor to ceiling with massive oak cases, filled with every line of literature, ancient and modern. If one desired to spend a day with the poets, here was the place to ascend with Shakespeare and Byron to the loftiest heights of imagery, or wander with the lesser poets through more modest fields of thought. Here the student could revel in Biblical lore and history, and he who fancied fiction could lose himself in the fancies of the best novelists. The guest chambers oftentimes rang with merry voices and musical laughter of the young friends of the boys and girls of the home.

Again, the door would open to the war-weary soldier, to whom it was the delight of the gentle mistress of the home to minister during the long years of the Civil War. None were ever denied entertainment; whether he was the aristocratic officer or the humblest of the barefoot soldiers, the best the house afforded was set before him.

The grounds were beautiful with rare plants and flowers, and in the center court a fountain played above the gold fish, whose shining forms glistened in the clear waters in the basin-like sunbeams imprisoned there. Moorish summer houses, covered with climbing roses, and furnished with pretty white chairs made ideal places for whiling away an hour in reading or meditation, or in the exchange of sweet nothings so dear to the young and happy.

Probably the most notable of the many receptions given by Mr. and Mrs. Yerger was the one following the marriage of their daughter, Miss Ida, a renowned belle and beauty, to Dr. J. R. Hicks, of Vicksburg. The receiving party made a most pleasing tableau. Mrs. Hicks and Mrs. Whitehead—cousin of Miss Yerger—and a bride of two hours, with their bridegrooms and attendants, formed a large horseshoe as they stood to receive the congratulations of their many friends. And never was the lucky emblem so dazzling as at this hour when formed of youth and beauty arrayed in satins and gleaming with jewels. Though at this time the South was in the throes of war, a number of Confederate Generals with their staff officers lent a touch of military splendor to the scene. The wedding feast was one to delight. In spite of the straitened times, every delicacy of the sea-

son crowned the festal board. No one had time to think of the changes that a few short months would bring to the gay company. Only a few years, and the members of this large family were widely scattered. Some were asleep in the quiet cemetery, some were in distant lands, and the eldest son, who, with his family, occupied the home, deemed it necessary because of reduced circumstances, in 1870, to sell the property to the State to be used as an institute for the deaf and dumb children of the Commonwealth. In order to adapt the building to the new order it was necessary to make many changes. Additions were made to the original plan of the building, and the flowers and shrubbery were removed to make room for new walks and playgrounds for the children who were to come here for instruction.

The historic old mansion was destroyed by fire in 1902, and now that it is only a memory, the men and women who so often enjoyed the gracious hospitality of the courtly host and his beautiful wife, speak with pleasant remembrance of the past splendors of the Yerger home.

THE FORD HOUSE.¹

One of the most delightful methods of history study is by acquaintance with old landmarks and buildings, especially the homes. These object lessons illuminate dry facts and bring us face to face with scenes of the past. Patriotic societies, North and East, realizing this fact, are rescuing, restoring, and marking historic sites and buildings. Our own State in taking up this branch of history has found a field rich in homes worthy of preservation.

The old residence of John Ford, twenty miles south of Columbia in Marion county, is one of special interest. John Ford erected this building in 1809. It is on a plateau about a mile from Pearl river. It is modeled after the old Spanish houses of the early days. It is two and a half stories high with thick walls. The lower story is of brick, the upper part of heart pine, hand-cut and dressed, and put together with hand-wrought nails, made at the home forge. Not a drop of paint was ever put on any part of the building. The outside has taken the soft gray shade

¹ A picture of this house will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. III., p. 17.

so often seen on the dead pine monarchs of the forest. The rooms are large, ceiled with narrow plank put on upright; the windows are small and the panes of glass about 8 by 10 inches. There is a little trap door in the ceiling of one of the upper rooms through which a friendly Indian, Tallapoosa by name, who kept the white people posted on the movements of the hostile tribes, used to disappear when an Indian was seen approaching the house. A stockade surrounded the house in early times, and traces of the old lines are still visible. Into that fortified enclosure the neighbors gathered when the alarm of Indians coming was given, every man bringing his trusty rifle in readiness for defense.

This home was distinguished for hospitality. John Ford and his estimable wife dispensed good cheer to all who came to their door, from General Andrew Jackson, who was entertained there in 1814, to the poor Indian whose warning so often saved the lives of the family and neighbors. It was in this mansion that the famous Pearl River Convention was held. Cowles Mead presided over the Convention. Judge Toulmin was sent to Washington to carry its resolutions to Congress. The enabling act was passed, the Constitutional Convention assembled the next year, and Mississippi became a sovereign State.

Two Methodist Conferences were held in this home, one in 1814, the other in 1818, and all the members of both conferences were entertained in the home. The Conference deliberations of 1818 were held in the bedroom of the presiding Bishop McKendren, who was at that time quite feeble.

This historic home now, 1903, belongs to Mr. E. S. Rankin, whose wife is a descendant of the Fords. Although the original owners have long since passed to their eternal rest, the old home still stands, and preserves its renown for hospitality. The spacious rooms are frequently filled with guests.

The location is identified in many ways with Indian life. A large tribe lived near, and there are still to be found in the fields and woods arrow heads, beads, and stone hatchets, but no longer does the painted warrior skulk from tree to tree seeking the life of the paleface, nor are the sleeping inmates roused from their slumbers by the blood-curdling warwhoop. The few red men who remain are peaceable and domestic to a degree once thought

* For a brief account of the Convention see *Ibid*.

impossible. The historic old house with its records of strife and peace, of pain and pleasure, recalls precious memories of the past century.

THE HILL.

Let us turn back our thoughts for a time from the tumult and toil of trade, from the rush and roar of commerce, and drink in the beauty and the rest of the days before industry had taken the place of art, the useful, the place of the beautiful, arithmetic, the place of poetry, and let us go to a spot where the people revered the Creator and strove to keep his commandments.

This once fair land, beautiful by nature, was further embellished by art; and regal homes where dwelt lovely women and gallant men, dotted the landscape, each a fair flower in the scene. The men were gifted with the qualities of honor, truth and courage; the women endowed with all the virtues that made life attractive. This beautiful place was part of a tract once owned by a Mr. Gibson, who donated a town site on Bayou Pierre, six miles from the Mississippi. The town was regularly laid out with streets at right angles with the bayou, with broad avenues planted with ornamental shade trees. Handsome homes and substantial public buildings were soon erected. Many suburban residences graced the country side; the homes of the Archers, Humphreys, Magraders, Vertners, Van Dorns and of many others, whose names are familiar in the annals of our State. This quiet, lovely town of Port Gibson, later, became the historic battle-ground of Grant as he fought his way to Vicksburg, and could tell many grim stories of the invasion of those 60,000 blue coats. Not far from the city limits of Port Gibson, almost hidden from view of man by trees and vines, was LaCache, the home for a few years of the cultured but unfortunate Blennerhasset.² Before the Civil War, the blessings of peace, prosperity, culture and wealth were seen on every side.

On an eminence overlooking the town, was the home of Judge P. A. Van Dorn, which was known as "The Hill." The mansion was built of brick, and was almost square. It was a simple style of architecture designed for comfort, and open to air and sunlight. One unique arrangement for ventilation might well be adopted by

² For a sketch of this historic home see *supra*, p. 313.—EDITOR.

modern architects, *i. e.*, the upper part of each window was filled with slats, without glass, to admit pure air, and to let out impure air. There were two front entrances, each through small covered porticoes; at the side of the house was a long covered veranda with colonial pillars and stationary seats. Paved walks led from the carriage way to the front porches, each walk bordered with rows of jonquils that in the spring looked like yellow-plumed knights ready for the tournament. On the left was the garden, with terraces, arbors covered with jasmine, roses of all kinds, and flowers of every hue and perfume; hidden from view by the gorgeous bloom of the flower garden were the vegetables and fruits carefully tended by a German gardener. On the right of the house, commanding a view of the village from the side porch, were two hills that sloped gradually to a meadow, forming midway a gentle declivity, at the foot of which was a spring and a spring house through which the water flowed, cool as a mountain stream, into the dairy and converted it into a refrigerator for the use of the housewife. A pathway wound down to the spring, where under the shade of the tall, wide-spreading trees were placed rustic seats and tables, and here the evening meal was often served, with fruits and melons made ice cold by the waters of the spring.

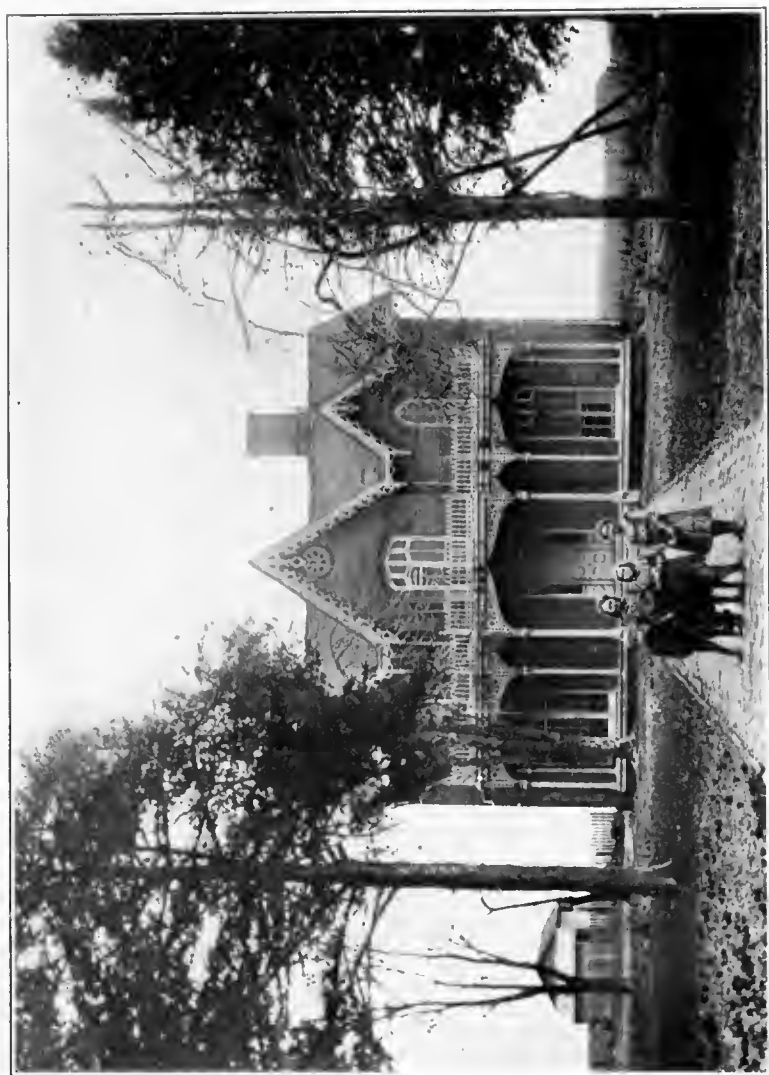
In this bright and happy home, which was embowered in foliage that never changed, and where the mocking bird sang its love songs throughout the livelong day, and far into the night, where the roses ran riot over the walls and the breath of a thousand flowers filled the air, and where moon and stars kept watch over the destiny of the inmates, was born on a bright September day Earl Van Dorn, who was to become the pride of his family. The blood of noble Holland ancestors, who were patriot fathers of the American Revolution, flowed through his veins. He was destined to be a soldier, and at the age of sixteen he asked General Jackson for a commission to West Point. Upon receiving the commission, he entered the Military Academy, where he remained four years, being one of the few Southern students who could endure the restraints and rigid training of the school. Earl Van Dorn graduated with men who became distinguished and at a time when great men abounded. Can it be that human beings are born under lucky, or unlucky, stars, that the influence of a

star will lend brilliancy to a life for a season and then permit it to go down in darkness and sorrow? Some lives give color to the truth of this belief, and the life of General Van Dorn would seem to bear testimony to such a creed.

Again we approach the old home; the spring still bubbles, the little stream flows on to the sea; some of the live oaks, seedlings planted by the mother's hand, are still there, the blue sky bends above; but all else is changed, and decay has marked the old home for its own and it stands a wreck of its former glory. The terraces, the stately poplars, the winding driveway, the yellow jonquils, the roses, are all gone. The fair forms that once flitted through the stately halls and romped under the spreading oaks, now rest beneath the green sward making it holy ground to friends and admirers of this family once prominent in our State.

THE BONNER HOME.

This home on Salem street, in the historic little city of Holly Springs, was built in 1858 by Dr. Charles Bonner, a native of Ireland, who in the "Flush Times" came to Mississippi, and finding it a goodly land, cast in his lot with the cultured and refined people that he found had preceded him to this land of promise. Among the lovely daughters of the sunny clime there was one fairer than all the rest to the young doctor from across the seas, and to her he offered his heart's best affection and won her love and hand in marriage. Having secured the bird, he must needs furnish the cage. The home is a commodious brick mansion built in Gothic style, with windows opening to the floor, a wide portico in front, the roof supported by ten slender iron pillars, with handsome fret-work also of iron joining the pillars. The balcony has the same design of fret-work in the balustrade that surrounds it. One enters a wide reception hall; on the left is the library peopled with books, bright with pictures, luxurious with soft-toned rugs and richly carved furniture; a big, open, wood fire-place, tiled in pale yellow, surmounted by a hard-wood mantel, and with brass andirons, which were piled high with blazing logs whenever the frost-kings overstepped the bounds of his domain. From the chimney-piece the astral lamps shed a soft radiance over a long table piled with books and papers. The library is connected with the hall by folding doors. On the right is the drawing room, also connected



The Bonner Home.

with the hall by folding doors. When these doors open, the whole front of the house is converted into one grand room. The family was preëminently literary, and the literateurs of the country often visited there; and when the grand drawing-room was ablaze with light that "shone o'er fair women and brave men," it was a scene of delight. From the rear hall a broad stairway leads by easy flights to the upper story; on the first landing is an arched window in two sections filled with tinted glass. The upper hall is without a partition and has a sash door opening onto a balcony in front. There are four large bedrooms on the second floor, with double windows in front and long narrow ones on the sides. In the rear yard, and remote from the dwelling, as was the custom in days gone by, are the servants' quarters, the kitchen and store-rooms. Beyond these lie the vegetable garden and orchards, which were planted by Dr. Bonner.

The house stands quite a distance from the street, and is surrounded by a spacious lawn shaded by fine old oaks, holly and cedars. A large grapevine has claimed one old monarch for its own, and after climbing to the top and falling back has then climbed up again until but little of the tree can be seen. On the west side of the lawn there is a broad driveway bordered by a row of walnut trees; on the east side is the garden devoted to flowers of every variety native to the soil and climate.

Into this lovely home came sons and daughters to bless and to brighten its lofty rooms and spacious grounds. First came Catherine Sherwood, who inherited her sense of humor and love of books from her father, her beauty and womanliness from her mother; the next to gladden the hearts of the parents was Ruth Martin, now Mrs. David McDowell, who lives in "The City of Flowers." The eldest daughter is best known as "Sherwood Bonner." Her life was beautiful in the charm of intelligence and sensibility that were ever about her, like a rose-tinted atmosphere heavy with the perfume of flowers. She was a brilliant conversationalist and won the admiration of all who heard her low, sweet voice. A fine linguist, she lived in the English classics with a love that made her akin to their genius. Her contributions to literature prove the excellence she might have attained had her life been longer spared. (For a more extended sketch of the life and writings of this gifted woman see Vol. II. of the *Publications of the*

Mississippi Historical Society.) During the Civil War, Dr. Bonner had charge of the hospitals of the city and frequently gave rooms in his home for the use of convalescents, who, amid the beautiful surroundings and under the care of the lovely Mrs. Bonner, soon regained health and strength. The home was several times occupied by the Federal officers as headquarters. At one time the family was turned out of the house and it was filled with sick and wounded Federal soldiers. Raids were made not only on the dwelling, but on the larder as well. The time came when the poultry-yard was reduced to three chickens, and the farm-yard had but two little pigs scampering around. Mrs. Bonner, hoping to save these for a time of greater need, hid the chickens in the attic and the pigs in the cellar; but alas! the chickens would cackle, and the pigs would grunt, thus betraying their hiding-places, and finally paid the penalty of their noise by falling a prey to Yankee appetites.

In 1903 the home passed out of the possession of the Bonner heirs and was purchased by State Senator William A. Belk, who has given his home the pretty and appropriate name of Cedarhurst.

THE WEST HOME.

Among the historic homes of Mississippi none are more beautiful than the West home in Holly Springs. It is an old colonial mansion, set far back in a grove of stately oaks, many of them luxuriantly draped in ivy. The house was built in 1842 by Judge J. W. Clapp, who superintended the construction so carefully that it is said he saw every brick and piece of timber that went into the structure. If a workman ever succeeded in slyly putting an imperfect brick or piece of timber in, he only made double work for himself, for he surely had to take it out. The outer walls are two and a half feet thick, and between the outside and inside layers of brick there is a layer of charcoal which effectually excludes dampness. The plastering, the same put on when the house was built, has scarcely a crack, and is white and polished as marble. The hall is unusually spacious and opens into rooms of almost lordly dimensions. The double parlors and library are each twenty feet square, with ceilings eighteen feet high. On each side of the folding doors between the parlors, there are fluted columns reaching from floor to ceiling. The walls are ornamented with rich cornices



The West House.

done in *fleur-de-lis* with borders of Greek key-work; the mantels are of marble exquisitely carved in grapes and leaves. The dining-room at the end of the hall is oval in shape, thirty feet long, lighted by four long windows which open on the gardens and lawn. This magnificent ante-bellum home, with its spacious dining-room, broad halls, double parlors, stately library and handsome furnishings, surrounded by grounds perfected by years of cultivation, was an ideal place for the dispensing and enjoyment of genuine Southern hospitality; and it is much to be regretted that we cannot give the details of at least one of the distinguished gatherings that so often graced the home in the golden age of Mississippi. A broad curving stairway, adorned with statuary in niches placed at intervals, leads to the second story hall of the same dimensions as the one on the first floor. There are four large bedrooms on this floor, each with a dressing-room and bath-room attached. A wide veranda extends around three sides of the building; across the front it is covered, the roof supported by Corinthian columns with Medieval capitals. On the east are extensive grounds filled with shrubbery and carpeted with grass; on the west, is the garden of roses.

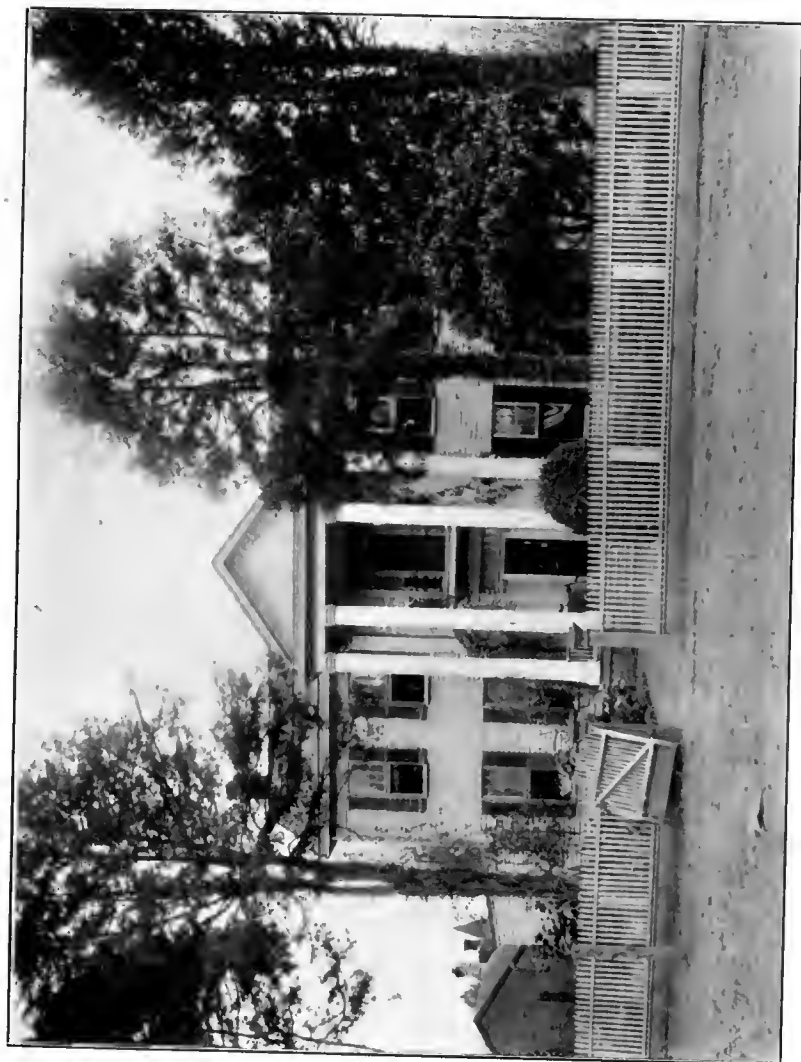
Judge Clapp was elected a member of the Confederate Congress, and when war was declared a price was put upon his head. He was a small man, and had the zeal which usually belong to small statures. Twice, when on short visits home, his residence was raided by the Federals in search of him. Once he made his escape from the back of the house, and through the orchard while his son held the enemy at the front regaling them with buttermilk. The next time the house was surrounded before the family were aware of the invasion; but the judge, rich in resources, climbed to the attic and crept out along the eaves of the porch and hid in the capital of one of the massive Corinthian pillars which support the roof. So much for being small and agile.

The house was occupied by General Smith of the Union army at the time General Van Dorn made his famous raid into Holly Springs in 1862. [An account of this raid may be found in Vol. IV. of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*.] Out of the house the Yankees came tumbling, rushing through the yard, down the lane, over the orchard fence, on into the woods they went half clad, as it was just daybreak.

After the war, Judge Clapp moved to Memphis and the beautiful mansion became the home of General A. M. West, one of the noblest sons of the old State. General West spent his life in planning for the upbuilding of the State. In politics he was a Whig; in 1847 he was elected by an unprecedented majority to the State Legislature, where he served for ten years. He was twice elected Senator from a Democratic district. When Mississippi seceded, A. M. West went with her and was one of the first to organize a brigade; he was commissary, quartermaster and paymaster of the Confederate army, with the rank of major-general. He was brigadier general of the Mississippi troops at the outbreak of the war. He was nominated for governor by the Whigs at the time the Democrats nominated and elected Charles Clark. In 1864, General West was elected president of the Mississippi Central railroad. This road was used alternately by Federals and Confederates during the war, and at its close the roadbed was a wreck, the stock unfit for use, the company without money or credit. However, through the tireless energy of the president, the road was soon rebuilt, newly equipped and ready for work. This is looked upon as the crowning work of General West's life. Without his solicitation and while making these almost herculean efforts for the restoration of the railroad, the people elected him to the United States Senate, but he and his colleagues were refused seats by the reconstruction party. He was twice nominated for vice-president of the United States.

THE JONES HOME.

One of the large and handsome homes of the fair little city of Holly Springs was built in 1857 by Mrs. Rufus Jones, who was Miss Martha E. A. Reese, of Madison, Ga. She was married to Mr. Rufus Jones in 1840 and came to Marshall county, Miss., to the plantation home of Mr. Jones near old Tallaluce. Here they resided until the death of Mr. Jones in 1856. The widow then moved with her family to Holly Springs and built the home in which she lived until her death in 1874. The house is colonial in its architecture, with a wide hall and a partition running across it, making a square reception hall in front. Opening into this reception room on the right is the parlor; back of the parlor is the library; low bookcases, filled with books, line two sides of the room;



The Jones-Shuford Home.



a handsome table littered with books and papers, cosy corners and window seats make it homelike and livable. On the left of the front entrance is the dining-room, where are to be seen treasures of priceless worth. The first to attract attention is the table with its handsome base and claw feet; next a side-board, stately and grand. The china cabinet contains rare pieces of china, some of which are over eighty years old, notably a soup tureen with a cover and platter, a pitcher shaped much like the Greek olpe and of the palest shade of Delft blue, used for a sweet-milk pitcher. Among the treasures of the dining-room is a table cloth of damask exquisitely woven in figures of birds of Paradise. The center-piece, about one yard square, shows the birds of life size, and so perfectly was the weaving done that they seem to stand out in relief from the service; next to this center is a wide border of plain linen with a sheen of the finest satin; next to this is an outer border of woven figures of smaller birds mingled with leaves and flowers. This table cloth was used at the wedding of Elizabeth Alston Crawford to Joseph Reese, in 1814; at the wedding of Martha E. A. Reese to Rufus Jones, in 1840; at the wedding of Amanda Reese to Judge Martin Crawford, of Columbus, Ga., in 1842; and again at the wedding of the eldest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Rufus Jones, Miss Augusta Reese Jones, to Dr. Franklin Brevard Shuford, a gallant Confederate soldier and an eminent physician of Holly Springs. Stop for a moment and think of the distinguished men and cultured women who have sat around the table spread with this handsome damask, and been served from those precious dishes,—a sigh for the times that are past will come from the lips as you gaze upon these mementoes of that happy olden time.

In the chambers above, the furnishings would delight the eye of the connoisseur. Let a description of one room suffice. The bed-room set of four pieces and the chairs are of solid rosewood; the dressing case is low and has two drawers with swell front, and a cabinet on each side; the mirror is eighteen inches by thirty-six, of French plate glass; on either side of the mirror is a smaller cabinet with tiny drawers, just the size to hold a stock or collar; it is enough to make a lover of these dainty accessories of milady's toilette quite envious, and to wonder why all the dressers do not have such conveniences. The wash-stand and tiny work-table correspond in style and finish with the dressing-case. But the

bedstead is the most attractive, because of its size and exquisite carving; it is seven and a half feet wide and eight feet long. The two sides and foot piece are low and beautifully hand-carved in conventional designs; the head-piece and canopy reach the ceiling, and the carving is in designs of fruits and leaves most exquisitely wrought. The other rooms are similarly furnished.

An ample portico extends part of the way across the front, the roof supported by smooth white columns; a balcony held by heavy brackets with an iron railing guards the door of the upper hall, and from this balcony a fine view of the park and the "City of Flowers" can be obtained. In the yard are fine old forest trees, around whose trunks the ivy clings riotously; vines are trained over the portico and around the balcony; rare flowers grow in profusion on the east side of the home.

As were most of the handsome homes of Holly Springs, this, too, was used at different times and by various Federal officers as headquarters while Grant's troops occupied the city. At one time Mrs. Jones and her family were ordered to vacate the house at once. She told the officer that she had no place to go and asked if she might not have the dining-room, which was then an ell-room. They told her no, as they needed that room to serve their meals in. Then she asked to be allowed to retain the kitchen, again she was refused; they needed the kitchen for cooking. She was obliged to seek shelter in the room of one of her servants, and see her large and comfortable home occupied by her country's foes.

At the time of Van Dorn's raid, December 20th, 1862 (see *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Volume IV.), the surgeon general of Grant's army and family were quartered there. When the Confederates dashed in, the doctor dashed out to some more reliable hiding place, and did not return for several hours after Van Dorn left. The doctor's wife was greatly distressed and making loud lamentations, when a young son of Mrs. Jones', a boy of nine or ten years of age, said to her "You needn't be scared, *our* soldiers don't fight *women*." She said she was alarmed about the doctor; the boy replied, "O, they'll let *him* go, he's a *Doctor*." This same small boy had felt the pangs of hunger more than once since the beginning of hostilities, and when Van Dorn broke open the stores and set fire to the buildings, provisions of every kind were scattered in every direction; hundreds of barrels of flour





Home of Mr. W. A. Jones.

were rolling about the streets, and under the skillful manipulation of this same little boy one of them rolled into his mother's store-room. He anticipated the speedy return of the Federal troops and surmised they might go hunting, therefore he emptied the flour into a cedar chest and burned the heads, hoops, and staves of the barrel, thus providing against the loss of his biscuit. A few hours later, he made another trip to the stores and saw casks of rice split open and the snowy grains sifting into the dust. He procured a sack and filled it with rice, getting about two bushels. Rice would not roll, so he caught an old army mule and got the rice up on its back and made his way home through the crowds of soldiers, horses and wagons unnoticed; and was sure of rations for a while.

Since 1874 the home has been owned and occupied by the eldest daughter, Mrs. Augusta Reese Shuford. One son lives at the Macon home; another lives at beautiful "Box Hill" in the western part of "The City of Flowers."

THE MASON HOMES.

About the year 1825 William F. Mason, a boy of fifteen years, left his home in Baltimore to try his fortune in Tennessee. He went to Fayetteville, but did not remain there long, going thence to Pulaski, where he engaged in mercantile business. He often rode on horseback from Pulaski to Baltimore to buy goods. After some years in this business his health began to fail; his physician advised him to take a trip to New Orleans on a flatboat and fare in all respects as the boatmen did. He took the advice and the trip; lived on fat bacon and corn hoeecake; roughed it generally, and returned much improved. In 1837 he came to Holly Springs, just one year after Marshall county had been organized and named and the town laid off. The Indians were more numerous than homes. In 1840, he helped to organize the Presbyterian church, becoming one of the charter members. He was also made an elder the same day. During this year he began the erection of a handsome home, the first large house in the young city. It stands at the end of the street running south from the courthouse square, which it fronts. Mr. Mason was wont to say: "My front door is in town, my back door in the woods." The unbroken forest lay just beyond his premises. The house is of colonial architecture

and differs but little from numbers of the ante-bellum homes of Mississippi. The size, shape and style of the windows make or mar the interior effect; and the builder of this home realized the truth of this and planned his windows on a generous scale, filling the sash bars with small squares of glass which give one the assurance that he is inside of a house and yet do not obstruct the views of the world outside. A door of generous proportions admits one to the hall of spacious dimensions. A Venetian screen divides the hall. The stairway leads straight up from the front hall to a wide landing lighted by a double window set with tiny panes of tinted glass; while from the landing a shorter flight of steps leads to the long upper hall. There are four rooms on each side of the halls. A porch in front, on the first floor, and a small balcony, in the second story, have light-railings. Many fine old monarchs of the wood stand sentinel in the grounds.

Mr. Mason and family resided in this home until about 1850, when he built a new and handsomer home in the southern part of the city. The old home is now owned and occupied by Dr. S. D. Hamilton. In the new home two styles of architecture were combined which has a very pleasing effect in the midst of so many colonial structures. The house is almost square but has the arched doors and windows usually defined as Gothic. The windows are filled with diamond-shaped glasses, leaded instead of barred. The home stands on rising ground, having almost the appearance of an English manor house, generously proportioned and well situated. The approach is simple, but effectively contrived; from the gate the broad, smooth walk divides and leads around the two sides of an oval-shaped bit of lawn; the walks are bordered with violets and other low-growing flowering plants; a large magnolia stands in the center of the plot of grass; nearer the house is a wide-spreading live-oak, whose branches shade the house and portico effectually from the western sun. The hall is broad and roomy and opens into rooms of handsome dimensions. On the left is the parlor, the walls covered with beautiful paneled paper; the windows are long and arched, draped in misty lace; handsome paintings and engravings ornament the walls; a pier glass above a marble shelf, which rests on a brass standard, occupies the space between the north windows. A polished mahogany table holds among its treasures a card-receiver, which has the honor to be the



Home of Dr. S. D. Hamilton.



only article of furnishing left whole in the room after a raid of the Federal soldiers in 1862. They cut the paintings from their frames, tore the draperies from the windows, and stripped the carpets from the floors. The china cabinet contains several pieces of china seventy-six years old, all of the pieces being models of Ceramic art. One of the pieces is a pitcher decorated in low relief with figures of gypsies around their camp-fire, kettles hanging on cranes, and with trees bending above the encampment; but, alas! this work of art was the victim of a ruthless hand, and one side of the spout is gone.

The grounds around this home are extensive and laid off with taste and skill; on the lawn are tall oaks and stately magnolias, scattered here and there; some where nature planted them, others placed where the shadows from their broad branches subdue the light and heat of the too ardent rays of the summer sun. South of the house is the flower garden, filled with plants and flowers of every variety.

Mr. William F. Mason was treasurer of the Illinois Central railroad for seven years prior to the beginning of the late war between the States.

The home is now owned by Mr. W. A. Jones, whose wife was Miss Maggie Mason. The dear mother, older grown than when she came to this lovely home, and a dear sister, also, live in the family of Mr. Jones, loved and honored by all.



CHOCTAW MISSION STATION IN JASPER COUNTY.¹

By A. J. BROWN.²

The Six Towns Mission Station was established about the year 1825 by a gentleman by the name of Bardwell. It is thought that he was a native of one of the New England States, probably Massachusetts. He came by land from Mobile, Ala., which was about one hundred and twenty miles from the station. The Indians among whom this station was located were known as the Six Town tribe. They occupied most of the county of Jasper. The station was situated in Section 15, Township 3, Range 12.

The missionaries began their work by laying out part of the road leading from Mobile to Jackson. They erected a comfortable log house, two stories high, which was used for a dwelling. It had a stick and dirt stack chimney, and large cellars under two of its rooms. They also built a schoolhouse and a church, the latter of which was supplied with a church bell. Two or three other houses were erected for different purposes.

The missionaries had vegetable gardens, and a separate graveyard from that originally planned by the Indians. They kept horses, cattle, and hogs, and had an abundance of milk, butter, and cheese. The location of this place was on one of the finest sections of land in Jasper county. It was a beautiful tableland with no hills or large streams to mar its beauty. It was destitute of water, except a spring of immense volume which came out of a solid rock, and had furnished sufficient water for a city of two thousand inhabitants. This spring is situated about four hundred yards from where the missionaries built their houses. It is strange that they should not have settled nearer to what was necessarily their only water supply; there was no chance to obtain water from wells, as one would have been very difficult to make

¹The writer is under obligations to Messrs. S. D. Russell, R. E. Chapman, Thos. James and Hon. A. G. Mayers for assistance in the preparation of this article.

²A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VI., p. 441.

at that place. A gentleman now living on the site of this station has the water brought to his residence by a hydraulic ram.

The growth of timber was principally oak and hickory; some magnificent specimens of oak trees grew in front of the houses. Only very few of the original trees now remain. The missionaries planted china trees also, which grew to a large size. All traces of those trees have disappeared.

The missionaries supplied the natives with school and church privileges. Their work of eight years, though done in a spirit of self-sacrifice, seems not to have amounted to a great deal, as that influence and teachings were little observed after their departure. The missionaries left Jasper county in the latter part of 1833, or the early part of 1834.

Mr. E. E. Chapman, late of Newton county, occupied the premises and lived in the houses in the years 1834-'5. His son states that the tillable land on the place must have been between fifty and seventy-five acres. This land was very fertile, being a deep sandy loam, with a clay foundation, very level and easy of cultivation. One year Mr. Chapman made thirty-three bales of cotton on thirty-five acres of it. This tract of land was so level that a straight race course was made on it in after years, and here many of the best horses of the country had their speed tested.

This valuable tract of land was bought from an Indian, it is said, for a horse and cart. The purchaser was Col. John H. Horne, of Wayne county, who became one of the wealthiest men and largest slave holders in the State. Col. Jno. Johnson, who was an Indian agent, also bought a claim on the land from an Indian and the title became so clouded that no real purchase was made for nearly thirty years after the departure of the Indians. After the War between the States, Judge Jno. W. Fewel succeeded in quieting the adverse claimants. It was then bought by Mr. A. Russell, of Newton county, for his son S. D. Russell, who now occupies it. The present owner of the place writes of it as follows:

"Houses of modern architecture have taken the places once occupied by the rude huts of these Indians. Golden harvests are annually gathered from the fields nearby and views of majestic scenery when obtained from the surrounding hills, lend a charm and a degree of loveliness to the wide extent of the neighboring landscape."

LOWNDES COUNTY, ITS ANTIQUITIES AND PIONEER SETTLERS.

BY WILLIAM A. LOVE.¹

For half a century, perhaps, before the removal of the Choctaw Indians to their new home in the west, the nation was divided into three districts, viz: the Northeastern, the Southeastern, and the Western. The first of these embraced the western half of the present county of Lowndes, all of Oktibbeha and Noxubee, the greater part of Kemper and the eastern portions of Winston and Neshoba.

Lowndes county, within whose bounds our investigations are restricted, is divided almost equally by the Tombigbee river, but the eastern part is older historically by fourteen years than the western, the former coming under territorial control by the Choctaw cession of 1816, while the latter was acquired by the Choctaw

¹William A. Love was born on a farm in Lowndes county, Miss., in 1848. He is of English and Irish descent. His ancestors emigrated from Chelsea, England, and the North of Ireland to Virginia in 1700. Subsequently they removed to South Carolina, where his grandfather, James Love, was born in 1763. At the age of 16 years he joined the Revolutionary forces and served to the end of the war. Three of his sons served in the war of 1812. His youngest son, Drennan Love, the father of the subject of this sketch, was born in Chester district in 1800, and his mother, Elizabeth Lovelace Cook, in Union district in 1807. In 1825, both families moved to Tuscaloosa, Ala., where his parents were married in 1827. In 1834 they moved to Lowndes county, Miss.

William A. Love was attending school at Crawford, Miss., at the date of Grierson's Raid in 1863. Although only fifteen years of age, he enlisted as a private in Company H, 6th Mississippi Cavalry. He continued in the service until he was paroled at Gainesville, Ala., May 10th, 1865.

After the close of hostilities he spent two sessions at Summerville Institute, Noxubee county, Miss., then under the control of Prof. Thomas S. Gathright. Since that time he has resided on the old homestead—the place of his birth. Except as Representative in the Legislature of 1892-4 from the Western District of Lowndes county, he has filled no civil office. He is a member of the Mississippi National Guard, having filled all the offices from captain to colonel in that organization. During the past eight years he has been Division Inspector General on the staff of Major General Billups.

He is a member of the Mississippi Historical Society and is especially interested in the history of the aborigines of the State and in kindred subjects. In 1893 he was married to Miss Jessie Cook, of Pickens county, Ala.—EDITOR.

taw cession of 1830. It may not be amiss here to state that, contrary to the opinions of many, the eastern, or sandy part of the county shows evidences of an antiquity equally as great as that of the western, or prairie part. Whether or not this eastern part was a neutral or contested hunting ground and uninhabited during a comparatively modern era, the fact remains, that everywhere can be seen the evidences of its prehistoric occupancy.

In an archaeological description it is important, if not essential, that a map of the area accompany the same, but as this is deemed impracticable in this instance, we will begin our subject by noting the water courses and village sites, the two inseparably connected in aboriginal times, the former being one of the permanent features of all localities. As before stated, Lowndes county is about equally divided by the Tombigbee river, whose general course is from northwest to southeast.

Commencing then on the northern boundary of the county on the west side of the river, we have Oktibbeha creek, which is the line between Lowndes and Clay counties.

This creek empties into the Tombigbee river just above Plymouth and from time immemorial was the dividing line between the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations of Indians. These two kindred nations were often at war with each other, and tradition says many a bloody battle was fought on the banks of this notable stream.

While there are no mounds, or other earth works to be found along that part of Oktibbeha creek which touches upon Lowndes county, yet the relics are very numerous,—implements pertaining to war, the chase and domestic life. Only one village site was located, and that one at the confluence of the two streams above mentioned.

A few miles south, running in a southeasterly direction and paralleled to Oktibbeha creek is Okshash creek, which empties into the Tombigbee river two miles above Columbus. Immediately below the mouth of Okshash creek in a field, is an extensive village site, which is strewn with a great number of potsherds and other broken relics, with occasional unbroken specimen of handicraft, more especially of arrow points, spear heads, ornaments and ceremonial weapons. Within the limits of this prehistoric village, there is a shell mound, once no doubt of large proportions, but

owing to the oft recurring overflows of the river, together with the abrading wear of the white man's plow, its outline is now fast being obliterated and the tale it once could have unfolded is now consigned to the silence and gloom of the speechless past. These shells are of the common fresh water mussel, which constituted a part of the bill of fare of these prehistoric villages.

Mr. H. S. Halbert thus writes:

"These shell mounds, or kitchen middens, are found at various places along the course of the Tombigbee in Mississippi and Alabama. Our conjecture is, that their origin must be attributed to a sense of decency which must have prevailed among these ancient villagers. After feasting upon the mussels, the shells would be considered a nuisance if allowed to lie scattered promiscuously in and around the dwellings of the villagers, or in the midst of the camp. Consequently, to prevent this, to have them out of the way, we imagine the custom was to carry them out and deposit them in a certain place where they would be out of every one's way. In course of time this continued deposit would grow into a large pile, or shell mound. And as all the household drudgery of savage life was performed by women, it is a reasonable conjecture that the building of these shell mounds was the work of women alone."

From the name of the creek, Okshash, *acorn mush*, near which the village was situated, it may be considered an almost demonstrated fact, that the acorns which grew so plentifully upon the tall oaks along the borders of the river and creek, must have added some variety to these ancient villagers' food supplies.

A few miles west, but on the north side of Okshash creek in section 27, township 17, range 19, east, is another village site from which the creek takes its name. Within the midst of extensive grounds is a mound, originally, perhaps, five feet in height with a basal diameter of thirty feet, but like other land marks of this character, it is almost obliterated, and it is with difficulty that its limits can now be described. This village, at the advent of the white man and doubtless for long years before was known far and near, as the great Ball Town of the Choctaws. As late as the year 1829 that versatile genius, the late Dr. Gideon Lincecum, organized at this place, a team of forty select Choctaw players and traveled for eight months in the States, giving exhibition ball games and war dances.²

To the south of Okshash creek and trending in an eastern direction is Nail creek, so called for an early trapper of that name. Four miles still to the south is Kushuna creek, running parallel to

² Ms. Autobiography of Dr. Lincecum.

Nail and also emptying into the Tombigbee. Kushuna, in Choctaw signifies *Humpback*, from which we conclude that some humpbacked person must once have lived on this creek, from which it received its name. Uniting with Kushuna creek one mile from the Tombigbee river is Magowa creek, which rising upon the backbone dividing the prairies of western Lowndes and eastern Oktibbeha counties, flows almost due east for fifteen miles. The low lands bordering this creek are from one to two miles in width and in their primitive state were covered with a dense and almost impassable cane brake. Magowa was supposed to be a Choctaw word meaning *impassable*, but such linguists as Gatschet and Holbert say not. The first mention of the stream was by LaTourette in 1835 as McGower, which suggests some prominent Irish or Scotch settler. The Choctaws, however, called it Ma-gow-a, accent on the last syllable. There are evidences of prehistoric habitation upon almost every eligible site along the south side of Magowa creek, but about midway its length, are the remains of a once populous village. One of these village sites is on the property of the writer in section 8, township 17, north, range 17 east, and although under cultivation for over sixty years, an observant person can scarcely pass over it without finding a perfect, or whole arrow, or spear point. That the manufacture of these implements of by-gone years was by a specialist is evident. At one particular spot can be found very small points, not seen elsewhere, which indicates the site of a specialist's shop. Occasionally an arrow point is found of material unknown to this district, its presence, however, can be accounted for as a result of inter-tribal traffic. While there is an absence of the customary mounds near these sites, there are numerous mounds of low type in the swamp, and almost invariably in close proximity to never failing water. These are evidently domiciliary and generally of little interest to the investigator.

A few miles south and trending east is Cedar creek, a stream of modern name and showing no evidences of ancient occupancy, with one notable exception. Half a mile from its union with the Tombigbee, on the south side is a village site known as the "Indian Field," embracing ten or fifteen acres, the entire area testifying in silence to the presence of prehistoric man. In *Gatschet's Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, Vol. 1, p. 123, we find this statement:

"The frequent removals of towns to new sites at *short* distances only may be easily explained by the constant accumulation of refuse and filth around the towns, which never had anything like sewers or efficient regulations of sanitary police."

In view of this, it is evidently unsafe to compute prehistoric population on the basis of town and village sites within a given area, for they were occupied by the same people at different periods.

The last water course to mention in western Lowndes is that of Jim creek, at points along its eastern course the dividing line between Lowndes and Noxubee counties.

While there is nothing on its northern borders worth noting, except a few village sites near the Tombigbee river, the southern side, in Noxubee county, is rich in relics of the unknown past.

A lack of time has prevented an examination of the area of country east of the Tombigbee, through which flow Kincaid, Mc-Bee, Luxapallia and Buttahatchie, but from information received from old and reliable residents of the various localities, the inference is irresistible, that at some very remote period the hills and valleys of eastern Lowndes was the abode of a numerous population. The line of hills along the border of the river swamp seems to have been the favorite sites of habitation, and here are found evidences of such in the ever present arrow-points and pottery, suggesting the excitement of the chase, as well as the pleasures of the feast. Unlike the prairies, this section abounds in living streams, and springs of pure water flow from the base of many hills, thus precluding the necessity of a residence immediately on the water courses.

Having thus in a discursive manner covered the country tributary to the Tombigbee, we will now consider some of the antiquities along this river. We commence at Plymouth, on the northern border of the county, immediately west of the Tombigbee. This place is undoubtedly the oldest site historically in east Mississippi. Situated on a line of high hills overlooking the river to the east, it seems even now, with its gullied hill sides, cedar and pine thickets, an ideal place for a home. Apart from the evidences of prehistoric occupancy in the form of stone mortars, grooved axes, smoothers and other relics, this place is noted as the site of the old cedar log fort, and the fortifications sur-

rounding it. This antiquity has so far baffled the researches of historians, no one having given a satisfactory explanation of the purpose of its construction. This confession but augments the importance of increased historical activity along this special line.

Respecting other antiquities along the river, as a matter of convenience and at the same time to make use of the opportunity of enlisting the aid of a "professional," we take the liberty of quoting from "Certain Aboriginal Remains of the Tombigbee River," by Clarence B. Moore, being a Reprint from the *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences*, of Philadelphia, Vol. XI., pp. 502, 503, 1901.

"Mound at Butler's Gin, Lowndes county, Miss. The mound, oblong in shape, is in a cultivated field about 200 paces S. S. E. from the landing on the property of Mr. James Cox of Columbus, Miss. It is 8 feet high with basal diameters of 128 feet and 180 feet. The diameters of the summit plateau are 80 feet and 137 feet.

"This mound is a refuge in flood time and has houses upon it. No investigation was allowed.

"Mound near Chowder Springs Landing. In a cultivated field about 250 yards N. N. E., from landing on the property of W. S. Mustin, Esq., of Columbus, Miss., is a mound of circular outline, 5 feet 8 inches high, 80 feet across the base. Part has been under cultivation. On the other portion is a small log cabin. Considerable excavation in various parts showed the mound to be of sandy clay. This mound was probably domiciliary. About 100 yards N. N. W. from the preceding, in the woods bordering the field, is a mound on the property of Messrs. Halbert and Vaughn, of Columbus, Miss.

"The mound is of sandy clay. Wash of freshets has made its outline irregular. It is 5 feet 3 inches high and 90 feet by 104 across the base. The mound was largely dug into by us to the base, including central parts, resulting in the finding of several bunched burials and a number of isolated bones. We may say here, for the benefit of those not familiar with mound work that the bunched burials consists of a lot of loose bones piled together in a heap. It was often the aboriginal custom to expose the dead until the flesh disappeared and to bury the bones at certain intervals of time. One small rude clay pot, with a loop-shaped handle at either side of the rim, was found unassociated.

"In the Burrell Field about one half mile in a straight course N. E. from Wild Cat Bend, is a mound on the property of J. T. W. Hairston of Martinsville, Va. It is of clay sand, 3 feet 2 inches high and 60 feet by 70 feet across the base. This mound was largely excavated without result.

"In the same field, which was a dwelling site apparently, considerable sounding was done with iron rods. About one foot below the surface one skeleton was met with buried on the left side with the thighs at right angles to the body and the legs parallel to the thighs.

"Coleman Mound. This mound, well known throughout all the district, probably originally was a parallelogram in shape, but the washing of high water has made the outline irregular. It is about one mile in a northerly direction from Union Bluff on the property of J. T. W. Hairston, of Martinsville, Va. Though the owner courteously gave us permission to dig

we refrained from doing so, as the mound was of the regular domiciliary type, and furthermore its great value as a place of refuge and the presence of a number of houses upon it made investigation inexpedient."

Noting here the significant fact, that of the five prominent mounds on the Tombigbee river, the last four mentioned are on the east side, and taking into consideration the further fact of the village and dwelling sites in close proximity, we must conclude that this section of the county was not always the tramping ground of the hunter and trapper, or of a transient population, but the home of a sedentary tribe, or clan, at a very remote period.

In this connection, it is proper to mention specially a prominent, though isolated mound in the northeastern part of the county, on the property of Hon. J. C. Neilson, of Cherokee, Miss. The term isolated is here used in its general sense, as there is no stream, or other mound near it. There is, however, a never failing spring near by from which water has been used for over 80 years, the place, "Belmont" having been settled by Captain Neilson's father in 1822. The mound is situated in a level, cultivated field, though heavily wooded at the date above mentioned, and is oblong in form, from northeast to southwest, and in basal diameters, estimated, 80 feet by 100 feet and 8 feet high. The plateau dimensions are nearly equal to the base, the elevation originally being almost perpendicular, except on the southeast corner, where there is an incline affording easy means of ascent. This mound has never been excavated, and therefore presents a better opportunity of gaining a correct idea of the appearance of this type of antiquities in their original state, than any we have seen. Never defaced by high water, or used for any purpose, other than a truck patch, or garden, it is practically complete. While a guest at Captain Neilson's hospitable home, he kindly suggested a thorough exploration, but owing to the pressure of other matters the proffered favor was regretfully declined.

There is one other antiquity, or perhaps better described as a natural curiosity, which by reason of its peculiarity deserves mention, being altogether out of the ordinary. Adjoining the "Pitchlyn Prairie," in the southwestern part of the county and lying to the southeast of it, is the "Horse-shoe Prairie," taking this name from the crescent shaped line of oak trees near its center, and disconnected with any other woodland. There has been much speculation as to the origin and purpose of this antiquity.

The most popular theory designates it as an Indian trap, or stratagem, by means of which horses, cattle and perhaps other large animals were inclosed and caught, as according to tradition the trees stood so close together, as to preclude the possibility of animals passing between them. This remarkable phenomenon retained its original shape until after the Civil War, the effects of which in a measure abolished "Quarters" on southern plantations, and a negro renter having built a cabin near the locality, the trees are now so far destroyed as to render the shape undistinguishable.

It comes within the scope of this article, to trace, as far as possible the aboriginal, or Indian trails traversing the area under consideration. There is an impression, that Indian America was a pathless forest. Nothing can be farther from the truth, for the natives in a very great degree lived in villages, and these villages were connected with trails, and it is said that man could travel anywhere on the continent of primitive America, simply by following the Indian trails with which it was intersected.

The oldest and perhaps most frequented trail traversing Lowndes county entered it from the northwest and trending parallel with Oktibbeha creek, struck the Tombigbee river at Plymouth, thence down its west bank, passing the villages on Okshash creek, Wade Spring, Morton Field, Butler Mound and contiguous villages, crossing the river at Chowder Spring ford, thence on to the noted Coleman mound and points below. Some parts of this trail can still be traced in the lowland on the east side of the Tombigbee.

Another trail coming from the west, passed down the south side of Magowa creek, touching the village along the way and terminating at Chowder Spring ford. With the incoming of roads, this trail was so changed as to strike the river above the ford, where a ferry boat was placed. This trail is now known as the Lindsey Ferry road.

There was another connecting trail from Plymouth to the home of Chief Moshulitubbee, on the south side of Jim creek in Noxubee county. Part of this trail was the basis of the old military road. In fact many of the thoroughfares of to-day were originally Indian trails.

Some ten miles to the west of this, was a trail from the north,

that crossed Oktibbeha creek near Dick's Ferry and trending south struck the Nuxubee river at Buggs Ferry. This was known as the Six Town's trail.

Tradition is authority for the statement, that over this trail the noted Shawnee Chief, Tecumseh, passed on his memorable mission to the southern tribes, to incite them to arms against the Americans in the impending war with England, and that he camped one night in the southwestern part of Lowndes county, at a point now known as the Allen Brooks place.

Of the ancient American roads that came into historic use, Lowndes county can lay claim to two only. The first in date of construction and point of usefulness in developing the country, is popularly known as the "old military road." As to its origin we quote from the third section of Dr. Riley's *History of Mississippi*:

"In accordance with an act of Congress passed April 27th, 1816, a thoroughfare known as 'Jackson's Military Road' was built through Mississippi. It extended from Madisonville, Louisiana to a point twenty-one miles north of the Mussel Shoals. The work, which was done under the direction of the War Department occupied a period of over two years, June, 1817, to January, 1820."

Upon examination of La Tourette's Map of Mississippi (1835) we find that this road enters Lowndes county at the southern terminus of the line dividing sections 32 and 33, township 17 north, range 17 east, which is on the Blewett Pedee plantation.

Trending a little west of north for three miles, it entered section 17 and thence in a general direction northeast to the Tombigbee river, and crossing it just above the Iron Bridge, near the foot of Military street in Columbus. Continuing in a northeasterly direction it entered the State of Alabama in fractional section 6, township 16, north, range 16, west, on the farm of J. L. Smith. Were it possible to bring to light all the thrilling episodes and daring deeds enacted upon this Indian trail, military road and great thoroughfare, a book could be written on it alone, but we must content ourselves with giving one historical incident in which a citizen of Lowndes county was a prominent actor. Had this ride occurred in New England, instead of Mississippi Territory, doubtless some Longfellow would have made it as memorable as that of Paul Revere. In explanation it may be proper to state that Colonel George S. Gaines was United States Factor at Fort

Stephens on the Alabama river. It was here that he received a letter containing an account of the fall of Fort Mims.

Extract from Gaines' Reminiscences in the Mobile (Ala.) *Register*, July 3, 1872:

"It was late in the evening when I received the letter. I was in the citizens' fort at the time, and read the letter aloud for the information of those around me. I saw it created a panic, and remarked, if we could get Gen. Jackson down with his 'Brigade of Mounted Volunteers,' the Creek Indians could soon be quieted.

"A young man named Edmondson, who was a guest in my family, was standing near, and looking at him, I remarked: 'If I could induce a cheerful man to go as express to Nashville, Tenn., I have a fine horse ready and can manage by writing to persons I know on the path to have a fresh horse ready for him every day.' He said that he was willing to go. Mrs. Gaines said that she would prepare provisions for him. I immediately sat down and wrote letters to General Jackson and Governor Blount, communicating the massacre of Fort Mims and the defenseless condition of our frontier, appealing to Gen. Jackson to march down with his brigade of mounted men and save the Tombigbee settlement and property in my charge. I was personally acquainted with the General, also Governor Blount. I wrote a letter to Charles Juzon and William Starnes at Oknoxee; John Pitchlyn, mouth of Oktibbeha; George James, residing at or near the present Egypt (M. & O. R. A.); Jim Brown, Natchez road; George Colbert, chief of the Chickasaws, Colberts' Ferry and others beyond the Tennessee river requesting them on the arrival of Mr. Edmondson to furnish him with their best horse and take care of the horse he would leave until his return from Nashville, then bring or send me their bills for payment. (Each of the persons named was in the habit of visiting the trading house for supplies of salt, coffee, sugar, etc.) This task occupied me nearly all night. In the morning, Mr. Edmondson, with provisions, a well filled purse, etc., etc., set out for Nashville.

It is perhaps needless to say, that in response to this urgent call, Gen. Jackson moved promptly and inaugurated a campaign that completely crushed the Creeks.

But to our Lowndes county hero, Mr. Samuel A. Edmondson. He was born in Camden, S. C., in 1794, and came to Mississippi Territory while quite a young man. After becoming a citizen of Lowndes county, he was married to Mrs. Jane Martin, by which union he reared two sons, Powhattan and Robert Tecumseh, and two daughters, Mrs. James M. Halbert and Mrs. Jerre Dowsing.

Mr. Edmondson died at the home of his son-in-law Mr. Halbert in 1869, and was buried at the Ellis grave yard in that vicinity. It is deemed a privilege, thus after a lapse of almost a century to be enabled to place upon record this brief account of Mr. Edmondson's valuable services to his country.

Of the "Old Robinson Road" nothing definite is known of its origin or name. Doubtless a part of it, at least, was once an In-

dian trail leading to the Mississippi river. The first record concerning it is found in the acts of the Legislature of 1824, making provision for working it as a State road.

Commencing at the foot of the Iron Bridge that spans the Tombigbee river at Columbus, this road runs almost directly west for perhaps eight miles, then turning in a southwesterly course, it crosses the Montgomery extension of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad, about a mile east of Artesia, and then the main line half a mile south of that town, thence in the same general direction to the Oktibbeha county line in section 31, township 17 north, range 16 east, on the plantation of C. H. Ayres.

Along these early roads were numerous travelers on their homeward journey from New Orleans, Natchez and other markets on the Mississippi river, where they had disposed of their cargo of products, and almost equally numerous those of means, who were seeking opportunity of investment in the fertile lands of the southwest. Their passage through the dense thickets along the way, and rest over night at the many houses of entertainment, furnished a profitable field for the thief, the robber and the marauder. From *The Niles Register* (1830, of Baltimore, Md.), recently brought to light by our indefatigable State archivist, the Hon. Dunbar Rowland, we find an account of the effectual method adopted by citizens of Madison county in ridding that section of members of the John A. Murrell gang, who plied their nefarious avocation so industriously along this road; and at the same time thwarting a most diabolical attempt at murder and rapine, second only in contemplated extent to the notorious John Brown insurrection thirty years later. Reliable information having been received of a general uprising of slaves, and that residents of Madison county were identified with the movement, a committee of thirteen prominent citizens was formed with authority to try and acquit, or condemn according to evidence, all persons brought before it. As a result of several days' deliberation and examination of numerous witnesses, twelve white men and two negroes were publicly executed, and others flogged and banished. One, Joshua Cotton, a white man, before execution acknowledged membership in the Murrell gang and participation in its last general council held near Columbus.

For an account of the extinct towns and villages of Lowndes county, the reader is referred to an article by Dr. Riley in Vol. V. of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, in which is given a history of Plymouth and West Port, as published by Dr. W. L. Lipscomb in his *History of Columbus and Lowndes County*. In addition we can only refer briefly to a few other extinct towns of the county.

Nashville, situated on the east side of the Tombigbee river, a few miles from the county's southern line, occupied the site formerly known as Young's Bluff. Being a river town, or village, its prosperity depended largely upon the handling of cotton shipped to Mobile and storage of freight for contiguous plantations. The principal merchants were Northern men, who became dissatisfied with the country or locality, as a result of the great overflow of the river in 1847, and sold their large stocks of goods to resident merchants and removed elsewhere.

Abner Nash, one of the east side early settlers, built a large and commodious residence near the place, and as one by one the stores closed doors, the place in time became known as Nashville. The site of the dwelling and also of the town is now a cultivated field. A public ferry is kept up by the county, and the locality is now known as Nashville Ferry.

Moore's Bluff, on the west side of the river and five miles above, was another large shipping place for cotton, and had two commodious brick warehouses for the accommodation of its patrons. The volume of business in this line amounted to thousands of bales, many of which came from the counties of Oktibbeha and Choctaw. The road leading west is on an air line for eight miles and was known as the "Cotton Road." During the shipping season, this road was thronged with wagons loaded with cotton and plantation supplies. Nelson Goolsby was the principal warehouseman and merchant and was a character well known throughout the district. The coming of the Mobile and Ohio railroad, however, caused the decadence and final death of these two important river towns.

Before the railroad era, two postoffices were deemed sufficient for the needs of residents of western Lowndes. Dailey's Cross Roads was situated in the extreme southwestern part of the county and had as its postmaster John A. Dailey. Prairie Hill was in the central west and had for its postmaster Abram Belton.

PIONEER SETTLERS.

The first white man to reside permanently upon the soil of what is now Lowndes county was Major John Pitchlyn. He was born on the Island of St. Thomas about the year 1760. His father was an English officer, who died in the Choctaw Nation while on his way from the Atlantic coast to the Natchez settlement, leaving his young son alone with the Indians of that tribe. His life in boyhood must necessarily have been a hard one, but he accepted the conditions imposed and became reconciled to the inexplicable providence. In this connection it is related, that in early manhood, he was returning from Mobile with a small trading party of Choctaws. One night they were lying in front of the camp fire, all asleep except Pitchlyn, who from some unaccountable cause was wakeful. Finally, he arose from the midst of his sleeping companions, took his blanket, moved around to the other side of the fire, spread it, and lay down. He had scarcely composed himself when a large tree fell, killing his companions instantly. This distressing incident made a lasting impression on Pitchlyn's mind, and he always ascribed his preservation to the mysterious spell of restlessness that caused him to change his position at that opportune moment. Judging from the prominence he reached in after life, it is safe to say that Major Pitchlyn's conduct in youth and early manhood was exemplary.

The first official act found upon record concerning him is as witness to the Hopewell Treaty of the Choctaws Jan. 3, 1786.² Later he appears in like capacity in the Choctaw treaties of 1802, 1803, 1816 and 1830, with the additional title of "Sworn Interpreter."

It is evident from the foregoing that while raised by and living continuously with the Indians, he had acquired a fair English education, as well as the ability to speak the Choctaw language correctly; and according to a writer³ versed in Indian affairs, he was also learned in the Holy Scriptures, for when Tecumseh's prophet, Seekaboo, attempted to incite the Choctaws to war on the Americans by the authority of prophecy, he, with Bible in hand, confronted Seekaboo with divine proof that the day of prophecy had passed.

² U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 7, p. 21.

³ Dr. Gideon Lincecum's *Ms.*

Although an important, if not controlling, factor in the Choctaw Nation, there is no evidence that Major Pitchlyn ever occupied the position of chief or high captain. In a letter⁴ to him by Governor W. C. C. Claiborne of Mississippi Territory, dated Aug. 22, 1802, upon matters pertaining to the disorderly conduct of Choctaws visiting Sulcer's Town, he is addressed simply as "Mr. John Pitchlyn, Choctaw Nation." Besides, the incongruity of representing the United States Government as interpreter and holding at the same time an official position as Indian chief is sufficient to discountenance the assertion.

Major Pitchlyn was twice married, his first wife being Rhoda, a daughter of Ebenezer Folsom, and the second Sophia, a sister of David Folsom, and from these unions he reared five sons and five daughters. His first home was at Plymouth, but in the Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty he was provided with two sections of land on the Robinson Road, four miles west of Columbus. Here he built a large house, where he lived in a style befitting his position in life. According to the Choctaw census of 1831 he was the owner of fifty negro slaves and had two hundred acres of land in cultivation. In addition to this valuable property he dealt largely in horses and cattle. He was also joint owner with the elder Robert Jemison of Tuscaloosa, Ala., in a stage line over the Robinson road to Jackson, Miss., having personal supervision of that part west of Columbus.

In 1834 he sold his lands on the Robinson road and at the date of his death in 1835 was living at Waverly, now in Clay county, where he was buried. We are informed by one⁵ in a position to know whereof he speaks that sometime after the burial of Major Pitchlyn, his grave was desecrated by unknown persons in search of treasure, and this coming to the ears of his sons then in the west, one of them came and removed his remains to the Indian Territory.

In the Supplementary Articles to Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty, the following occurs:

"John Pitchlyn has long and faithfully served the Nation in the character of United States interpreter, he has acted as such for forty years, in consideration, it is agreed in addition to what has been done for him, there shall be granted to two of his children, to wit: Silas Pitchlyn and Thomas Pitchlyn, one section of land each to adjoin the location of their father."

⁴ Congressional Library.

⁵ W. D. Prowell, of Columbus, Miss.

John Pitchlyn, Jr., was a son of Major John Pitchlyn by his first wife. There is nothing to record of his birth, or incidents of his very early life, but it is reasonable to suppose that his habits and occupation were not greatly different from that of the average half-breeds of that period, though his training and educational advantages were perhaps superior. The first official mention of him is as a member of the field and staff of a battalion of Choctaw warriors in the service of the United States from March 1st to May 29th, 1814. As a means of perpetuating the name and fame of their gallant and eloquent commander, who so well deserves the encomium, "Friend of the White Man," the Roll* is here given:

Pushmataha, Lieutenant Colonel.
Humming Bird, Lieutenant Colonel.
Louis Leflore, Major,
John Pitchlyn, Jr., First Lieutenant and Quartermaster,
Samuel Long, Quartermaster Sergeant,
Middleton Mackey, Extra Interpreter.

The war having ended favorably to the Americans, we next hear of Jack Pitchlyn, the name by which he was generally known, although frequently designated as simply "Jack," as a merchant, farmer, and stock raiser on the Robinson road. His wife was a daughter of one of the Colbert's, prominent residents in the Chickasaw Nation, near Pontotoc. Jack had the reputation of being an agreeable, quiet gentleman while sober, but when under the influence of whiskey, an exceedingly dangerous citizen. Many were the crimes charged to his account while under the influence of this intoxicant. On one occasion, when in a drunken rage, he killed his half-brother, Silas, and for this, his fate was sealed. Knowing that Silas' death would be avenged, Jack for a time kept in hiding, but finally went into the Chickasaw nation in the vicinity of Cotton Gin Port. His Indian enemies, however, were constantly on his track.

One night after supper, Jack, in company with Garland Lincecum, left their hotel, ostensibly for a walk, and while strolling in the suburbs of the village they separated for a moment, but during that interval of time, Jack's pursuers fired and killed him instantly. There are many instances of presentiment of approach-

*Halbert and Ball's Creek War.

ing death, and Jack's tragic end is not an exception, for just as the assassins were in the act of firing, he with a wild and defiant war whoop exclaimed, "I am a man and a warrior!" and attempted to draw his pistol, but too late, the deadly work was accomplished.⁷

Peter Perkins Pitchlyn, another son of Major John Pitchlyn, was born in 1806 on Hashuqua creek in what is now Noxubee county. Like all the Pitchlyns, he possessed a literary turn of mind and took readily to books. To encourage this inclination, he was sent to school at Nashville, Tenn., where he took a high stand. After completing his course, he returned home and married a daughter of David Folsom and settled in the western edge of a beautiful prairie a few miles south of the present town of Artesia. Here he engaged in farming and stock raising. He was the owner of ten negro slaves, and was everywhere regarded as a useful and valuable citizen; but with the passage of the Indians to their new homes in the West, he too sold his lands and emigrated to a site on the Arkansas river, in the Choctaw Nation. His sterling abilities, however, kept him for years prominent in the councils of his nation, where he always sustained his reputation for faithfulness, zeal and progressive usefulness in behalf of his constituents.

"At the beginning of the Civil War in 1861 Pitchlyn was in Washington attending to public business for his tribe, and assured Mr. Lincoln that he hoped to keep his people neutral; but he could not prevent three of his own children and many others from joining the Confederates. He himself remained a Union man to the end of the war, notwithstanding the fact that the Confederates raided his plantation of 600 acres and captured all his cattle, while the emancipation proclamation freed his one hundred slaves. He was a natural orator as his speeches and addresses abundantly prove. According to Charles Dickens, who met him while on his visit to this country, Pitchlyn was a handsome man, with black hair, aquiline nose, broad cheek bones, sunburned complexion, and bright, keen, dark and piercing eyes. His death occurred at Washington, D. C., in 1881, and he was buried in the Congressional cemetery there, with Masonic honors, the poet, Albert Pike, delivering a eulogy over his remains."⁸

With his half-brother, Jack, P. P. Pitchlyn's name appears to the Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty, and by its provisions was granted alike with him two sections of land, more definitely described as section 32, t. 18, r. 16 east and section 20, t. 19, r. 17 east. It will be noted by the observant reader that the Pitchlyn family

⁷ Ms. of J. P. Lincecum, Lincecum, La.

⁸ Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography.

thus received of the Choctaw Nation eight sections, or 5,120 acres, of the finest lands in what is now Lowndes county. These lands were sold at dates occurring from 1832 to 1836.

Captain Red Pepper, Tishihomma, was the only full-blooded Indian in the county to accept the conditions of Article 14 of the Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty and remain as a citizen. His allotment of land lay on the northwest of Magowa Prairie, his house standing immediately on the south side of Magowa creek, four miles west of the Tombigbee river, now the home of J. T. W. Hairston, Jr.

There is no official record concerning Red Pepper, save an incidental reference, in a deposition⁹ by Major Pitchlyn at Columbus, as to what he knew about the acts of Colonel Ward's erasing from his books the names of Choctaws, who had registered for lands and citizenship. The deponent stated:

"I now recollect another case of the kind that came to my knowledge, I mean the case of Red Pepper. His name had been duly registered and by some person afterwards erased. He proved this, made application to Congress and obtained relief."

From early settlers who knew Red Pepper, we learn that he was a large, fine looking fellow and as social as one would wish to meet. Like most full-bloods, he had a plurality of wives as well as homes. Besides the one on Magowa creek, he had another on Noxubee river, some fifteen miles distant. While generally of a cheerful disposition, he had seasons of great despondency. More than once, in fact often, he had been known to reply to the salutation of white friends: "My body well, but," placing his hand upon his breast would add, "my heart sick."

Tradition is authority for the current belief (Indians have few confidants) that sometime in the past, he had killed an enemy and fearing the avenger's wrath, he sought the companionship of the gay and convivial in hope of alleviating his mental trouble.

Returning from Columbus, where he had been for several days indulging in a propensity for strong drink, he examined his rifle carefully and then deliberately placing its muzzle under his chin, with the toe he touched the trigger, when his released spirit winged it flight to the happy hunting ground.

⁹ Court of Claims. The Choctaw Nation of Indians vs. United States, Vol. I., p. 65.

Of the pioneer settlers on the east side of the Tombigbee, little information of historical value can be obtained further than dates of arrival and localities of settlements.

From the several histories and sketches of the county and other sources we compile the following facts:

Settlers in 1817: John Halbert, Silas McBee, Benjamin Hewson.

1818: Thomas Cummings, William Butler, Peter Nail, Wm. H. Craven, Newton Beckwith, John McGowan, Westley Ross, A. Cook, James Brownlee, John Portwood, Thomas Kincaid, Ezekiel Nash, Wm. Weaver, Thomas Cooper, Cincinatus Cooper, Conrad Hackleman, David Alsop, Spirus Roach, Thomas O. Sampson, Hezekiah Lincecum, Gideon Lincecum.

1819: Robert D. Haden, Ovid P. Brown, Richard Barry, Dr. B. C. Barry, Martin Sims, Bartlet Sims, William Cocke, Thomas Townsend, William L. Moore, Wm. Ellis, Wm. Leech, John Egger.

As to the founder or first settler on the site of the present city of Columbus we quote from the manuscript autobiography of the late Doctor Gideon Lincecum, now in possession of his daughter, Mrs. S. L. Doran, of Hempstead, Texas:

"We made preparation to set out (from Tuscaloosa, Ala.) on November 1st, 1818. In the afternoon of the twelfth day we reached the Tombigbee river, three miles above where Columbus now stands, and there I made my camp. Father went two hundred yards below and pitched his tent. As soon as I got my house done, I went over the river to see the Choc-taws. After the road was made by the Government from Nashville to Natchez, which crossed the river where Columbus now stands I went down there to see what kind of a place it was. I thought it was an eligible town site. I was so fully impressed with this belief that I went home and rived a thousand boards, put them on a raft and floated them down the river with the intention of building a snug little house on a nice place I had selected. I was not the only person that had noticed the eligibilty of that locality, for when I got down to the place, a man named Coldwell was about landing a keel-boat. He was from Tuscaloosa (Ala.) and had a cargo of Indian goods which he calculated on opening on that bluff as soon as he could build a house to put them in. I proposed to sell him my boards and he in turn proposed to sell me his goods. After some parleying, I took the goods, hired his boat hands and went to work, and in three days had knocked up a pretty good shanty. We soon got the goods into it and commenced opening boxes and taking stock; but the Indians heard of the arrival and flocked in by hundreds. I began selling whiskey and such goods as we had marked and this prevented us from work in the daytime. Having only night-time to work on the invoice, it took ten days to get through, but I had sold enough to pay the first installment and Coldwell went home highly pleased. I bartered with the Indians for every kind of produce, consisting of cowhides, deer skins, all kinds of furs, skins, buck horns, cow horns, peas, beans, peanuts, pecans, hickory nuts, honey, beeswax, blowguns, etc., etc. Every article brought cash at 100 per cent. on cost. I made frequent trips to Mobile for sugar, coffee and whiskey, staple articles in the Indian trade, but all my dry goods came from the house of Dallas and Wilcox, Philadelphia."

INDIAN MISSIONS.

The organization of the Mayhew Mission to the Choctaw Indians, an historical incident, can be briefly considered here, inasmuch as Columbus was its postoffice and base of supplies and her citizens the recipients of religious instruction from its ministers.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized with students of theology in the Theological Seminary of the Congregational Church at Andover, Mass., June 27th, 1810. The leading spirit was Samuel T. Mills, who associated with himself Messrs. Hall, Judson, Newell and Nott. The board originally had the co-operation of the Presbyterian Church and its first missionaries were sent to India.

At a later period a mission was established at Brainerd in the Cherokee Nation, and on Aug. 15th, 1818, a beginning was made at Elliott on the Yellowbusha river, in the very heart of the Choctaw Nation.

It was not until the spring of 1820 that Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury commenced preparations for a station on the Tombigbee river.

"On the way east he spent a night with David Folsom, a half-breed and high captain, whose home was at Pigeon Roost on the Natchez Trace (in what is now Choctaw county). His interest was readily enlisted and he cheerfully consented to accompany Mr. Kingsbury. They reached Major Pitchlyn's at Plymouth on the second day and he volunteered his valuable services.

"After riding all the next day without being able to make a selection, they were compelled to camp out. So gathering some long prairie grass for a bed, the three lay down for the night without fire or food. Continuing their investigations next morning, they finally decided upon the very spot on which they had slept the night before."

This site is on the plantation of Mr. John M. Ervin, of West Point, Miss., and is in the extreme northeastern part of Oktibbeha county, only half a mile from the Lowndes line on the east and the same distance from the Clay county line on the north.

"Upon the arrival of men and a wagon of provisions and tools from Elliott, a log house was erected. Mr. Kingsbury remained only long enough to complete the house and plant a garden and cornfield. He returned, however, in time to commence school at Mayhew in October, with teachers brought from Elliott. Of the large number of pupils of various complexions from pure Choctaws to almost white, only twenty-six were entirely ignorant of the English language. The advancement made in study, work, manners, and dress was surprising. At the close of the first session, an examination was held, which was attended by Chief Moshulitubbee and fifteen or twenty of his high captains and warriors. He brought two of his sons and a nephew to leave as members of the

school. The visitors examined with deep interest the apparatus for cooking; the accommodations of the dining room and the wonders of the horse mill, work shops, the well and many things connected with the labor of the plantation. They saw a boy beating hot iron with great pleasure, and two other boys at work with planes: and one of them gave a specimen of his skill at the turning lathe, which greatly heightened their admiration."¹⁰

In the afternoon Chief Moshulitubbee made an address and for its good sense and appropriateness it is here given in contradistinction to the grandiloquent efforts accredited to Logan, Tecumseh, and Pushmataha, and as a fitting tribute to one who loved his people and who has long since entered the great spirit land:

"When I was young such a thing was not known here. I have heard of it, but never expected to see it. You must be obedient to your teachers and learn all you can. I hope I will live to see my council filled with the boys who are now in this school, and that you will know much more than we know and do much more than we do."¹¹

The object next in importance to the schools was the construction of roads and bridges, making it possible to pass to and from the stations at all seasons of the year.

It may be proper to state just here that the Choctaws had sold large tracts of lands to the United States Government for which they were to receive a specified sum in annual instalments; and in the year 1820, Congress passed an act appropriating ten thousand dollars to be expended annually in promoting Indian improvement, and about the same time councils were held and appropriations made by the chiefs for the support of schools. Besides, the individual subscriptions of such men as Pitchlyn and Folsom were very liberal for the same cause. It was also understood that the services of teachers, both ministerial and lay, were entirely voluntary, the board being responsible for transportation and subsistence only. It will be seen, therefore, how it was possible to build houses, open roads and conduct literary and industrial schools in an undeveloped country.

Although the school was reasonably prosperous numerically and its Christianizing influence apparent, there was no church organized until May 6th, 1821. On this occasion Dr. S. A. Worcester, the first secretary of the board, was present and assisted in

¹⁰ *Conversations on the Choctaw Mission*, Vol. I., pp. 45, 46.

¹¹ *Conversations on the Choctaw Mission*, Vol. I., p. 90.

the exercises which proved to be his last public act, he dying at Brainerd on June 7th of the same year.

The church adopted as its name, "*The Church of Christ*." It is of historic interest to make record of the Preamble of the Articles of Faith and Covenant, which is in these words:

"We, the undersigned, having in the Providence of God been separated from our Christian brethren and the churches with which we were in covenant (and placed where the ordinances of the gospel are not enjoyed), feel it our duty and privilege to form ourselves into a church of Christ according to the following articles of faith and covenant."¹²

These articles and covenant are too lengthy to be given here. Article 10 of Faith, however, sets forth the fundamental principles of the Reformed, or Calvinistic, system of doctrine.

The Articles and Covenant are signed: Cyrus Kingsbury, Sarah V. Kingsbury, Alfred Wright, William Hooper, Calvin Cushman, William W. Pride.

No minutes of this church at Mayhew, or of meetings of the missionaries have been preserved, as far as known, until May, 1825, when records of missionary meetings began to be kept, and they will be found occupying twenty-five pages in Vol. 1 of the Minutes of Tombeckbee Presbytery.

As a result of the great awakening in that vicinity from 1829 to 1831 the Mayhew Church reported at the latter date a total membership of 280; but in 1834 the number was reduced to 46. This great decline is attributable to the removal of the Indians to their western reservation.

It may not appear clear to the critical reader how the Independent *Church of Christ* became enrolled as a Presbyterian church, so we quote this minute of an adjourned meeting of Tombeckbee Presbytery at Columbus, Miss., Oct. 19, 1837:

"Whereas, Mr. Cushman, Elder of Mayhew church, stated that he had some doubts whether the church had been duly organized according to the Form of Government, and requested Presbytery to take measures in regard to it, as the church desires to be regular and orderly; a committee was appointed for the purpose, consisting of Ministers D. A. Campbell and William A. Gray and Elder Drennan Love.

"The committee reported to the next Presbytery, May 22, 1838, that they had performed the duty, and that the church and session had publicly adopted our Confession of Faith and Form of Government."¹³

¹² Ms. in possession of Rev. Dr. H. R. Raymond, Starkville, Miss.

¹³ Minutes, General Assembly.

The Mayhew church continued in existence until about the commencement of the Civil War, when as a result of the excitement and distracting cares of self-interest, the membership became dispersed.

The site is yet regarded with historic interest, and in the adjoining cemetery, monuments are to be seen bearing the names of some of the early missionaries and their families.

Upon the removal of the Indians the schools at Mayhew as well as elsewhere were of course discontinued and the teachers returned to their homes; but several of the ministers, among them Rev. Alfred Wright, Loring S. Williams, Ebenezer Hoskin, Cyrus Byington, and Cyrus Kingsbury, continued to labor for years among the Indians in the West.

MINGO MOSHULITUBBEE'S PRAIRIE VILLAGE.

BY WILLIAM A. LOVE.

It is now impossible to ascertain at what remote period and by whom this village was established.

Our first knowledge concerning it dates back to the early years of the nineteenth century, when Moshulitubbee, mingo of the northeastern district of the Choctaw nation, resided there. He immediately succeeded his father Homastubbee as mingo in 1809 but there is no evidence to show that this was the place of his birth, or that it was ever his father's home; the prehistoric remains of the site, however, testify to its ancient and continued occupancy until the coming of the white man, or rather, the departure of the Indian.

This village was situated in the northeast quarter of the northeast quarter of section 2, township 16 north, range 17 east, Noxubee county, on the plantation known as the Blewett Chester place which borders on Lowndes county.

Before the prairies of East Mississippi were brought under cultivation, the water courses were narrow with deep channels, and the entire areas traversed by them were interspersed with beautiful lakes of clear, pure water in which were numerous fish.

As an illustration of the deteriorating influence of the system of agriculture practiced by our forefathers, many of the localities of these lakes can now be identified only by the opening or absence of trees.

It was on the banks of one of the largest of these lakes that Moshulitubbee's village was situated. Tradition states that this lake, which extended east and west was nearly a quarter of a mile in length, some fifty yards wide and fifteen feet deep. In flood time it was filled by the overflow of Jim creek.

The exact limits of the village can not now be definitely traced, but there is sufficient evidence to assume that they were extensive; and even down to a recent period people from far and near went there in quest of relics, which were found in abundance, thus testifying to its antiquity.

Taking the center of the village, which was about the center of the lake longitudinally and on the south side there is a gradual rise for nearly half mile to the southwest, reaching the base of the upland. Here are located the quarters of the plantation. Still further in the same general southwestern direction a quarter and half quarter, on the apex of the rise is the site of Mingo Moshulitubbee's home.

About one hundred and twenty-five yards southwest of the quarters of the plantation is the exact spot upon which stood the noted red oak "with broad spreading leafy branches," under which was held the Tecumseh Council of 1811. To the north of the three points last mentioned and in the lowlands were a series or chain of small lakes running parallel to the upland.

The home of Moshulitubbee was immediately on Jackson, military road, which was originally an Indian trail. Besides this, his home and village was connected by trails with many of the villages and localities of the Choctaw nation. The first in importance was a part, or continuation of the Big Trading Path, which led northward from Mobile and passing through the Choctaw town of Coosha in Lauderdale county, thence through Hanchaaiola, Little Yazoo and Holitasha in Kemper county, thence northward through Noxubee county by Moshulitubbee's home, thence by Plymouth into the Chickasaw nation. This noted trail formed the basis of the old Tennessee road.

About six miles west of Shuqualak, the Tennessee road united with the military road, which consolidated road crossed Noxubee river at Starne's Ferry, two and a half miles above Macon, thence on to the home of Moshulitubbee. A second trail led from Moshulitubbee's to Pickensville, Ala., on the Tombigbee river. A third trail connected the chief's home with that of David Folsom on the Robinson road, in Oktibbeha county. A fourth trail led southwestwardly to the chief's second residence, at the present Mashulaville in Noxubee county.

As will be observed, this village and home of the district chief was accessible from all quarters and was doubtless a center of influence in social and business affairs as well as of tribal government.

In an almost due east course, one mile and a half from the village site, on the south side of Jim creek and in the woods, is a

mound, oblong in shape, estimated dimensions 150 feet by 50 feet and 5 feet high, on the property of Captain W. P. Snowden, of Deer Brook, Miss. There are evidences of central excavations, doubtless without results, as the mound is of the domiciliary type. Its present height as compared with its basal diameters indicates great antiquity. The customary spear heads, arrow points and pottery fragments are present. Judging from the relative positions of the village and mound, it is a reasonable conjecture that they were occupied contemporaneously and were connected by the trail leading to Pickensville, Ala. Doubtless convergent trails rendered the mound easy of access from all directions in prehistoric times.

"Moshulitubbee" was a war chief of some note. In early life he led several expeditions across the Mississippi river against the Osages. He also served in the Creek War of 1813-14. At the time of the Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty he owned ten negro slaves and cultivated thirty acres. He emigrated west and died about 1849 in Sans Bois county, Choctaw Nation."

We here give two incidents in the private life of Moshulitubbee, one illustrative of his hospitality, the other of his propensity to indulgence in intoxicants of all descriptions.

In the summer of 1825 three citizens of Pickens county, Ala., Saunders, Hawkins and Lacey, came over into the Choctaw nation to buy stock. One evening they arrived at the home of Moshulitubbee and asked the privilege of spending the night, which was cheerfully granted. Saunders and Lacey ate and slept in the house and were bountifully entertained but Hawkins declined all entreaties and slept in the yard, under a tree. Early next morning, on coming out, Moshulitubbee observed Hawkins parching corn. At such a sight, under the circumstances, the old mingo became enraged, and in broken English exclaimed most contemptuously: "Hawkins, you hog! you no gentleman! Saunders and Lacey, they *gentlemen*!! They eat at my table and sleep in my bed. You hog. You eat corn and sleep under tree." Hawkins, with no alternative, was compelled in silence to endure the scorn of the old chief and impatiently await the pleasure of his companions. Moshulitubbee evidently considered such action a reflection upon his hospitality and a slight upon his dignity as

¹ H. S. Halbert in the *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society*, Vol. I., p. 379.

one of the great men of his nation, and resented it in unmistakable terms.

The second incident is extracted from "Southern Reminiscences," an article written by the late Major J. W. A. Wright, of Alabama, and published by him in an issue of the *New Orleans Times-Democrat* in 18—

"The writer of this sketch remembers, when a boy in Columbus, Miss., to have often seen the chief, who was generally called 'Tubbee.' He invariably got drunk when he came to town. I once saw the noted old botanical doctor, Gid. Lincoecum, a great friend to the Indians, who claimed to have learned much of his art from them and who afterwards moved to Texas, give Tubbee to make him stop drinking a small tin cup of a fearfully hot mixture of brandy and red pepper, known as 'No. 6.' The stoical old chief sat in the market house nearby drinking the fiery mixture, little by little, and though it burnt his mouth and made him slobber terribly, with his tongue lolling out, the old fellow in common parlance 'got away' with it and called for more."

Apart from these slight incidents in the life, or career, of Mingo Moshulitubbee, there is one fact of historical importance connected with his prairie home well worthy of preservation. We refer to the Choctaw Council with Tecumseh.

This renowned Shawnee chief, during the summer and fall of 1811, visited all the Southern tribes. The first nation visited was that of the Chickasaws. As the result of this initial effort, the most authentic account we have is contained in a letter written by J. N. Walton, of Aberdeen, Miss., June 25, 1882, and addressed to Dr. Lyman C. Draper, of Madison, Wis., a copy of which is in the historical collections of Hon. Thomas M. Owen, of Montgomery, Ala. Mr. Walton in early life was secretary to Levi Colbert, the head chief, or king of the Chickasaws, and thus had the best of opportunities for securing exact historical information on this point. We learn from the letter that Tecumseh was not permitted to address the Chickasaws in council, and in fact, was ordered to leave their nation.

After leaving the Chickasaws, Tecumseh passed immediately into the Choctaw nation, where he spent several weeks visiting and making "talks" in the most populous and influential quarters, without developing any marked sentiment in favor of his important mission.

All these talks were made in what may be termed local councils. It seems, however, even under this—to Tecumseh—discour-

aging aspect of affairs, that there was a general understanding among the Choctaws, communicated by runners from the chiefs doubtless, that a national and final council would be held at Mingo Moshulitubbee's prairie home. So after a definite number of "sleeps," as Indians reckon time, Tecumseh and his twenty armed and mounted warriors appeared at the place of rendezvous, as did many of the great men of the nation, among them Pushmataha, Hoentubbee, Puckshenubbee, John Pitchlyn and David Folsom, Moshulitubbee preceding them.

That the reader may have a correct idea of the appearance of the great Tecumseh and his twenty mounted warriors, as they approached the council ground we copy from Halbert and Ball's *Creek War*, pp. 42-43:

"Hoentubbee, in speaking of Tecumseh and his warriors, stated that all were armed, dressed, and painted alike. Their arms were rifles, with tomahawks and scalping knives in their belts. Their dress was a buckskin hunting shirt, a cloth flap, with buckskin leggings and moccasins profusely fringed and beaded. All wore garters below the knees. Their hair was plaited in a long cue of three plaits hanging down between the shoulders while each temple was closely shaven.

"The heads of all, except Tecumseh, were adorned with plumes of hawk and eagle feathers. Tecumseh wore, depending from the crown of his head, two long crane feathers, one white, the other dyed a brilliant red. According to Indian symbolism, the white feather was an emblem of peace,—peace among the various Indian tribes. The red feather was a war emblem—war to their enemies, the Americans. They wore silver bands on each arm, one around the wrist, one above and one below the elbow, and a few wore silver gorgets suspended from their necks. Around the forehead of each, encircling the head, was a red flannel band about three inches wide, and over this a silver band. Semicircular streaks of red war paint were drawn under each eye, extending outward on each cheek bone. A small red spot was painted on each temple, and a large round red spot on the center of the breast."

As this final council is an historic fact, not a matter of dim traditional belief, we deem it proper to place upon record the authorities for this statement, in justice to ourselves and as a guide and landmark for the consideration of future historians.

The first authority is the late Major Thomas G. Blewett, who bought the home and two sections of land of Moshulitubbee at some time in the early part of 1832. Major Blewett often stated to various persons that he was informed by Moshulitubbee that the council was held there and that he was present and an eye-witness to everything that occurred; that Moshulitubbee called his attention more than once to the large red oak tree under which the

council was held and to the several small lakes in the lowlands around which encamped the large number of Choctaws who attended the council.

The next authority is Captain Stephen P. Doss, who settled near Pickensville, Ala., in 1818. Captain Doss was intimately acquainted with Major John Pitchlyn, United States Interpreter, and he stated frequently that Pitchlyn mentioned the same facts to him at different times, and under different circumstances.

The third authority is old Elick Falamatubbee, who in 1877 informed Mr. H. S. Halbert that the council was held on the Blewett plantation. Elick was perfectly familiar with the locality. His father was present and remembered many of the expressions made use of by Tecumseh in his talk.

Having thus established, as we believe, the fact that the ground upon which stood the large red oak tree near the prairie home of Mingo Moshulitubbee is the identical spot where the last, greatest, and only national Choctaw council was held to consider the propositions of Tecumseh, we will add that, as a result of protracted deliberations in which all the great men participated, the warrior chief of the Shawnees was practically expelled from the Choctaw nation as he was some weeks prior from the Chickasaw nation.

At this distance in time and under conditions that at present surround us,—with wealth, population and world-wide military prestige it is barely possible to conceive the dangers that threatened the residents of Mississippi Territory on that momentous occasion. But thanks to the splendid abilities, courageous spirit and indomitable will of Pushmataha, reinforced by the patriotism and firmness of Pitchlyn, Folsom, and others, the crisis was met and the danger averted. This national council ground in the village of Moshulitubbee was thus made an historic spot, commemorative alike of the unswerving friendship of the Choctaws towards the Americans, and of the zeal and devoted loyalty to his own race of the great Tecumseh.

THE CHRONICLERS OF DE SOTO'S EXPEDITION

By T. H. LEWIS.¹

In the early annals of the exploration, conquest, and settlement of the territory within the United States none are to be found to which so much interest is attached as that of the expedition of De Soto through the Gulf States. History, tradition, and poetry are indelibly linked with his name. Counties and towns have been named after him, and even Minnesota, although far removed from the line of his march, has attached his name to a lake which is located near the source of the Mississippi river. Earthen fortifications attributed to the expedition begin at the mouth of the Muskingum river, at Marietta, O., and as they extend to the southward they increase in number until nearly all the Gulf States are well represented. Indeed, there are so many of them that Soto with 1,000 able-bodied men could not have constructed them in a century.

Tradition and local pride locate his forges in southern New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and many of the States further south; innumerable battlefields and camping places are to be found throughout the region mentioned; relics, numerous and of great variety, are scattered over a wide territory never visited by Soto or his men. Memphis has a so-called sword blade, which was found near the end of the bridge, "which is doubtlessly a De Soto relic;" but a thriving town of two dwellings, located just south of Wickliffe, Ky., "goes her one better" with a gold-hilted sword with Soto's name engraved thereon. Nacogdoches, Texas, has a two-story stone building erected by Soto as a protection against the Indians, and a reservoir constructed for the sole purpose of furnishing a watering-place for their horses. One county in Alabama is credited with the cannon, said by the Inca to have been abandoned on the Ocmulgee or Altamaha river, in Georgia. South Carolina, Georgia, Missouri, and Arkansas have mines worked by the expedition. Rocks having Spanish inscriptions thereon and

¹ A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VI., p. 449.—
EDITOR.

relating to the Soto expedition have been found in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Indian Territory. The Smithsonian Institution is said to have a number of silver objects taken from a mound located near the county line to the southward of New Albany, "and the end [of the Soto relics] is not yet."

As a matter of fact, few, if any, of the Soto relics have ever been found, and it would be almost an impossibility to identify them, for the reason that over the region visited by him, there are scattered broadcast all the materials supplied to the Indians by the Spanish, French, and English traders and in addition thereto the Indians obtained a vast amount of materials by gift or purchase from the early governors of the provinces, the various military commanders of those days, and by the destruction of various settlements and forts.

Next to the expedition itself, interest centers in the individuals who were participants therein and in those who have given us some account of the events which transpired during the four years of their journey through Florida. There are recorded names of persons whose history one would like to follow through life, especially after their arrival in Mexico. Occasionally a name appears in or is connected with some event that transpired within twenty-five years after the termination of the expedition, which brings to memory some one of these characters, but one can only speculate as to whether or not it is the same person. The history of the principal actor, De Soto, has been fairly well recorded, but of the others who wrote regarding that now famous enterprise but little or nothing is known. That of Moscoso, who assumed command after De Soto's death, is lost in oblivion, although he has been credited with writing the narrative which furnished the materials for the paintings in the cabinet of Philip II. But little is known regarding the writers of the three narratives Elvas, Biedma, and Ranjel. Probably the life of the Inca, aside from his literary work, was uneventful, and, while fairly well known, his history is interesting only in a general way.

THE GENTLEMAN OF ELVAS.

The narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas was first published at Elvora in 1557, and was reprinted at Lisbon, in 1844, by the

Royal Academy. The first French edition appeared in 1685, and an English translation from this edition was published in 1686. The first English version, by Hakluyt, appeared in 1609, and a reprint in 1611. A reprint from the latter, edited by William B. Rye, was published by the Hakluyt Society. Another English version was printed at London in 1666. It is included in Force's *Tracts*, Volume IV., 1846, French's *Collections of Louisiana*, part 2, and an abridged edition by Purchas appears in "Pilgrims." An edition was published at Rotterdam in 1658, and Vander Aa published an edition at Lyden in 1706. Other editions appeared in 1665, '67, '81, and '1716. The translation by Buckingham Smith, which was published by the Bradford Club in 1866, under the title of *Carcer of Hernando De Soto in the Conquest of Florida*, is the latest and most authentic translation.

The Gentleman of Elvas is supposed to have been Alvaro Fernandez, at least this inference may be drawn from the wording of the narrative, but on the condition that his name appear in the list of those who started from Elvis. His narrative was written after his return from the expedition and is evidently not based upon a diary or even field notes, but seemingly was drawn entirely from memory. His descriptions are somewhat vague, the localities indefinite, distances rather mixed, and there are some palpable errors. The lengthy addresses of the caciques belong to romance rather than to history, at least they are open to the grave suspicion that they were manufactured for the occasion. Nevertheless, when the narrative is considered as a whole, it is decidedly the best full account that has been handed down to us.

Elvas, unlike Ranjel, does not put himself forward, but was so modest that only once does he refer to himself while on the march through Florida, and that was on the occasion of the death of some relatives while at Aminoya. Seemingly he did not take an active part at the front or in the advances, but was always with the main army.

GARCILLASO DE LA VEGA.

Perhaps the most interesting character whose name is linked with the history of the expedition was Garcillaso de la Vega. He was born of a very noble family at Cuzco, Peru, in 1540, and received his education at that place. His father, Garcillasco de la

Vega, was born of noble parentage, in the city of Badajos, in Estremadura, Spain. Leaving Spain, he went to Gautemala and from thence to Peru, arriving there in 1534. About 1554 he was appointed corregidor and governor of Cuzco. The Inca's mother, who was baptized under the name of Isabella, was a nusca or Inca princess, being the daughter of Hualpa Tupac, a younger brother of the great Inca Huayna Capac.

While yet in his teens, the Inca seems to have been an actor in several of the petty revolutions which blighted Peru in those days. In 1560, being then about twenty years of age, he went to Spain, and, continuing his military career, served under the banner of Don Juan of Austria. Being unable to rise to a position above that of a captaincy, and becoming disgusted thereat, he retired from the army and settled at Cordova. He now turned his attention to literary pursuits, adopting the name Inca, calling himself Garcillasco Inca de la Vega. He died in 1616, being then about seventy-six years of age, and was buried at Cordova.

Of all his writings, those which most interest the people of the United States, and more particularly those residing in the Gulf States, are his *History of Adelantado Hernando de Soto*, which was published in a quarto volume at Lisbon in 1605. Pierre Richelet translated and published it in French in 1670, and the second French edition was printed in 1711. An amended Spanish edition by Barcia was published in Madrid in 1723, and this version was reprinted in Spanish in 1803. A German edition, by H. L. Meier, was published at Zelle in 1753. The only English version, *The History of Hernando de Soto and Florida*, by Bernard Shipp, was published at Philadelphia in 1881, and is translated from the Richelet version of 1670. Shipp's version is almost correct, there being but a little difference between it and the original as published by the Inca.

The Inca finished writing his history of Soto and Florida in 1591. According to his statements the sources of information were based upon the oral statements of a noble Spaniard who accompanied Soto as a volunteer, and upon the written but illiterate reports of two common soldiers of Soto's army, Alonzo de Carmona, of Priego, and Juan Coles, of Zabara. These were not his only sources, however, if the wording of the text is followed closely, but his principal ones. It has been asserted by some

writers that he drew his information from Biedma and Elvas, and Sparks, in his *American Biography*, intimates that Elvas was the Inca's only written source. The Inca may have had access to Biedma's report, which was made some forty-seven years before he finished his Florida, and it is possible that it is one of the illiterate reports to which he refers. The Elvas narrative appeared in print thirty-four years previously, and the Ranjel narrative was also attainable.

The Florida of the Inca is a typical work, representing that class of romances which are based upon historical facts, and it should be so classified. Comparatively speaking, it contains but little information that is helpful to the ethnologist or to one who is interested in historical research, and the geographer and topographer fare only a little better. But as an historical romance it is *par excellence* and easily outranks in interest, vividness, flowery language and in general detail all such works. Unfortunately, what there is of value is marred by the duplications of descriptions and misplacing of towns, provinces, and events. Perhaps the worst feature is the entire want of that portion of Soto's route between Autiamque and Nilco, and the substitution therefor, in part, of a portion of the route followed by Moscoso on his outward trip.

As to the sources from which he drew his information, in all probability he never saw the Ranjel narrative, but there are certain incidents and paragraphs which point very strongly to the Elvas narrative. There are some elements to be found in his account which make it a strong probability that the Biedma narrative was also drawn upon for material. Aside from these, however, he doubtlessly had other sources, for the expedition of the "Thirty Lancers" to Hirriga and their return to Apalache could only have been given by one who participated in that memorable event.

LUYS HERNANDEZ DE BIEDMA.

Luis Hernandez de Biedma, Factor of the expedition under command of De Soto, after arriving at Mexico, wrote a narrative which was presented to the King and the Council of the Indies in 1544. This narrative was first published in a French version by Ternox in 1841, and an English version from the French was

translated by William B. Rye and published by the Hakluyt Society. The first English translation was by B. F. French, and was published in the *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part 2, 1850. Under the title of *Relation of the Conquest of Florida*, Buckingham Smith translated it from the original Spanish, and it was published by the Bradford Club in 1866.

Biedma, like Ranjel, was an eye-witness, and was likewise apparently always at the front with the cavalry. Although his narrative is but a brief one, it contains many important statements, which, when taken in connection with the other narratives, materially aids in locating the route pursued by the expedition; and this is especially true regarding that portion lying to the westward of the Mississippi river. When leaving the country, Biedma and Anasco were the captains in command of the second caraval.

Some years after his arrival in Mexico, when the De Luna expedition was being arranged for, a call was made for all persons who had previously been in Florida. Among those who responded to the call were four captains who had been with Soto; and, although the account does not specifically name them, one of the captains placed in command of a company was named Biedma, and it may safely be assumed that this was Captain Biedma of Soto's time.

RODRIGO RANJEL.

Rodrigo Ranjel, who was the private secretary of De Soto, was the only one of the expedition, so far as is now known, who kept a diary while on the march. After reaching Mexico, he wrote an official report based upon it and transmitted it to the Spanish government. Neither the diary nor the original report has been handed down to us, but it is supposed that Oviedo destroyed the latter, as was done with other narratives and accounts which he used in the makeup of his history. Ranjel's narrative remained unpublished in that part of Oviedo's² history until Amador de los Rios published his edition in 1851. Apparently Oviedo gives the first part of the narrative as it was written, but the latter part is evidently abbreviated, and several chapters are missing. These chapters gave the history of the expedition from Autiamque to

² Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdez was born in Madrid in 1578, and died in Valladolid in 1625.

Guachoya, the death of Soto, Moscoso's trip into Texas, the return trip to Aminoya, and the voyage thence to Mexico.

Aside from the events connected with the expedition, little is known regarding Ranjel's history. Seemingly he was always in the advance with Soto, and took a prominent part in the battles fought with the native tribes. He must have been one of those who were detailed to guard the camp on March 4th, 1541, when Chicaça was burned by the Indians, for otherwise he could not have preserved his diary. His narrative so far as it covers the route is the most valuable account we have, for it gives the correct order of the tribes and towns; and the dates on which they were visited, as far as given, are also correct. His account of the bay in which the landing was made establishes the fact that it was shallow and could not have been Tampa Bay, and in this regard is corroborated by Soto's letter and the Elvas narrative. The orthography of the Indian names as given by him is apparently correct. It may be here stated that, seemingly, ethnological writers depend too much upon the Spanish pronunciation of letters, thus twisting them so that there is no semblance of the originals left, and giving them a wrong definition, or none at all; but if Ranjel is followed, these errors cannot be made. Taken as a whole, the Ranjel narrative is a real gem to the investigator.

THE SPANISH MAP.

Of the minor documents, the Spanish map, a copy of which will be found facing page 439, in Volume VI. of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, is one of the most important of the minor documents. The author, Henry Harrisee, who first published it in his *Discovery of North America*, surmises that it may have been the map mentioned by Herrera as having been given him by Antonio Boto.

This map is a valuable acquisition to the information bearing upon the expedition, for it is practically almost a complete history in itself. On the one hand, it shows how little was known of the Gulf coast and its interior connections, and, on the other, it supplies the best information of that day regarding the towns and rivers of the interior. The upper portions of the Tennessee, Coosa, Tallapoosa, Tombigbee, White, and Red rivers are fairly well laid down, and the island region between the St. Francis and

the Mississippi rivers is also shown. The Tombigbee river is made to flow directly into the Gulf, while that portion of the Mississippi above Quigudta is attached to the Mobile river. Apparently they had a knowledge of the Pearl river, for it is properly laid down and is named Caxo river. But special interest is attached to the relative positions of the towns as laid down, and their names, there being fourteen additional ones which are not mentioned in any other document of that day.

HERRERA.

By closely comparing the account published by Herrera³ with that of the Inca, it will be readily seen that the former is drawn from the latter account. By substituting the Indian names used by the Inca, the two accounts are practically the same. True, there are some differences between them, but the apparent additional information, which really amounts to nothing, may be attributed to Herrera's blunders, probably caused by loose or hasty writing. Some commentators have laid special stress upon the orthography of the Indian names as showing that he obtained the information from some book or document that has not been preserved, but this is entirely erroneous, for he, like Rafinesque in the *Annals of Kentucky*, used his own style of orthography.

HERNANDO DE SOTO.⁴

De Soto's letter to the justice and magistrates in Santiago de Cuba, dated July 9th, 1539, is another minor document. A full translation is published in the *Career of Hernando de Soto* by Buckingham Smith. Its importance is shown by the fact that it corroborates the statements of Elvas and Ranjel regarding the shallowness of the bay in which they landed.

The Inca states that Soto sent Arius to Havana from Espiritu Santo Bay (Charlotte Harbor) to inform his wife, Donna Isabella,

³ Herrera y Tordesillas was born in 1549 and died in 1625. His history was published in 1601-1615.

⁴ De Soto was born at Xeréz, in the Province of Estremadura. On his arrival in Central America, he became one of the first settlers of Leon, Nicaragua, was connected with the subjugation and settlement of Central America, and participated in the conquest of Peru, being one of Pizarro's chief lieutenants.

of the details of the discovery as far as Apalache. It is possible that this information was conveyed in writing, but if so, the document is not now known.

ALONZO VAZQUEZ.

A translation of the Memorial of Alonzo Vazquez (one of Soto's captains) to the King of Spain, dated June 12th, 1560, together with the testimony of four witnesses who had been with the expedition in Florida, is to be found in Smith's *Career of Hernando de Soto*. The names of these witnesses were Dona Ysabel de Soto, Ana Mendez, Juan Botello and Gongalo Vazquez. This document simply verifies the fact that certain battles were fought by Soto and his men.

MINOR NOTES.

Buckingham Smith mentions "An account, composed by a captain who remained in America,—for which pictures in colours were in the cabinet of Philip II"—and surmises that it was the source from which Herrera drew his information, but this is improbable.

A newspaper article states that there is a manuscript in the Archives of Santiago de Cuba entitled: "1539. Relation of the Success of Captain [Hernando de] Soto in Florida."

A similar manuscript, with the same date and nearly the same title, is mentioned by Henry Harrisee in his *Discovery of North America* as being among the Munoz manuscripts.

According to Ruben's [sea] *Navigator* (1834), another Soto manuscript is preserved in the Archives of Havana, the title being: "Narrative of the Discovery and Conquest of Isle Florida by Hernandus de Souto, 1539."

This date, 1539, being repeatedly used does not necessarily mean that the documents were written in that year, but probably has reference to it as being the one in which the expedition started on its journey through the Land of Florida.



ORIGIN OF MASHULAVILLE.

By H. S. HALBERT.¹

A desire to preserve some fragments and incidents of aboriginal and pioneer life has prompted the writer to the production of this paper.

Mingo Mo-shu-li-tub-bee² was for more than twenty years a prominent Indian character in Mississippi history. Neither history nor tradition has preserved the place of his birth nor any incidents of his boyhood. We know that he was the son of Homastubbee, whom he succeeded as mingo of the Northeastern district in 1809.

In his early manhood, before attaining the chieftainship of his district, Moshulitubbee gained some distinction as a war chief in several expeditions against the Osages, or the Washashi, as they are called in the Choctaw tongue. (Osage is merely an abbreviated French corruption of Washashi. Pronounced according to the French method, the reader will notice its similarity to Washashi.) The Choctaws carried on a desultory war with the Osages during a long series of years, beginning in the last decade of the eighteenth century and continuing down to 1826, when, as we learn from the records of the Government, "the path was made white" between the two tribes by General William Clark.

According to tradition, the home of Moshulitubbee, while a young war chief, was in a little village in Noxubee county, on the site of the present village of Mashulaville. There may be but little historic dignity in the stories of these aboriginal raids, but

¹ A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. III., p. 353.—
Error.

² Moshulitubbee is pronounced with accent on *shu* and *tub*. The Choctaw orthography is *Amoshulitubi*, the initial vowel dropped in rapidity of speech. The term signifies, "The one who perseveres and kills." *Amoshuli*, "to be resolute," "to venture," "to persevere," *vbi*, "to kill," and *t*, the connective uniting the two subjects. The current statement that the first part of this compound is *Moshuli*, signifying "to be extinguished," "to go out" (as fire), is altogether erroneous. *Moshuli* is not a word of action, and to make sense as a man's name, it cannot be compounded with *vbi*, "to kill."

as these stories illustrate the characteristics of Indian warfare, two well authenticated traditions pertaining to the early war career of Mingo Moshulitubbee are here given. These traditions were related to the writer in 1884 by the aged Hemonubbee of Neshoba county, he receiving his information in early life from warriors who had served in the expedition.

At some time in one of the early years of the nineteenth century, young Moshulitubbee organized at his home at the present Mashulaville, a band of thirty-four warriors, and with them started afoot on an inroad across the Mississippi river into the country of the Osages. A prophet named Washashi, a name derived from the tribal name of their enemies, was one of this war-party. One day while in the hostile country the Choctaw braves met an Osage party and a sharp fight forthwith ensued, in which Washashi was wounded in the leg. He was at once carried by some of his comrades some distance to the rear and hid in the grass. After some fighting, in which it seems that but little damage was done on either side, Moshulitubbee retreated, passing beyond Washashi and leaving the wounded warrior in his hiding place. The Osages, in the meanwhile, in some manner had found out that the wounded Choctaw prophet had been hidden by his comrades and they spent some time in looking for him. Just as they were about abandoning the search, Moshulitubbee and his warriors having rallied, again made their appearance upon the field, attacked and routed their enemies, killing two of their warriors. The scalps of the two Osage warriors were divided into thirty-four pieces and these pieces were fastened to the scalp-pole. The whole party with their wounded prophet now began their homeward march and in due time arrived at Moshulitubbee's village. Here for four days and four nights they passed the time feasting, dancing the scalp dance, and drinking the black drink. This revelry over, they rested for four days. After this the warriors made a thorough ablution of their persons, then all went to their homes, content with the glory of their victory over the Washashi.

The next summer after this exploit, at the desire of Moshulitubbee, Washashi, now thoroughly recovered from his wound, took twenty warriors and made another raid across the Mississippi river into the Osage country. After much scouting, they discovered

one day an Osage village. Just before daybreak the next morning the Choctaws made an attack on this village. But just as the battle opened, twelve Choctaws became frightened, retreated, and started back home. The remaining eight, however, with Washashi bravely stood their ground and confronted the foe. The Osages, roused from a deep sleep, swarmed forth from their cabins and a furious fight occurred, in which some were slain on both sides. The Choctaws fought until their powder and bullets were spent, then made a rapid retreat for a long way and hid themselves in a cave. The Osages followed the trail of their enemies and finally discovered their hiding place. Fearing to enter the cave, they made a smoking fire at its mouth, and the stifling smoke soon caused the Choctaws to come forth. The Osages, who were present in large numbers, seized and overpowered their enemies and at once wreaked their vengeance to the fullest extent. They first tied wisps of dry grass to their naked legs, which they set afire and yelled in exulting glee as they enjoyed the frantic bounds and leaps of the Choctaws as the fire scorched their skins. After enjoying this spectacle for some time, the Osages then tied an abundance of grass to the bodies of their victims, so that they were completely enveloped. They then set fire to the grass and the Choctaws soon perished in the flames.

Long years afterwards, when peace was made between the two nations, the Osages told the Choctaws the story of the fight and the direful doom which they had pronounced upon their captive foes.

As stated, Moshulitubbee became district mingo on the death of his father in 1809. Homastubbee died, owing the Choctaw Factory one thousand dollars. Moshulitubbee assumed and paid this debt.

Moshulitubbee served in the Creek War of 1813-'14. In the latter part of the war, he and his warriors served in the detachment commanded by Major Uriah Blue and thus assisted in bringing the Creek War to a close. The Choctaws were mustered out of service at Fort Stoddart, January 27, 1815.

Moshulitubbee had two homes in Noxubee county, one about five miles northeast of Brooksville, the other at the present Mashulaville. He had a wife at each place, though occasionally it seems, these wives lived together at the same place. The chief

lived alternately at each place. It seems, however, that in the late 20's Moshulitubbee lived exclusively at Mashulaville. But after the treaty of Dancing Rabbit, he certainly did reside occasionally—a few days or a week or so at a time,— at his old prairie home.

As Moshulitubbee's official duties brought him in constant intercourse with his people there can be no doubt that there were numerous trails connecting his Mashulaville home with the various settlements of his district. But the only trail of which the writer has any positive knowledge was the Six Towns trail, which led from the Chickasaw nation, passing by West Point, crossing Noxubee river about seven miles above Macon, going through Mashulaville, and thence southward to the Six Towns district. This trail was traveled by Tecumseh and his Shawnee braves in the late summer of 1811. While on this route, whether as welcome or unwelcome guests, the Shawnees were entertained for several days by Moshulitubbee in his Mashulaville home.

In later days there was a regular government road, known as the Treaty road, which led from the Dancing Rabbit Treaty ground, five miles south of Moshulitubbee's place, direct through this place, thence northward up to the Choctaw Agency in Oktibbeha county. Traces of this road can still be seen. The writer cannot give the genesis of the Treaty road. It is possible that it may have been made just prior to the treaty of Dancing Rabbit for the use of the government officials in going to the treaty ground. But tradition says it was made a year or more after the treaty for emigration purposes. In the first or second emigration a very large party of Choctaws rendezvoused at the old treaty ground. For their use the government cut a road leading direct northerly through Moshulitubbee's place to the Choctaw Agency, from which point the emigrating route led to Memphis in Tennessee. According to this tradition, it was called the Treaty road from the fact that its starting point was the old treaty ground.

In 1819, Moshulitubbee, becoming dissatisfied with the little cabin in Mashulaville, in which he had lived so many years, resolved to have a house built that would be more in harmony with his dignity as a great Choctaw mingo. He accordingly employed Josiah Tilly, a white trader living in Pickensville, Ala., to

build him a suitable house. Tilly was a fine carpenter. He built for the chief a large house with four rooms, two rooms below, and two making an upper story. The house faced the east with a veranda in front and chimney on the north end. It was made of well dressed poplar planks of various widths, the planks made by hand with a whip-saw. Altogether, it was in that day a first class house for an Indian country.

One hundred yards north of the house, at the base of a large poplar tree, there was, and still exists, a fine bold running spring, which was used by the chief and his family.

After the completion of the house and the family had moved in, from some cause now not known, Moshulitubbee refused to pay Tilly for his work. Tilly became very much enraged thereat, and soon afterwards he attached some of Moshulitubbee's negroes, whom he managed to decoy out of the nation. Anxious to recover his property, Moshulitubbee went in hot haste over to Pickensville. Soon after arriving in the place, the chief got drunk, and his boisterous conduct was such as would likely get him into trouble. Tilly at once came to his relief, and told him that although they were now at law with each other, they had been friends, and he would protect him and see that no one imposed upon him. He accordingly took the chief home with him. The next day, after getting sober, Moshulitubbee proposed to Tilly to settle the matter by arbitration. This being agreed to, Captain S. P. Doss, of Pickensville, was selected as arbitrator on the part of Tilly, and Major John Pitchlyn as arbitrator on the part of Moshulitubbee. The parties met at Pitchlyn's house on Tibbee. After talking the matter over, Pitchlyn learning how matters stood, warmly expostulated with the chief on his conduct, that he was entirely in the wrong, and that he was bringing reproach upon the nation by such conduct. Moshulitubbee assented to Pitchlyn's representation and the matter was adjusted by the chief's paying Tilly five hundred dollars for his work and Tilly releasing the negroes. Notwithstanding this unpleasantness, the chief and Tilly soon became good friends again.

For an Indian, Moshulitubbee was a man of considerable wealth. But, as was the case with all the well-to-do Choctaws of his day, he was more of a stock-raiser than a farmer.

The following extract from a letter dated March 28, 1903, re-

ceived by the writer from Captain J. M. Winston of Ramsey, Ala., gives us a glimpse of the home life of the chief at Mashulaville:

"One of my old neighbors and friends, now dead a number of years, Captain Elisha Lacey, who emigrated from Kentucky to Marengo county, Alabama, in the early 20's, has told me that he found no hogs in the canebrake region of Alabama at that time. Wishing to get a supply, Captain Lacey crossed the Tombigbee at Demopolis and went to Moshulitubbee's place as the present Mashulaville. He found that Moshulitubbee had a great many ponies, cattle and hogs. He bought from the chief all the hogs he wanted. He spent the night with him. He said that Moshulitubbee had plenty to eat, but that they all ate, Indian fashion, out of the same pot with wooden spoons. The family had plenty of nice quilts, blankets, and bear skins, but they had no bedsteads and they all slept on the floor. The night that Captain Lacey slept with him, the chief had a large pallet made on the floor in the best room for himself and his two wives and another very comfortable pallet made in the same room for Captain Lacey. The Captain said that the chief was very courteous and social and would accept no pay for his hospitality."

Moshulitubbee is represented as being about five feet, ten inches high, of portly build, and with a square-shaped face, expressive of intelligence and resolution. He was, at the time of the treaty of Dancing Rabbit, quite bald-headed,—something rather unusual in a red man. He habitually carried himself with a proud, dignified gait. His favorite dress on public occasions was a blue military uniform. He was a brilliant orator, and exercised great influence over his people. He was noted for his hospitality, feeding white and red alike, without money and without price.

Moshulitubbee was a great admirer of General Jackson and had a portrait of the General, which he kept suspended in his house at Mashulaville. Illustrative of his admiration of General Jackson, a story is related that a few days after the treaty of Dancing Rabbit, a party of three or four whites called at the chief's house on some business. One of the party was named Burwell, who was a large, stout man, and an old friend of General Jackson. Their business over, and as the party was on the point of leaving the house, Burwell called his white friends' attention to Jackson's portrait and remarked that it was a correct likeness. Moshulitubbee, from his imperfect knowledge of English, thinking that Burwell had made some uncomplimentary remark about the General, advanced and struck him a severe blow with his fist. Burwell, much astonished, asked the chief what he meant, to which the only reply was another blow. Burwell's temper now arose.

He sprang upon the chief, bore him to the floor and began to pommel him in a vigorous manner. The other whites now interfered and drew Burwell off. A satisfactory explanation took place. Moshulitubbee expressed his regret at not understanding Burwell's remark, was profuse in his apologies and insisted that all should take a drink with him. The invitation was accepted, amicable relations were restored, and the whites took their leave with the best of feelings towards the old chief.

Mingo Moshulitubbee was allowed a reservation of four sections of land by the treaty of Dancing Rabbit. Two of these sections were sections 3 and 10, township 14, range 15, east, Noxubee county.³ In section 10 was his Mashulaville home. August 2, 1832, Moshulitubbee sold these two sections with all his improvements to Dr. J. J. Dillard for eleven hundred dollars. Soon after this sale, the old chief with his family emigrated west. We do not know how long after Moshulitubbee had moved out of his house before Dr. Dillard took possession. Certain it is that the interval was long enough for the house to get the reputation of being haunted with the negro population of the new immigrants in the vicinity. Strange sounds were heard at night in the building.

Explanatory of the haunted reputation of the house, we give an extract from a letter received from Captain J. M. Winston, who was a brother-in-law of Dr. Dillard's:

"I have often heard my sister tell how badly she was frightened the first night she was in the old chief's house. Dr. Dillard happened to be absent that night. She was alone with two children, the late Judge A. W. Dillard and a daughter. She was awakened in the middle of the night by the negroes coming and telling her that the ghosts had come and were upstairs over the room in which she was sleeping and were having a big frolic. My sister, being a courageous woman, determined to see the ghosts. She ordered two of the negro men on the place to get axes and go with her upstairs. When they got upstairs, she carrying a light, they found there four or five Indian dogs that had gone wild after their owners had

³ The second article of the supplement to the treaty granted "to James Madison and Peter, sons of Moshulitubbee, one section of land each, to include the old house and improvement where their father formerly lived on the old military road adjoining a large prairie." This of course means the lands afterwards embraced in the Blewett plantation in northern Noxubee county. We can find no evidence that these sons of Moshulitubbee ever took possession of these two sections. From the fact that their father sold these two sections to Major Blewett, a most reasonable inference is that the sons relinquished their claims to their father, he, perhaps, preferring to claim these two sections of improved land to selecting and locating, under the treaty, two sections of unimproved, unoccupied lands.

left. The negroes killed two or three of the dogs with their axes, routed the others, and the ghosts were not heard on the place afterwards. The house at once recovered from its haunted reputation."

Dr. Dillard lived in Moshulitubbee's house about three years and in that interval the place and vicinity gradually assumed the name of Mashulaville in honor of the old Choctaw chief. It seems, too, that during this interval Dr. Dillard sold some portions of this Indian reservation. Early in 1836 the doctor sold his place to Mr. John M. Cade and moved back to his old neighborhood in Sumter county, Ala.

March 24, 1838, the Mashulaville post office was established, John M. Cade being made postmaster.

In the meantime a number of families moved in, bought lots, and Mashulaville gradually grew into a little village.

Mr. Cade sold his place—the year not known—to Mr. L. N. Walker, who in 1841 sold it to Mr. Joseph May, who lived in the Moshulitubbee house for six years. Mr. W. R. Combs was the last owner. He pulled the house down in 1873.

The poplar tree and the spring are now the last existing memorials of Mingo Moshulitubbee to be seen on or near the site of his ancient home. The poplar tree measures fifteen feet in circumference two feet above the ground. It was originally about one hundred feet high. But in 1902 a tremendous stroke of lightning knocked off about forty feet of its top and split open the remaining sixty feet of the trunk down to about six feet from the ground. The two halves are about thirty inches apart at the top. Both sections seem to be strong, healthy and vigorous and are green to their very tops. The spring comes out from under the poplar tree on its west side, runs due west about fifty yards, where it empties into a branch.

We have thus endeavored to give, as far as history and tradition runs, the origin of the little village of Mashulaville. This is only one case out of many that may be cited in Mississippi of an American village that has sprung into existence on the site of an ancient Indian village; we may in truth here add, a prehistoric village, for the numerous stone relics still to be seen scattered over the place are sure evidences that this Indian village had its remote genesis in prehistoric days. And as a link connecting the present with the past, it will be especially noticed that this little village

preserves in its very name the memory of an aboriginal chief, whose authority extended over a domain, that now, under American occupancy and civilization, is considered the finest region of East Mississippi.⁴

⁴In addition to the persons cited in the article as giving information, the writer is indebted for other facts to the late Captain S. P. Doss, of Pickensville, Ala., the late Mr. G. W. Campbell, of Shuqualak, Miss., and the Rev. A. A. Taylor, of Hashuqua, Miss.



BRITISH WEST FLORIDA.

BY PETER J. HAMILTON.¹

The north coast of the Gulf of Mexico has had a long and romantic story. Although not reached by Columbus himself, the Admiral's Map, going back to his day, shows much of its contour, and the explorations of Pineda, DeSoto and others made the shore familiar to the Spaniards. Tristan de Luna, about 1559, even established a short-lived colony near Mobile or Pensacola Bay, Menendez a little later built St. Augustine, and Juan Pardo not many years afterwards in two explorations from the Atlantic coast penetrated at least to Cosa. But the advance of the Spaniards then ceased and it was left for the French under LaSalle over a century later to rediscover the Mississippi region, and under Iberville to colonize it. To prevent this or at all events to check French extension, the Spaniards, in the interval between the two Frenchmen, established Pensacola, near the mouth of the bay of that name, which thus antedated Biloxi and Mobile by a few years. John Law's Company removed the French capital in 1722 to the new city of New Orleans, and by the time of the Seven Years' War the French were in possession by outposts and Indian alliances of the whole Mississippi Valley, to them known as Louisiana.

Meantime the British colonies on the Atlantic, beginning with the unsuccessful attempt at Roanoke Island and the more lasting settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth Rock, had been growing apace. The inevitable conflict between the Latin and Teutonic civilizations expressed itself in three wars; but, as the English on the continent numbered a million and a half and the French less than one hundred thousand, the result could in the long run hardly be doubtful, and it came at last in the Peace of Paris of 1763. Besides her old provinces, Great Britain now had Canada to the north and Florida to the south, and all of Louisiana east of

¹ A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. IV., pp. 255-6.—EDITOR.

the Mississippi except the district immediately around New Orleans. She had also made great advance in India, and, in fact, it was this Seven Years' War which made her the leading colonial power of the globe. It may be said that the Peace of Paris was the turning point in the history of England and of her ally, Prussia, as well. From that time the country of Pitt and the country of Frederick have steadily advanced, despite temporary depressions, as in Napoleon's era, until they have become the leading colonial and commercial nations of Europe.

The changes called for by the treaty were world-wide in their scope, and it was not for some time that the transfer of the Floridas and East Louisiana was affected. On August 7, 1763, Captain Wills, of the Third Battery of Royal Artillery, proceeded from Havana and received from the Spanish commandant possession of Pensacola, from which on the 3rd day of the next month every Spaniard sailed for Vera Cruz. In October a detachment of Highlanders reached Mobile and the *proces verbal* of transfer was signed by DeVelle and Fazende for France and Robert Farmar for Great Britain. The lilies were lowered, the red flag ascended to the music of the bagpipes, and Bienville's fort was renamed Fort Charlotte for the young Queen of England. About the same time St. Augustine was similarly occupied, and the British banner waved over substantially the whole continent east of the Mississippi river.

The new possessions, other than immediately around the three towns named, and as many posts in the Northwest, had few inhabitants except the Indian tribes, and the government, with true British indifference towards the past history of its provinces, proceeded as on a *tabula rasa* by proclamation of October 7th to divide up the country on new lines. Of course the old Atlantic colonies were not themselves disturbed, but their claims of extension westwardly received a rude shock. In the negotiations before the treaty England had declined to adopt the French suggestion to create a neutral ground, or buffer country, to be reserved for the Indians between British and French possessions; but now it seemed best to carry out that idea and institute an Indian zone embracing most of the Ohio Valley, while the part of Louisiana south of the parallel of 31 degrees and all of Spanish Florida were thrown into hotchpot and subdivided anew. Penin-

sular Florida, that is, the part lying east of the Apalachicola river, was called East Florida, governed from St. Augustine, and all west of the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola to the Mississippi was erected into a separate province, called West Florida, with Pensacola for its capital.

The line of 31 degrees was soon found to be inappropriate, as it made continental Florida little more than a strip of sea coast, dependent, especially in the case of Mobile, upon rivers whose source and main course were far outside, among great Indian tribes like the Choctaws, Creeks and Chickasaws. Next year it was pushed up to 32 degrees 28 minutes and thus included the site of Natchez, which had been important in the past, and for strategic reasons might so become again. It may well be that the British government had no definite plan in view when it acquired the province, except to get at least two good ports on the Gulf. Up to this time the British possessions had been confined to the Atlantic coast, and the Treaty of Paris in effect exchanged the port of Havana for those of St. Augustine, Pensacola and Mobile, and the possibility of developing others. Intentionally or otherwise this was one step in the expansion of British power over the globe and more particularly in America. With the acquisition of the valley of the St. Lawrence on the north and the peninsula of Florida, with all the ports west to Lake Borgue on the south, Great Britain had acquired a scientific frontier, or rather her territory was so extended that there was no frontier, except at Bayou Manchac above New Orleans and Fort Chartres near the new French town of St. Louis.

Under the French in the Mobile part of Florida, as under the Spaniards in Pensacola and the peninsula, the government had been practically military. So far as there was a civil or political side, it was carried on by the same persons under another title. This was not to be the case with the British, for Gov. George Johnstone came early on the scene in a civil capacity. The military of West Florida was commanded for a while by the famous Bouquet, a fine soldier, whose administration would doubtless have been energetic and beneficial to the province, but he died shortly after his arrival. A pathetic feature, according to the story, is that while he was absent on duty his fiancée, Miss Willing, of Philadelphia, married Mr. Francis, a wealthy Londoner, and

that the soldier grieved himself to death. He was buried in a tomb of English gray brick on the shores of Pensacola Bay, but all memorial of this too faithful love has long since disappeared, possibly washed away by encroachments of the sea. Col. Taylor succeeded Bouquet, and then came General Frederick Haldimand, whose term was almost equally important for what he did and for what he preserved. Swiss by birth, he was like his friend and fellow-countryman, Bouquet, an officer of note in the British service. A misfortune in the history of the Southern colonies is the lack of memoirs, letters and diaries, so that it is a great thing to chance upon so methodical a man. He seems to have kept almost every paper written to him, and copies of much of his own correspondence, and this collection, miscellaneous in character, but all the more valuable on that account, he left at his death to a nephew who in turn bequeathed it to the British Museum. These papers present an attractive picture of his business ability. They cover almost every conceivable subject, from the relations of Spain and Great Britain and the conflict between the military and civil authorities of West Florida to the question of rum *vs.* sassafras beer for the soldiers, complaints of a widow about officers, and the quality of planks, chickens and eggs supplied by French contractors. When we add to this the fact that he was in debt considerably, and was for family reasons active in trying to get commissions for nephews and friends, it may be imagined that he had his hands full,—as did also Gen. Thomas Gage, at Boston, who not only supervised Haldimand in Florida, but other commanders in different parts of America. Gage had to go to England in 1773, and Haldimand was promoted to take his place at New York until Gage returned to America two years later. Thus when the Boston Tea Party and other troubles came Haldimand was in command, but it was thought inexpedient that a foreigner should be prominent in dealing with the colonists, and he was sent to the West Indies. He was Governor of Canada for the ten years following 1778, and to Canadian interest in that fact we owe the existence in America of copies of all his papers.

We have noted also that very interesting character, Major Robert Farmar, of the 34th regiment. He was on coming to Mobile 45 years of age, and the picture of him by his New Orleans con-

temporary, Aubry, is both valuable and piquant. He writes thus to the French government:

"This governor of Mobile is an extraordinary man. As he knows that I speak English, he occasionally writes to me in verse. He speaks to me of Francis I. and Charles V. He compares Pontiak, an Indian chief, to Mithridates; he says that he goes to bed with Montesquieu. When there occur some petty difficulties between the inhabitants of New Orleans and Mobile, he quotes to me from the Magna Charta and the laws of Great Britain. It is said that the English ministry sent him to Mobile to get rid of him, because he was one of the hottest in the opposition. He pays me handsome compliments, which I duly return to him, and, upon the whole, he is a man of parts, but a dangerous neighbor, against whom it is well to be on one's guard."

The major was very active in entertaining the Indians in French fashion, although much against his will, repairing the dilapidated Fort Charlotte, and securing military supplies. Farmar became quite attached to West Florida, and Mobile in particular, and managed to secure several grants of land, one being a place where the British had their state house, or government headquarters. On reaching Mobile he had complained that the real estate used by the government was claimed by private individuals, and it would seem that the lesson had not been lost on himself. Having a semi-independent command, he had large discretion in military affairs. He joined in with Gage's opposition to Johnstone's claim of supremacy over the military, for Gage distinctly instructed Taylor to recognize no such claim and Farmar was among the nineteen officers at Mobile who signed the memorial against the governor, which Gage forwarded to Lord Halifax. Johnstone heartily reciprocated Farmar's dislike and made charges of embezzlement, which of course led to a court martial.² This dragged on for some time on account of the difficulty of getting witnesses, and involved incidentally another

² The following were the specifications: "For sending flour belonging to the King to New Orleans, and selling or attempting to sell it there, by means of one Pallachio, a Jew. For selling the Fort of Tombeckbee to Mr. Terry, a merchant. For misapplication of ten thousand pounds said to be expended on Indian presents, and on the Fortifications. For making a job of the Publick service, in the operation of the Iberville. For turning in a different channel the monies, which should have been expended on the Barracks, so that the officers and soldiers lived in a miserable condition. For insisting to charge five bitts p. barrel for lime, which could be made for three bitts and dividing the profits with the Engineer. For desiring the Engineer to bear a man extraordinary upon the works at three shillings, P. Diem; and to charge a laboring negro belonging to him the Major at three shillings more, both which was done. For employing the King's boat to his own emolument, and dividing the profits with the sailors."

court-martial on charges preferred by Farmar against Lieut. Pittman. It all outlasted Johnstone's term and resulted in the acquittal of Farmar.

On his arrival in Pensacola, Governor Johnstone was given a house in the fort as his residence, but this courtesy led to bad results, for Haldimand was to observe that it gave Johnstone the impression that he owned the fort, too. By decision of the attorney general of the province, confirmed at Whitehall, the forts were declared to be subject to the governor's jurisdiction, but the military strenuously insisted that they themselves were not. The very opposite of the French system therefore developed, and instead of there being no distinction between civil and military governments, they were not only different, but at odds, the civil department even claiming to be supreme. Everybody took sides one way or the other, and the spirit of faction became rife, affecting all public and even private affairs.

Of the condition of West Florida at the time of the British occupation we may form some idea from that of Pensacola, the new capital, which then consisted of only forty thatched huts and small barracks on the bay, all surrounded by a stockade of pine posts. Even as late as 1767, when some improvements had been made, Haldimand writes to Gage that the place was in a wretched state, the forts being decayed, the huts merely of bark, the palisades of wood, as were the hospital, storehouse and everything else. The least spark might destroy everything, and they were at best entirely at the mercy of the Indians. The streets of the town were narrow, as was the case in Mobile also, and the heat even in April great and the air stagnant, causing mortality. The water at Pensacola was a mere drain from the swamp, and when unadulterated was as injurious as pure rum. There was confusion in the province caused by the quarrels of officials, but Haldimand was then trying to establish some method in business, and appointing officers to carry on the public duties. He found Lieut. Elias Durnford, Gov. Johnstone's engineer, a willing worker, but subject primarily to the orders of the civil governor, and for a while not available for military purposes.

It was fitting that the capital of the province should present an attractive appearance, and the field was clear for reconstruction of the town according to the plan of Durnford, which still pre-

vails. This consisted in running streets north and south from the bay, the main avenue being named George (now Palafox), and one to the eastward Charlotte (Alcaniz). The space between as far north as what is now Intendencia street was reserved as a public park, and on it were placed a star-shaped stockade fort, for some time the only defence of the town, and near by barracks, storehouse, magazine and other public buildings, of which Haldimand speaks. As a military as well as sanitary measure he cut away much of the forest and undergrowth surrounding the town to the north and converted what were swamps into meadows. Lots south of Garden street were eighty by one hundred and seventy feet, north of this they were one hundred and ninety-two feet square, called arpent or garden lots, also private property, numbered to conform to the smaller town lots and used for cultivation by the respective owners. So that while the survey was English, the plan still preserved Spanish features, some of which recall the old village community. Durnford, without knowing it, was with his house and garden lots working on the same lines as the New England towns, whose origin goes back to Aryan or even more primeval times. George street was extended by causeways or otherwise to an elevation known as Gage's Hill, now marked by the Confederate monument, where Haldimand built a considerable fortress, which he named Fort George, a part of which still remains around the Herron residence. As the safest place in the capital, within Fort George were the council chamber and the archive office. The city was not without good buildings. Bartram speaks of the governor's stone palace with a dome, erected by the Spaniards, although this is somewhat doubtful. The largest business was that of Panton, Leslie & Company, and the senior member, William Panton, had a handsome house and garden nearby on the bay. The warehouse still survives and the house foundations are visible.

The vicinity of the capital was not neglected. At Tartar Point, since the site of the United States Navy Yard, a battery and barracks were built, and it is an interesting though singular fact that the name of the point is almost the sole reminder of the British occupation. At Red Cliff, or Barrancas, were two batteries, one at the top and the other at the foot of the hill, with officers' quarters and soldiers' barracks in one building in the

nature of a block-house. Near was the powder magazine of the province, itself a survival of the old Spanish Fort of San Carlos, for here at the mouth of the bay was the original post.

The plan of Mobile in Pittman's *Mississippi Settlements* shows it to be larger than the capital, although at best a small place. Fort Charlotte is there, square, with four bastions, moat and glacis, the wharf in front leading out to fourteen feet of water, and the town extends back from the slight bluff, fronting a marshy bank. North of the esplanade are the barracks, west of which is the Government House, adjoined on the north by the bakehouse. All of these buildings are in one block, and a square further west was the long Indian House, while far to the north near present St. Louis street were the provision magazine and hospital, and back of them a cemetery. At that point, as at the southern extremeity, the town was only one block deep and nearer the fort three at most, the east and west streets gradually turning to anchylose into each other and lead through woods towards the Indian ford over Bayou Chateaugué. A number of gardens are indicated all over town, one south of the fort being especially large, and there would seem to be two parks or public places. The street names are not given, but were no doubt French, as they are still. The town seems to be bounded on the south by a little bayou, across which a road continues, leading it may be to the residence of the deputy Indian superintendent, Chas. Stuart, near Frascati, and on all other sides by the woods. The impression given by the whole plat is that of a semi-rural community surrounding a well built fortress. Not shown by Pittman, but existing almost from that day, were several land grants. Thus, north of the city was what was called the Island, obtained by Major Farmar, and south of this was the Poplar Grove, now Orange Grove Tract, granted in 1767 to William Richardson. This contained two hundred and sixty-three acres, and was made under the colonial ordinance of 1765, which limited the front of river grants to one-third their depth. Almost immediately west, on the other side of Bayou Marmotte, was a grant of two hundred acres made to Francis Mazurier in 1768, although surveyed two years earlier by Durnford, and now-a-days known as the Fisher Tract. These three grants are almost the only direct survivals of the British time. Across the river on

what is now Pinto's Island are shown regular rows, possibly of rice.

Bartram's impressions were quite favorable. He writes as follows:

"The city of Mobile is situated on the easy ascent of a rising bank, extending near half a mile back on the level plain above; it has been near a mile in length, though now chiefly in ruins, many houses vacant and mouldering to earth; yet there are a few good buildings inhabited by French gentlemen, English, Scotch, and Irish, and emigrants from the Northern British colonies. Messrs. Swanson & McGillivray, who have the management of the Indian trade carried on with the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Upper and Lower Creeks, etc., have made here very extraordinary improvements in buildings. The Fort Condé [Charlotte], which stands very near the bay, towards the lower end of the town, is a large regular fortress of brick. The principal French buildings are constructed of brick, and are of one story, but on an extensive scale, four square, encompassing on three sides a large area or court-yard; the principal apartment is on the side fronting the street; they seem in some degree to have copied after the Creek [Greek?] habitation in the general plan; those of the poorer class are constructed of a strong frame of cypress, filled in with brick, plastered and white-washed inside and out."

For a few years after first coming the British troops at Mobile suffered greatly in health. It was due largely to the location of the fort on low marshy ground, and this led to quartering the soldiers in town. Temporarily there was constructed a military resort at what was called Red Cliffs, or Crofton, on the beautiful bluff on the eastern side of Mobile Bay, below what is now Montrose. The water was deeper there, which suggested somewhat later an abortive plan to rebuild the city between Rock and Fly creeks near that point. For this Durnford made elaborate plans, showing docks and streets.

Such were the only two towns in the new province. The work cut out for the British gradually developed along several lines. There was of course the matter of the old population of West Florida, Indian and Latin, and the problem of securing immigration. Development of agriculture and trade must be encouraged, and then again there was the fact that West Florida was valuable not only for itself, but for its connection with the Mississippi river, towards which routes by land or water must be opened. And lastly there was to arise, although more slowly, the political questions connected with representation and government. Great Britain by this time knew how to colonize a virgin country, but here was an old settled colony, of a

Latin power at that, and on a smaller scale there was the same problem which was faced on the St. Lawrence.

First in immediate importance probably was the Indian question. By the methods of the French the natives immediately adjacent became devoted to them, but it was not the dependence encouraged by the Spaniards. There was, if anything, more danger of the French becoming Indianized than of the Indians becoming Frenchified, for customs and habits were all respected and the natives had come to consider themselves as quasi-subjects of King Louis. With the British, on the other hand, the popular view was that the only good Indian was a dead Indian. The wars upon the James and elsewhere were almost incessant and proceeded on the idea that there was natural enmity between the white and red races, and that the English were gradually to dispossess the savages of their territory. It is true that there was no official declaration to this effect, and yet the difference between the polished and insinuating Frenchman and the rough Briton was so marked that the Indians of the Southwest showed a tendency to leave their seats and retire across the Mississippi, so as to remain with their old friends. The Alibamons, for instance, took this course, although for a time some of them remained on the east bank of the river, near Bayou Manchac, and the Coosadas had camps for a little while on the lower Bigbee.

And yet it would be a great mistake to think that the English had no Indian policy or that this policy was not a success. The contrary is true. Fort Toulouse, in the Coosa region, and Fort Tombecbé under its altered name of Fort York, on the Tombigbee, were reoccupied, a garrison being maintained at the former as much to watch the Indians, and perhaps foment their quarrels, as for any other reason. Toulouse never was much used, and Gage wrote that the expenses of occupying Tombecbé made it the dearest post on the continent, so that it was abandoned in the severe winter of 1768, and other means adopted to retain influence over the savages. Distributions of merchandise in the way of presents were regularly made, but in respect to trade there was quite a change from the French method, which had regarded this as a function of the government. It was still fully recognized that there was need for supervision, and the plan adopted was that of putting the traders under license and bond,

which some thought worked successfully. While these measures kept the Indians more or less satisfied, there was need of some definite understanding under the altered conditions as to the acquisition of land. When white and red man were equally subjects of the French King this was hardly necessary, but from the British tendency to keep the races separate it seemed expedient that titles have a treaty basis. Thus came about the congress of March 26, 1765, at Mobile, arranged and carried out by the influence of Superintendent John Stuart, of Fort Loudoun memory. This was more particularly with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, but another at Pensacola of almost the same time and embracing Creeks also pursued the same policy. The former was the more striking historically because inaugurating for the Southwest the policy of the Atlantic colonies, continued by the American government after the Revolution, of extinguishing the Indian title. Practically the sea coast about Mobile and the lower river basin, particularly up the Tombigbee, were already open to white occupation, but now there was a definite cession of this land, with greater extent than heretofore actually occupied, and constituting the first link in all chains of title. The congress was attended by Governor Johnstone, Superintendent Stuart and twenty-nine chiefs, and was probably held in the Indian House, which was this spring repaired.³

³ Article 5 of the treaty runs as follows: "And to prevent all disputes on account of encroachments, or supposed encroachments, committed by the English inhabitants of this or any of his Majesty's provinces, on the lands or hunting-grounds reserved and claimed by the Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians, and that no mistakes, doubts, or disputes, may for the future arise thereupon, in consideration of the great marks of friendship, benevolence, and clemency extended to us, the said Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians, by his Majesty King George the Third, we the chiefs and head warriors, distinguished by great and small medals, and gorgets, and bearing his Majesty's commissions as chiefs and leaders of our respective nations, by virtue and in pursuance of the full right and power which we now have and are possessed of, have agreed, and we do hereby agree, that, for the future, the boundary be settled by a line extended from Grosse Point, in the Island of Mount Louis, by the course of the Western coast of Mobile Bay, to the mouth of the eastern branch of Tombebee River, and north by the course of said river, to the confluence of Alibamont and Tombebee Rivers, and afterwards along the western bank of Alibamont River to the mouth of Chicianoce [Cahaba] River, and from the confluence of Chickianoce and Alibamont rivers, a straight line to the confluence of Bance [Black Warrior] and Tombebee rivers; from thence, by a line along the western bank of Bance River, till its confluence with the Tallatukpe River; from thence, by a straight line to Tombebee river, opposite Atchalickpe [Hatchatigbee] and from Atchalikpe, by a straight

Such a congress was held almost every year, although the military said the principal object was for the governor to make a show, and land cession was not the only subject for discussion, for there were questions as to traders, liquor and murders by one side or the other. John Stuart was efficient and in influence in the southern department hardly inferior to the famous Sir William Johnson in the northern, who so well managed the Iroquois. Stuart had a deputy, Charles Stuart, stationed first at Mobile, and then afterwards at Pensacola, besides various agents among the tribes, such as David Taitt for the Creeks, and Alexander Cameron for the Cherokees. The department was subject to the military, although from 1768 the regulation of Indian affairs, including traders and supplies, was by direction of the home government left to the colonies and the superintendent had control only of such matters as were of immediate negotiation between the king and the savages. There was almost constant trouble, the cause being principally the introduction of rum by the traders despite all regulations, and hardly second to this was the encroachment of the whites on Indian lands. As a result there were frequent murders of whites and sometimes of Indians, requiring diplomacy and satisfaction. The home government disapproved of instigating quarrels among the tribes, but the military thought this the true policy, and as opportunity offered quietly indulged in it. There was ever fear that emissaries from Pontiac in the Northwest or traders and others from New Orleans would unite the southern Indians against the British, and so the authorities were not unwilling to see the restless Creeks involved in difficulties with the Choctaws, who were sometimes aided by the Chickasaws. There was war between them from 1766 until the summer of 1770, and it was renewed at intervals afterwards. Haldinand and Stuart thought the colonists owed their own exemption from

line, to the most northerly part of Buckatanne River, and down the course of Buckatanne River to its confluence with the river Pascagoula, and down by the course of the river Pascagoula, within twelve leagues of the seacoast; and thence, by a due west line, as far as the Choctaw nation have a right to grant.

"And the said chiefs, for themselves and their nations, give and confirm the property of all the lands contained between the above described lines and the sea, to his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and his successors, reserving to themselves full right and property in all the lands to the northward of said lines now possessed by them; and none of his Majesty's white subjects should be permitted to settle on the Tombebee River to the northward of the rivulet called Centebonck." [Sentabogue.]

Indian war, despite rather acute friction between the races, to the fact that the savages were thus too much taken up with their own quarrels.

The white population heretofore had been exclusively French or Spanish. From Mobile had gone out the families who settled New Orleans and the banks of the Mississippi, and now that the daughter settlements had grown and were, so far as could be seen, to remain French, it was not unnatural that many of the parent city should prefer to follow the old flag to the west. From the time of the British occupation, therefore, we find a partial emigration from Mobile to the restricted Louisiana. The mass of people about Mobile remained French and since the institution of negro slavery there had arisen a considerable mulatto population, who also spoke French and were even less apt to leave the old homes than their white congeners. Not only were they in the towns, but also far up the rivers and in the interior. These quiet, thrifty Creoles, both white and of mixed blood, did much to develop the country, and if they lacked the ambition and aggressiveness of the Anglo-Saxons, they at least lived simpler lives and suffered less from disease. Even as late as 1771, when Romans descended the Tombigbee, what few people he found bore French names.

When Spain sent Don Ulloa to take possession of her province of Louisiana, the dissatisfaction of the French at New Orleans was so general as to lead to a plan on the part of the British to induce them to come over in large numbers to Mobile. Haldimand, being a French Swiss himself, entered heartily into the plan and did all he could to advance it. It is not certain what success it had. The French remain much attached to their native soil, and even in Acadia it took absolute force to make them leave. Here in point of fact in some instances the movement was the other way. The British had succeeded in getting one Monberault, a French officer, who had a pleasant home at Lisloy in the lower part of Charlotte county, to enlist in their Indian service. Governor Johnstone did not have the tact to keep on good terms with the new recruit, and as a result Monberault not only abandoned his field, but left the province and became an officer in New Orleans under the King of Spain. Gage, it is true, calls him a dirty fellow, but then this was after Monberault had gone and Gage's views might have been biased.

The British have in tropical lands been content to rule subject races, but they have instinctively felt in all temperate zones that their hold upon a country must be secured by colonization of their own race. West Florida was no exception. It was not long after Governor Johnstone's arrival in February, 1764, that he issued a glowing proclamation or circular letter painting the beauties and advantages of the country. Agriculture and timber, trade with Central America were dwelt on, and analogies found to Tyre, Sidon, Carthage, Colchos, Palmyra, Amsterdam, Venice and Genoa. "On the whole," we learn, "whether we regard the situation or the climate, West Florida bids fair to be the emporium as well as the most pleasant part of the New World."

There were from the beginning new comers from Great Britain and other colonies, besides a number of disbanded soldiers, and when friction arose between the parties known as Whigs and Tories on the Atlantic, there was a large immigration of the Loyalists. As an inducement to settlement the colonial government was authorized to grant lands, without fee, to reduced officers of the last war and private soldiers disbanded in the province as follows: A field officer should receive five thousand acres, a captain three thousand, a subaltern or staff officer two thousand, a non-commissioned officer two hundred and a private fifty acres. These grants were free of taxation for ten years, and only after that time subject to the same quit rents and conditions as other lands in the province, and many took advantage of the provision.

Besides the Indian trade and securing immigration, there was the development of agriculture and all other natural resources for domestic consumption and foreign trade. The British found that the products of the country about Mobile and Pensacola were insignificant. Cotton was not unknown on the coast and elsewhere among the French, but in British times amounted to little. Indigo was cultivated to some extent and with some success, while timber and lumber, to become the principal productions of the district, were as yet hardly touched. Hides were perhaps the chief export, and we have a good deal of light unexpectedly thrown upon the subject of *materia medica*. It so happened that Dr. Fothergill, of London, commissioned one William Bartram, son of the distinguished botanist John Bartram,

to search the Floridas and the west parts of Carolina and Georgia "for the discovery of rare and useful productions of nature, chiefly in the vegetable kingdom." He selected the right man, and the travels of the observing and enthusiastic botanist contain a mine of information. He embarked in April, 1773, for Charleston, and spent until January, 1778, exploring the whole southern country to the Mississippi, finding a number of plants of interest from the medical point of view as well as botanical. Up on the Tensaw river he spent some days with Major Farmar at his home on the site of an ancient Tensaw town, whose mounds and ruins still existed, and in this neighborhood made different excursions, landing from time to time as anything attracted his attention.⁴

Trade with the Indians could use trails and rivers, but commerce with Europe and American places called for good harbors and roads. So far as is known the French had never made an accurate chart of the Bay of Mobile nor had the Spaniards at Pensacola. There are numerous maps, but they usually give no soundings. Being the great maritime nation of the world, England had been quick to find harbors and necessarily to make soundings and charts. Such was the case along the north coast of the Gulf, as is shown by the charts of Jeffreys and others, and a special instance is found in the admiralty chart of Mobile Bay dating from 1771. Lieut. Pittman had previously made some surveys and soundings of the rivers, but it was left for Elias Durnford to continue the work on a proper scale and put it in permanent form. In the lower harbor three fathoms depth is not unusual, but at the bar outside we find only ten feet, and off Choctaw Point seven and eight feet; so that the commerce of the place must have been limited, although we learn in 1776 that Mobile

⁴ On one occasion he went into ecstasy to the following extent: "What a sylvan scene is here! The pompous *Magnolia* reigns sovereign of the forests; how sweet the aromatic *Illicium* groves! how gaily flutter the radiated wings of the *Magnolia auriculata*, each branch supporting an expanded umbrella, superbly crested with a silver plume, fragrant blossom, or crimson-studded strobile and fruits! I recline on the verdant bank, and view the beauties of the groves, *Aesculus pavia*, *Prunus Nemoralis*, *floribus racemosis*, *foliis sempervirentibus*, *nitidis*, *Aesculus alba*, *Hydrangia quercifolia*, *Cassine*, *Magnolia pyramidata*, *foliis ovatis*, *oblongis*, *acuminatis*, *hasi auriculatis*, *strobilo oblongo ovato*, *Myrica*, *Rhamnus frangula*, *Halesea*, *Bignonia*, *Azalea*, *Lonicera*, *Sideroxylon*, with many more."

paid upwards of £4,000 annually in the custom house of London alone. Although the depth was better at Pensacola, Mobile continued to be the largest and most important place in the province on account of traffic by the rivers, which formed the means of communication between the Gulf and the Choctaw and Muscogee tribes of the interior. The art of dredging or otherwise cutting a channel through a bar at the mouth of a river was not then known, so that the merchants of Mobile to some extent used Pensacola as a base, for the government maintained a direct road between the two places, and by this means mail and even packages were transported. We find at least one appropriation act, of the same date as the admiralty chart, for bridges and ferries on this road *via* the Perdido river and what has always been known as the Village.

The public history of the province was not eventful, apart from quarrels of the civil and military authorities, but is not without interest. Governor Johnstone fell into disfavor on account of his Indian policy, and resigned in 1766, and Montfort Browne, the lieutenant governor, proved more conciliatory to the military.

Elliott, who succeeded, committed suicide, apparently just after his arrival at Pensacola. Then for a while there was a lull, for the influence of Haldimand secured the appointment of Durnford as acting governor, although only *ad interim*, and in the year 1770 Peter Chester came out to fill the office. Chester was an excellent executive as is shown by the fact that, although involved in official controversy with both the army and the people, everyone liked him and had nothing to say against him personally. He remained governor throughout the rest of the British period. When Bartram visited Pensacola he met several members of the council and the governor, for it happened the "chariot" of his excellency passed returning from his farm a few miles off. The botanist was introduced and commended for his pursuits, the governor "nobly offering to bear his expenses."

As in the Atlantic colonies, there were also a council and assembly. The council was composed in part of officials such as Terry, Blackwell, Livingston, Charles Stuart, Dr. Lorimer and Durnford. They made the land grants, superintended the Indians, regulated commerce, roads, pilots, elections and, when they could, military posts. With the true British love of local self-government there were general assemblies almost from the start,

although the contrary has been often asserted. But we know of one in 1766, which passed 17 acts, another in 1767, and so on, and ultimately the assembly and governor quarreled quite as to the east. The electoral boroughs or precincts varied from time to time, being at first Mobile and Pensacola, with six members each, and Campbell Town two, but in 1771 the writ was withheld from Campbell Town because it was almost deserted. From that time there was trouble, although the origin is not quite clear. Chester explained it to the home government by saying that people at Mobile did not want an assembly at all for fear this would regulate the Indian trade and thus prevent their traders from selling rum to the Indians, and that the Mobile members seldom attended the assembly anyhow. Whatever may be the truth of this, there was also dissatisfaction over the appointment and term of the representatives. Thus in 1772 the freeholders of Mobile and Charlotte county elected eight representatives, but would not execute the required indenture except with a provision limiting the assembly to one year, and so a special return of the writ had to be made to the council. Four of the six Pensacola representatives sympathized and would not convene without those from Mobile, whereupon the governor prorogued the assembly twice in hopes that the Mobile members would come, and when they did not then dissolved it. The Earl of Dartmouth approved this action in the name of the King and Chester was instructed to omit Mobile entirely from the next writ. Chester managed to get along without an assembly until 1778, when militia and Indian bills had to be passed. Then four representatives were allotted to the districts of Natchez, Manchac, Mobile and Pensacola, besides four more to Pensacola because it was the capital, but, as directed, Mobile and Campbell Town were omitted. As a result the assembly was "cantankerous," as Chester calls it, sat thirty-four days without passing the bills and otherwise obstructed business in order to force re-enfranchisement of the two places. They went so far as to present a memorial to the king's majesty in council, and stating that Mobile was "by far the most important of any in the province, for its antiquity, commerce and revenue of the crown," which was so thoroughly approved at Mobile that a local memorial was sent up by the principal inhabitants thanking the speaker and members, and some the next year

even signed another memorial yet to the king against the governor himself.

The list of the acts passed by the colonial legislature, so far as known, shows considerable activity, generally very judicious. One of the earliest measures was adapting the West India slave laws to the province, and the increase of commerce called even before that for a variation of the common law as to wharfing-out privileges.⁵ There was little or no legislation designed specially for the Mississippi district of the province, but by 1778 Manchac and Natchez had grown to have as large representation as Mobile and Pensacola. A study of that growth of the western districts is one of the most instructive parts of the history of West Florida.

The original settlement of Louisiana, including even that of Mobile, had been with reference to the Mississippi river, and designed to build up a state which would embrace the whole Mississippi Valley and find its outlet to the outside world at the Gulf. In our times this has been realized to a great degree, although in a different way from the plan of the French. Even the British designed making much of the Mississippi, but principally as an outlet for the products of the Illinois region. Their policy of reserving the interior for the Indians did not permit of much development, unless it should be on the lower Mississippi and Bayou Manchac, and there was to be great promise of this. It early

⁵ A list of the first 17 acts is as follows: (1) An Act for the Regulation of Servants; (2) An Act for clearing the Town of Mobile of all Offensive Weeds and cutting down the Woods around said Town; (3) An Act for Granting of Licenses to Retailers of Spiritous Liquors, Imposing a Duty on said Licences and for Regulating of Taverns or Publick Houses; (4) An Act to restrain Drunkness and promote Industry; (5) An Act concerning Coasters; (6) An Act for encouraging the Inhabitants of Pensacola and Mobile to Build Wharfs and for establishing rates of Wharfage. (7) An Act Appointing where the Laws of this Province shall be lodged; (8) An Act concerning Flats, Boats and Canoes; (9) An Act to erect Mobile into a County and to establish a Court of Common Pleas therein; (10) An Act Establishing the Interest of Money and Ascertaining the Damages on Protested Bills of Exchange; (11) An act to encourage Foreigners to come into and settle in this Province; (12) An Act to Oblige Masters of Vessels to give Bond in the Provincial Secretary's Office; (13) An Act for Granting certain Duties to his Majesty to be applied Towards Supporting the Government of this Province; (14) An Act for the Regulation and Government of Negroes and Slaves; (15) An Act appointing the Number of the Assembly and regulating Elections; (16) An Act to amend and render more effectual an Act Intituled "An Act for Granting certain Duties to supporting the Government of this Province;" (17) An Act for Clearing the Streets of Pensacola and for Preventing Nusances in and about the said Town.

occurred to provincial authorities that if Bayou Mauchac, otherwise called the Iberville river, could be made navigable, there would be an all-water route from Mobile Bay under the shelter of the outlying islands of the Sound into the Mississippi river, practically within British territory, instead of the longer way through the passes and lower Mississippi under the cannon of the Spaniards. Until steam was applied to navigation, which was not to be for fifty years, rivers could not be utilized to the best advantage; but still a good deal could be accomplished by bateaux or canoes in the old Indian fashion. Therefore, it seemed worth while trying to open what was called the Lake route, especially as in March, 1764, Major Loftus, with four hundred troops of the twenty-second regiment, attempted to ascend the Mississippi and was driven back by the Tunica Indians. The expedition was given up and part of the troops returned by the lakes. For this reason the British re-occupied Fort Rosalie at the commanding bluff of Natchez, calling it Fort Panmure. In 1766 some adventurous North Carolinians came by sea and river and settled thereabouts, and others, emulating them, pressed over the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, and, exploring and hunting, began the trade to New Orleans afterwards to grow so large. By irony of fate, on their overland return they were robbed by the Choctaws. At first the chief value of the settlements on the Mississippi was for smuggling English goods to the French and Spanish across the river. There were actually floating warehouses, what we would call trade boats, operated with connivance of the Spanish officials, and the principal scene of the illicit trade was at Bayou Manchac.

When the Mississippi was high communication was not difficult through the bayou with the lakes, but in summer the Iberville was dry, for its bed was then twelve or more feet above the Mississippi, and Strachan's plan for deepening it by drawing water from the Mississippi was hardly practicable in those days. In January, 1765, if not earlier, Col. Taylor took steps towards clearing it. In that month Lieut. James Campbell, of the 34th regiment, received upwards of £326 sterling for that purpose, and next month the larger sum of £863 was paid to Dupard on the same account. In April Pittman was at work there, but he contended that his predecessors had cut up the drift logs too near the Mississippi, so that they were carried by high water yet fur-

ther into the Iberville and blocked it up even worse. In connection with this work the Scots Fusiliers, by command of Governor Johnstone, built a fort on the site of the workmen's camp and thus originated Fort Bute. Gage was never favorable to the Mississippi forts and thought that the contraband trade of the French with the Choctaws could be better prevented by boats, although Haldimand was satisfied that forts had a good effect upon the Indians. Of course the building of forts by the British led to the building of forts by the Spanish, and soon opposite Bute and Panmure rose corresponding fortifications, confirming Gage's idea that such distant posts could not be held in the event of any rupture with Spain. Haldimand looked more into the future in suggesting a military colony at Natchez, and a commander there later declared it desirable to fix the site of a town near the fort.

Gage seems to have been glad to carry out the orders from England in 1769 to abandon Mobile, Pensacola and St. Marks, and of course all posts on the Mississippi also, and remove almost everything and everybody of military character. From three to six companies only were left to look after Mobile and Pensacola. The consternation in West Florida may well be imagined and even the civil government suddenly discovered a warm attachment for the military. The inhabitants of Pensacola petitioned vigorously against such abandonment of the "Emporium of the West," although Haldimand attributed the anxiety there at Mobile to self-interest.

The flurry was not to last long, for by May next year Haldimand was back at Pensacola with instructions to distribute the troops between Mobile and Pensacola as before. The cause of this change was the Lafreniere revolt in New Orleans. The English Government was somewhat apprehensive that O'Reilly's troops were to be used against West Florida and for that reason restored its own, although not to the Mississippi posts.

On the withdrawal of the troops it would seem that one John Bradley received possession of Fort Panmure, with the duty of keeping it in order, and yet even at this time some enthusiasts thought of Natchez as a terrestrial paradise. For the project of settling the Mississippi remained a favorite idea of the province, and in 1770 the movement began in earnest. It would seem that some eighteen families of immigrants with negroes settled

about Natchez, and Chester promptly applied for troops to protect them. Gage, of course, opposed this, and expressed astonishment that avidity for land should make people scramble thither through the deserts. The necessity may be shown by a report to Haldimand in 1772 that the materials of Fort Bute had been destroyed and the writer turned out by the help of the Spanish officers; but this seems to stand unsupported. The watchfulness of the Spaniards, however, might well be aroused, for Durnford in that year writes that three hundred persons from Virginia and the Carolinas were then settled on the Mississippi and three or four hundred families were expected before the end of the summer. Col. Putnam went to the Mississippi even from New England with a company of adventurers, and returned charmed with the country in the neighborhood of the river Yazoo. Somewhat the same activity prevailed further south, and in 1777 Bartram found at Fort Bute the large establishment of Swanson & Company, a branch of the great Indian trading firm of Swanson & McGillivray at Mobile. At that time a wooden bridge over the Iberville connected Louisiana and West Florida, commanded by the forts of the Spanish and the British. As a result some sort of government was instituted on the Mississippi, and the surveyor Hutchins found that good order prevailed in the Natchez settlement, and even the Indians were amiable.

It seems quite modern to find speculators as early as 1767 discounting the future and securing warrants of survey for large tracts of land. Thus the Earl of Eglinton got 20,000 acres and Samuel Hannay and associates 5,000. John McIntosh obtained 5,000 contiguous to Fort Bute, George Johnston 10,000 at Baton Rouge and Daniel Clark showed his foresight by obtaining 3,000 at Natchez, 1,000 at the head of Lake Maurepas, and 500 more near Fort Bute. One of the best known grants is that of 20,000 acres to Gen. Phineas Lyman, of Connecticut, who had served in Canada and the West Indies, and after the fall of Havana had been in command there. Although he died before he obtained his patent, his children received it in 1775 and were directly or indirectly the cause of a large settlement on the Mississippi near Natchez.

Even by the next year this town contained only ten log cabins and two frame houses, all near the river bank, and the total popu-

lation of the whole district did not exceed 78 families. Still it was the real beginning of what was to be a lasting settlement. Under the French Natchez, or rather Fort Rosalie, had been little more than a military post, the scene of the massacre by the Natchez Indians and the basis of operations afterwards which extinguished that interesting tribe. Henceforth it was to be the seat of white population, and in 1777 a treaty was made at Mobile by which the limits of the district were defined and two years later the eastern boundary was surveyed and marked off. This began on the 31st degree of latitude 50 miles from the Mississippi, and, extending northwardly by an irregular line to the Yazoo, ran hardly six miles from where Vicksburg now is. As a result of this the Mississippi river was rapidly lined by grants, and some of them were settled up. Indeed, unless we except military posts like Fort Chartres and Vincennes, surrounded by a French population, and Watauga and the Kentucky pioneers near the Alleghanies, there was no other English colonization in the Mississippi Valley up to this time, and Natchez may be said to begin the movement of the Anglo-Saxons towards the Mississippi.

During the seventies, therefore, we can think of the Province of West Florida as made up of three distinct districts, that of Pensacola, the capital, that about Mobile, and on the Mississippi from Natchez to Fort Bute. The first and the last were essentially British, for the settlers were of British extraction, as were their customs and institutions in almost all respects. The plans of the forts as well as that of the capital were English and nothing recalled the previous Latin claims except an occasional name. It is true that Mobile and its vicinity were predominantly French in blood; but many of the leading inhabitants were British and even the natives were contented and prosperous under their new allegiance. The settlements of the Gulf did not extend far into the interior. The Alabama river still drained Indian territory throughout almost its whole extent, Fort Tombecbé was abandoned, white settlers were few above McIntosh's Bluff, and the population was even sparser on the Mississippi. The long stretch between the Tombigbee and the Mississippi was occupied as of old by the Choctaws, whose nearest town towards Mobile was Yowanne, with a thriving trade, and towards the Mississippi they had other villages. The north boundary was $32^{\circ} 28''$, say along

the line of modern Vicksburg, Meridian, Montgomery and Columbus, but practically all except the coast and the Natchez district was occupied by Indians, more or less friendly, supervised from Mobile or Pensacola, and among whom McGillivray & Strothers from the one place, and Panton, Leslie & Co. from the other did a growing business.

West Florida has become a part of the great American Republic, but it had no part or lot in the American Revolution. Indeed, that great event, so far from bringing the province within the American sphere, pushed it outside of Anglo-Saxon influence, and even added it to Spain. And this came about in a peculiar manner. Lord George Germaine now filled the position of colonial secretary for America, an office only recently created to assist the Board of Trade in the administration of colonial affairs. There being considerable uncertainty as to the fate of the Ohio Valley on account of the activity of the American general, George Rogers Clark, the secretary undertook what was in conception really a brilliant scheme and directed a movement of continental magnitude. The British troops aided by Indian allies were to descend the Mississippi river from Michillimakinac on the Great Lakes, capture St. Louis from the Spaniards, and, joining the troops of West Florida, concentrate on the Mississippi to invest New Orleans. Thus they would hem in the Americans from the west, a reproduction by the British of the old plan of the French for penning the colonies between the mountains and the Atlantic. Even if independence came, the united colonies would be merely a fringe of settlements along the ocean which could hardly in the long run remain independent of British growth in the Mississippi Valley. The French had lost at that game, but their place was now to be taken by Anglo-Saxons and in this contest of British against British the result might be very different. Unfortunately for the plan the attack on St. Louis was an ignominious failure, and worse than that, Galvez, the new and energetic Governor of Louisiana, captured dispatches which revealed the whole scheme and he proceeded at once to carry out an offensive campaign himself.

Neither France nor Spain would ordinarily have aided a revolution designed to increase the liberty of subjects, but on account of her fixed hostility to England, France was assisting the At-

lantic colonies against the mother country, and Spain endeavoring to mediate soon found herself involved in the struggle. She did not, however, enter into an alliance with the Americans, although she was willing to aid them so far as it helped herself. There was a direction in which she had already been aiding the Americans without its being much observed by the British. Fort Pitt was, of course, in the possession of the insurgents and communication was not much obstructed from there down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. There Oliver Pollock was influential and managed, with the tacit assistance of Galvez, to secure munitions of war, which were carried by boats up to the west. Statistics are wanting as to the amount of the powder and the like thus furnished, but there is every reason to believe that it was considerable. Indeed more was attempted. Captain Willing from Philadelphia came down on one of these boats, endeavored to secure the adhesion of the inhabitants upon the east bank of the Mississippi and sent emissaries over to Mobile for the same purpose; but in vain, for West Florida remained loyal. Col. Morgan, in command of Ft. Pitt, wrote Galvez that he would like to secure transports at New Orleans so as to surprise Mobile and Pensacola, but Galvez had designs of his own in that direction and did not encourage the idea. He placed gunboats upon the river, secured plans and descriptions of the forts and military in West Florida, and even managed to secure the neutrality of the Choctaws and Chickasaws. In 1778 Willing made a warlike descent upon the Mississippi posts of West Florida and captured Manchac and its vessel, with which he laid waste the country that had lately so hospitably received him. He was not entirely unopposed, and, when his lieutenant later attempted further depredations, the inhabitants not only concealed their property, some taking their slaves over to the Spanish side, but the Natchez settlers organized themselves and at White Cliffs or Ellis Landing by strategy got the invaders ashore, where the leaders and several others were killed.

Although the Mississippi forts had been reoccupied after O'Reilly's coming to Louisiana, the American Revolution had later drawn off many of the troops and left the occupation only nominal. Now the presence of Americans upon the Mississippi made it necessary to have larger forces. So Governor Chester sent Colonel

Magellan to fit up Fort Panmure, and militia were stationed there under Blomart and MacIntosh, who had resisted Willing. It seems that most of these troops were subsequently moved down to Baton Rouge and Captain Foster with 100 men left at Panmure. Dickson was ultimately stationed at Ft. Bute with about 500 men, including militia, but there was much sickness in his garrison and the fort was not in good repair, despite its high walls and deep moat filled from the Mississippi. Dependent upon this was a little post on the Amite river, which guarded the entrance from the lakes. This sudden activity of West Florida troops was due as much to the friction arising with Spain as to the actual attempts of the Americans. It was taken to be evident that the province would be drawn in the vortex of the Anglo-American civil war.

War was finally declared by Spain against Great Britain in 1779 and Galvez took prompt steps to follow it up. He assembled the people of New Orleans in the public square, in front of the cathedral, and in a vigorous address induced them to organize for the conflict. Leaving Piernas in command of the city, and despite a storm, he went up the river, his army growing as he went. In September he attacked Fort Bute, of which the British had repossessed themselves after Willing's raid, and took it by assault, there being but twenty privates in the fort. Galvez then marched to attack Baton Rouge. With a Spanish force also behind them, the British garrison was at a disadvantage despite its thirteen pieces of heavy artillery. By a feint Galvez distracted attention from where he erected batteries within musket shot and on September 21st compelled the British to surrender at discretion. And this carried with it also Fort Panmure at Natchez.

Spanish vessels captured sundry British on the lakes and other waters, and Galvez was inspired to even greater exertion. In February of next year he sailed from the Balize to invest Mobile, and, despite a disastrous storm, landed at the mouth of the river. He had marched up the Mississippi without storms deterring him and the elements did not restrain him now, although his landing was in such disorder that at first he felt inclined to retire. He soon learned, however, that there was even greater confusion in Mobile, and pressing forward erected six batteries north and west of the fort. He sent a summons to Durnford to surrender

to his superior forces, adding that after the battle he might not be able to grant so favorable terms. The amenities of war were shown by Durnford's reception of the bearer of the summons, his old friend Col. Bolyny, with whom he dined and drank with great cordiality. Durnford's reply was memorable,—“My love for king and country and my own honor direct my heart to refuse to surrender this fort until resistance is in vain. A heart full of generosity and valor will ever consider men fighting for their country as objects of esteem and not of revenge.” During the attack which followed Durnford received news that Campbell was coming with reinforcements, but a breach was made and on March 14th it became necessary to surrender with honors of war. It is said that Galvez was mortified when he saw less than 300 men march out with flags and drums and ground arms, the officers retaining their swords; but he kept his word to take them to a British port upon their promise not to serve against Spain or her allies for eighteen months. When Campbell came in reach he was too late and had to return to Pensacola in heavy rains and over swollen streams.

Pensacola yet remained, and Galvez, keeping Mobile under military rule, spent a year in preparation. He even went to Havana and secured aid which letters could not bring. The English meantime sent Von Hanxleden with Waldeckers to drive the Spaniards out of their intrenchments on the east side of Mobile Bay, and they charged bravely with the bayonet, but in vain. Von Hanxleden was killed and buried on the field of battle. Then in March, 1781, Galvez arrived with 1,400 soldiers and artillery on the island of Santa Rosa and directed the fleet to proceed across the bar. The naval officers replied that they had no chart and that soundings seemed to show the channel too shallow, whereupon Galvez had his own brig sound the entrance. It found plenty of water, but the navy still refused to proceed, although troops had already arrived by land from Mobile and Galvez was anxious to attack. Nothing daunted, he threw himself into the brig, and, with the flag of Castile at the masthead and his Louisiana vessels following, swept past the fort into the bay. Galvez' feat was admired by friend and foe alike, and Admiral Irizabar was shamed into following.

It will be recalled that the principal defense of Pensacola was Ft. St. George upon a hill overlooking the town, and this was now regularly invested. To silence the fleet, the British built a fort on the shore and drove them across the bay. Galvez actively superintended operations from the sand hills north of the town, but without the aid of the fleet he was at a disadvantage. In the first days of May, however, he dropped a shell into the powder magazine of Fort St. George and after the explosion the Spaniards succeeded in getting possession of the ruined redoubt and turned field pieces upon the interior of the fort. But while the Spaniards were preparing to deliver a final assault the white flag was run up. The terms of capitulation were finally signed on May 9th, and by them 800 men were made prisoners and the province of West Florida surrendered. These troops also were transported to an English port and the rule of the Britain in Florida came to an end. Governor Chester and General Campbell, the legislative and the executive, at last found something in common, and if they still quarrelled it was without arms and without office, aboard an enemy's vessel conducting them to New York.

The results of this campaign were striking, so much so as to be celebrated in a poem by Poydras and too striking for the British to be able to realize them. On the Mississippi the soldiers had surrendered but the colonists at Natchez were so satisfied the reverse was temporary that in April they undertook to recapture Fort Panmure. They invested it and manage to secure its surrender, but, when they learned that all of West Florida had really become Spanish, they remembered the fate of Lafreniere at New Orleans and fled eastwardly towards Savannah, then in British hands. Their sufferings were indescribable, and, alas, all of the fugitives did not survive. They had along with them their wives and children, and finally those who did not die or were not captured by the Americans arrived at Savannah in the fall.

West Florida thus became Spanish and was so to remain until the decadence of Spain offered an opportunity to the young American Republic in the time of Monroe to annex the Mobile portion on the contention that it passed by the Louisiana Purchase from France. The merits of this need not now be discussed, for at all events the Supreme Court of the United States has sustained the position. The Pensacola part was not transferred un-

til the Treaty of 1819, and by these two events West Florida and more became reunited to the Anglo-Saxons. Therein is the interest and value of our study of British West Florida. In one sense it was but an episode, and yet even so it deserves study for its curiosity, for there are not many other instances of British territory de-anglicized and made Latin. And there is besides this the interesting and puzzling question how far the seed planted and carefully watered during these seventeen years of Anglo-Saxon rule germinated and grew under the later Spanish landslide. The development of the country now known as Louisiana has problems and value of its own as showing how much the British influence could absorb and how far it would itself be changed by special local conditions; while West Florida, now divided between the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Florida, offers a different problem. Before the acquisition of California this section, the old South-West, was the most attractive field for immigration. The incomers from all the southern and indeed from some of the eastern States, have now made it thoroughly Teutonic. Latin influences are few and rare, for they were buried under the incoming tide. It is as difficult as it is interesting to trace how much the immigrants of the teens and twenties found lasting over from the earlier English occupation. It is probable that much of what we deem American was really English, surviving under Spanish rule from British West Florida. With all its absolutism, at home and in Latin America, Spain was strangely tolerant of what she found in old Louisiana and in Florida. Many names certainly lasted, much of the old blood, and some British institutions. And so not only as a study in past history, but as investigation also into existing conditions is valuable the story of West Florida.

THE MISSISSIPPI FLOODS.

BY JOHN W. MONETTE.¹

The annual floods of this great river involve such important interests to the people of all the Western States as well as to those of the Southwest, that a few general remarks and special memoranda may not be uninteresting to the general reader, as well as to those who occupy the valley and delta of the river. I shall, therefore, give the result of close observation and long experience upon the subject; and such statistical information as I have been able to obtain by patient research.

The floods of the Mississippi are a subject of intense interest in the delta or lower portion of the river; on account of the extensive bodies of low-lands which are liable to inundation, and the agricultural interest which are involved. In this respect the delta presents a state of affairs entirely different from that of the upper river and its great tributaries.

It will be remembered that below the junction of the Ohio, the Mississippi, during the floods, presents a deep, wide and turbid river; often covered with driftwood and flowing at the rate of five or six miles per hour, through an immense low, level alluvion, clothed in the most gigantic forests, and impenetrable undergrowth. In this distance of more than eleven hundred miles, it sweeps around a succession of great bends, having its surface nearly on a level with the alluvial banks, which are continually

¹Dr. Monette was the most prolific writer on scientific and historical subjects that Mississippi has ever produced. The following contribution was intended by the author to form a chapter in an elaborate work of five volumes on the *Physical Geography and History of the Mississippi Valley*, which work was begun by him as early as 1833. Although it was rewritten and enlarged several times, Dr. Monette would never consent to place it in the hands of a publisher. About 1841 some of his friends induced him to write a *History of the Mississippi Valley* as a separate work. It was published in two volumes by Harper & Brothers in 1846. As he did not live to complete his investigations, his work on the *Physical Geography of the Mississippi Valley* was left in manuscript form. Several chapters of this interesting work are still preserved and have been kindly loaned by the son of Dr. Monette to the editor of these *Publications* to aid him in preparing an elaborate sketch of this pioneer historian of the Mississippi Valley.

yielding more or less to the power of the stream. In all this distance no hill or mountain is seen, except a few sand and lone bluffs which present at remote distances on the eastern bank. In the whole distance, where the hand of man had not exposed the shore, the outline of the channel is defined by parallel ranges of tall forest trees, from one to two miles apart, rising as it were from the intervening waters. The depth of this moving flood of turbid waters, above Red river, varies from sixty to one hundred and forty feet; and increases below the outlet of the Lafourche, to more than three hundred feet at New Orleans. The moving volume of water in periods of floods may be estimated at an average depth of sixty feet, a width of one mile, and a velocity of four miles per hour.

Although the banks, in medium high water, are only a few feet at most above the surface of the river, they have the same elevation with the greatest portion of the delta; which in some places spreads out from twenty to thirty miles in width, bounded only by the remote upland bluffs. Throughout this wide expanse, there are extensive regions of low-lands, which are from five to ten feet below the level of the river banks; besides numerous lakes, lagoons and morasses, whose common surface varies from ten to thirty feet below the high water surface of the river.

The contents of his manuscript book on Physical Geography are as follows:

- Preface (4 pages).
- Introduction (23 pages).
- Book I. The Mississippi River.
 - Chapter 1. The Mississippi River and Principal Tributaries (23 pages).
 - Chapter 2. Estimates of the Descent in the Channel of the Mississippi (31 pages).
 - Chapter 3. Floods of the Mississippi (51 pages).
 - Chapter 4. Character of the Rivers in the Valley of the Mississippi.—Descent in the Channels, Currents, Etc. (41 pages).
- Book II. Regions of the Upper Valley.
 - Chapter 5. The Great Northwestern Lakes and the Lake Regions (25 pages).
 - Chapter 6. The Ohio Region (28 pages).
 - Chapter 7. The Ohio River and Tributaries (32 pages).
 - Chapter 8. The Upper Mississippi Region (25 pages).
 - Chapter 9. The Missouri Region and River (18 pages).
- Book III. Antiquities and Aboriginal Inhabitants.
 - Chapter 10. Indian Mounds or American Monuments (36 pages).
 - Chapter 11. Indians or Aboriginal Inhabitants (37 pages).
- Book IV. Zoology.
 - Chapter 12. Animals, Birds, Reptiles (50 pages).

Further information relative to the literary labors of Dr. Monette may be derived from a sketch of his life, found in DeBow's *Commercial Review*, Vol. XXIII., p. 644.—EDITOR.

In extreme floods all these low grounds, when not protected by levees, become covered by the redundant waters nearly to the level of the river surface. When the river surface approaches within three or four feet of high water mark, the water begins to escape in a thousand places, through low banks, outlet bayous, sloughs, or crevasses, until at length the low grounds become an immense forest lake, enclosing thousands of islands and ridges of alluvion only a few feet above the water level. These are the fine arable lands which are being annually brought into cultivation and which present the most enchanting prospects and residences in the South.

The period of floods in the lower Mississippi varies from four to nine months; during which time it is more or less filled with the turbid waters thrown into it by the numerous large tributaries which collect the winter and spring rains from all the regions between the Alleghanies and the Rocky mountains, and from the great northern lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. The period of flood generally commences in December or January and continues until June or July. In 1844 the floods began in January and continued until the middle of September, a period of nine months.

During the greater portion of this time there were in the deltas of the Mississippi, Arkansas and Red rivers more than 20,000 square miles, or twelve millions of acres of land under water. At the same time there were an equal number of acres under water in the bottoms of the upper Mississippi, the Missouri, and their great and small tributaries, from the first of May until the 10th of August. An equal area was inundated by all these great rivers during the memorable flood of 1828, which continued from the first of January until the first of July following.

These great floods in the lower Mississippi are produced by continuous rains over the upper Mississippi region as well as near the mountain sources of the remote portions of the valley. Each of these lying in a different latitude and in remote longitudes, send forth their floods often simultaneously, alternately, or in rapid and continued succession, during the rainy periods.

The extent of the flood, which fills the lower reservoir channel, will be in proportion to the frequency and extent of the floods thrown out by the Red river, Washita, Arkansas and White river at the same time that the great northern tributaries are discharg-

ing their redundant floods. The lower channel would seldom or never be filled to overflowing below the mouth of the St. Francis by the great northern branches of the Ohio, upper Mississippi and Missouri, were it not for the simultaneous floods thrown out by the great southern tributaries. Without the latter, the most extensive and continued floods of the northern branches would pass off by inundating the lowlands above the mouth of White river; while those below would gradually rise more and more above the waters as we approach New Orleans. But as the impetuous and turbulent Arkansas, and the deep rapid flood of Red river, gathered from the western bases of the Cordilleras for a thousand miles north and south, are apt to throw out their great spring floods repeatedly, while the reservoir channel is already full from the northern floods, the inundation often becomes extensive and destructive for one or two hundred miles below each of these great rivers. If, while the Arkansas is thus pouring out its floods successively, Red river should be free from extreme high waters, the region below Vicksburg, down to New Orleans will be comparatively free from extensive inundation.

The Arkansas and Red river, as well as the Washita, having their sources in a southern latitude, where ice and snows are rare, but where the winter and spring are often characterized by a continuance of heavy rains, commonly send out their first floods in January, which fill the lower channel before the northern floods arrive. Still this does not preclude other floods from them again in April and May, when the great floods from the northern branches have all arrived and filled the channel to overflowing.

The great delta, for a thousand miles below the Ohio, can never be injured extensively by inundation when the great tributaries at the north and at the south are only moderately, although simultaneously flooded; for when a reasonable interval separates their floods, however great, the channel of the great reservoir trunk of the delta is amply sufficient to carry off the waters.

The common order in which the northern tributaries of the Mississippi discharge their spring floods is as follows, viz:

1. The Ohio. This river having its source distributed through seven degrees of latitude, or from 35° to 42° north, and over nearly twelve degrees of longitude, must of necessity have a longer duration of flood than would pertain to a river of the same mag-

nitude, differently situated. Its largest tributary, the Tennessee, more than a thousand miles in length, has its sources, and its entire course, between the parallels of 34° and 38° of north latitude, and sends out its spring floods early in February and in March. Its most northern tributaries, the Alleghany and the Wabash, lying between the parallels of 38° and 42° north, send out their spring floods in March and April. Hence the Ohio floods enter the Mississippi, generally, between the first of February and the first of April; and sometimes they continue until the last of May, supplied alternately by its great northern and southern tributaries.

Thus the reservoir channel of the lower Mississippi is partially filled by the Ohio, and the other southern tributaries from the west, before any great flood comes from the upper Mississippi. In 1840 there were four floods in the Ohio before the 20th of May, and the last was by far the greatest.

2. The Upper Mississippi. This great branch is next in the order of floods. Its principal tributaries, exclusive of the Missouri, lie between the parallels of 40° and 48° of north latitude; when they spread out from east to west over ten degrees of longitude. Its course is nearly south for more than 1800 miles to the confluence of the Missouri. Hence its northern sources will be covered in snow and ice, until the first of March, and the principal flood from this quarter will be after the first of April. Its southern tributaries, south of latitude 43° will have sent out their spring floods, nearly one month earlier. Hence the *first* flood from the upper Mississippi will occur generally about the first or middle of April, when both spring floods for the Ohio have passed down. The second and third will follow generally in May and June, when the Ohio is becoming low. During wet spring months the upper Mississippi continues full until the middle or last of June, and sometimes until the last of August.

3. The Missouri. This is generally next in order so far as pertains to its great annual or spring mountain flood. Its principal sources lie between latitude 40° and 50° north; from which to its mouth its waters flow more than three thousand miles. The ice and snows on these remote tributaries do not melt until June, when the spring rains begin. Hence this flood does not reach the lower Mississippi until June or July. Yet there are other great south-

ern tributaries of the Missouri which throw out copious spring floods in April and May, and these reach the lower Mississippi by the middle or last of May. Thus the period between the first and last of the Missouri floods is rarely less than two months. The Osage, the Gasconade and Kansas, being south of latitude 40° , discharge their first spring floods in March, and others successively in April and May; the Platte lying north of latitude 40° and flowing from the highest peaks of the Rock mountains, with a course of two thousand miles, rarely sends out its first floods until the first of May, and successive ones in June.

Hence the Missouri may be discharging floods alternately from the last of March until July. In 1844 the last flood from the Missouri came down after the first of August. The Illinois also at the same time was out of its banks.

We have said that, notwithstanding all the upper great tributaries may be in continued flood, so as to inundate completely their own bottoms, even to the depth of ten or fifteen feet, as in 1840, for three months consecutively, yet the lower portion of the delta will not be extensively inundated, unless the tributaries south of latitude 35° be simultaneously deeply flooded.

Of these southern tributaries, the most important are the Arkansas and Red river. They not only have their spring floods in March and April, produced by the spring rains, which are so abundant towards the base of the Cordilleras in that latitude, but they are often out of their banks in December and January, when the northern great tributaries are fast bound in ice. Besides these two great southern tributaries, there are others of less note, which together exercise no small influence in completing the inundation of the delta. These are the St. Francis, White river, and Washita, all large rivers from the west; and the Yazoo and Big Black from the east. The smallest of these rivers has a course of nearly six hundred miles, and the largest, White river, nearly twelve hundred miles. The northern sources of the latter are south of latitude $37^{\circ} 30'$, and those of the others are still further south; so that none of them can be said to be in the region of snow and ice; but on the contrary from the winter rains alone are often in excellent navigable condition from December or November, until spring; when the northern rivers are bound in ice.

These rivers from the west side have their sources distributed

through the elevated regions, west of the States of Arkansas and Missouri, which are proverbial for the annual prevalence of the most terrific thunderstorms and deluges of rain in April and May; during which the most awful torrents of rain descend. Hence besides their winter floods, they also excel in their spring floods, which continue from May until June.

The relative *influence* of the Arkansas upon the flood of the delta is far greater than that of the Missouri. Such is the astonishing impetuosity of the former, that it sweeps along with a velocity of ten miles an hour; and, when the Mississippi is not extremely high, shoots its current entirely across the deep and wide channel of the latter. In medium low stage of the Mississippi, a summer flood in August, from the Arkansas, has produced a sudden rise of eight or ten feet at Natchez more than three hundred miles below. At the same time the whole river to the sea assumed the deep brick-dust color of the Arkansas. Red river brings down as much water, but is less impetuous in its course; being greatly divided in its channel, for six hundred miles above its mouth.

Next to the Arkansas the *Ohio* produces the greatest influence on the floods of the lower river. Although not half so long as the Missouri it exerts a much greater influence upon the floods in the delta. Having its source in an elevated and mountainous region, with numerous rapid tributaries from the east, its floods are sometimes extensive and very impetuous, flowing within a deep, narrow channel and confined to the rocky gorge of contiguous hills. Hence while the Missouri seldom brings down a flood more than twenty or twenty-five feet the Ohio sometimes sends out an impetuous flood with a rise of fifty feet above its ordinary volume.

The *upper Mississippi*, although twice the length of the Ohio, carries a more gentle and expanded current. The gentle current of its floods has not excavated a deep, narrow gorge like the Ohio; and its waters, as they augment in volume, expand laterally in a wide, shallow channel, which admits its escape freely into its wide bottoms on either side. From this cause, the upper Mississippi discharges its water more slowly; and consequently its periods of flood are of longer duration. While the waters of the Ohio are sometimes piled up to an elevation of fifty or sixty feet above low

stage, the upper Mississippi seldom rises more than twenty-five or thirty feet.

Notwithstanding the immense volume of water which is discharged by the Missouri, during its protracted floods, it has never been known of itself to produce a rise of more than two or three feet in the Mississippi at Natchez. If any effect from the great Missouri flood of June and July, 1844, was perceived as low as Natchez, it was a rise of only *three* inches, about the 8th to 10th of August, after the river had fallen four or five inches from Vicksburg to New Orleans between the 5th and 15th of July, and was then at a stand.

To produce a complete overflow of the whole delta, requires not only the simultaneous floods from the great northern branches of the Mississippi, the upper Mississippi, the Missouri and the Ohio; but likewise the concurrence of repeated floods in the Arkansas, the Washita and Red river from the west, as well as a flooded condition of the smaller tributaries entering from the east between the Ohio and the Iberville; of these the Wolf river, the Yazoo, the Big Black and Homochitto are the principal, to effect which rains in the south are also requisite. Such a concurrence of circumstances took place in 1828, which may not again occur in twenty years. The great flood of 1844 was attended by a dry season over the greater portion of the lower delta, and the floods of the Washita and the Red river had measurably subsided by the first of June when the upper Mississippi was attaining its greatest rise.

Such is the inconceivable mass of waters required to keep the lower reservoir channel full to overflowing, that even the Missouri or Ohio flood is exhausted in checking the fall of one foot as low as Natchez. To keep the channel uniformly full from the mouth of the Ohio to New Orleans requires a continuous succession of great floods from all the great upper and lower tributaries. The failure of one of them will induce a fall of a few feet or inches for one or two hundred miles below its mouth. In the great floods of the Mississippi the effect of any tributary's flood upon the river can be perceived for only one or two hundred miles below its discharge. At a greater distance each separate flood is so diffused in the overwhelming mass as to afford no evi-

dences of its individual impression, but in low stages of the lower river the case is very different.

From long observation the effect of a single tributary flood on the lower river may be perceived in ordinary low stage; and the following is the proportionate effect of each tributary respectively, provided the parent stream were thirty feet below extreme high stage, and twenty feet above extreme low stage at Natchez, viz:

1. A flood of ten feet from the Missouri would produce a rise of three or four feet at Natchez and two feet at New Orleans.
2. A flood of fifteen feet from the Upper Mississippi would produce a rise of five feet at Natchez, and two feet at New Orleans.
3. A flood of twenty feet from the Ohio would produce the same effect; while at Memphis the rise would be ten or twelve feet.
4. A flood of ten feet from White river would produce a rise of two or three feet at Natchez, and one or two feet at New Orleans.
5. A flood of twenty-five feet in the Arkansas would produce a rise of seven or eight feet at Natchez and three or four feet at New Orleans.
6. A flood of twenty feet from Red river would produce a rise of seven or eight feet at Bayou Sara and four or five feet at New Orleans.

A flood from any similar river would not be observed a hundred miles below its discharge. A repetition of such floods, at intervals of a few weeks during the summer and autumn will prevent the lower Mississippi from reaching the extreme low-water mark by several feet.

The *duration* of the period of flood in the lower river varies from six to nine months. It is no uncommon occurrence for the river below the mouth of the Arkansas to be within ten feet of the ordinary banks during the month of December, and it rarely subsides to ordinary low water mark until June or July.

When the river begins to rise from low stage it rarely rises at Natchez more than eighteen inches and more frequently not exceeding nine or ten inches in twenty-four hours. In sudden and great floods from any of the great northern tributaries, the rise in the river for two or three hundred miles below the Ohio is often as much as two or three feet in twenty-four hours for a few days consecutively; the same rise five hundred miles below will probably not exceed twelve inches per day and night. The same obtains for an equal distance below the mouth of the Arkansas or Red river, when they are in flood.

When the river has reached within three or four feet of the ordinary banks, the daily rise seldom exceeds two or three inches; and commonly in only one inch or half an inch per day for weeks.

During the gradual rise it is not uncommon for the river, when near high water mark, to remain stationary, or "upon a stand," for ten or fifteen days together without any material rise or fall. At other times, as in 1844, it will remain nearly stationary, varying not more than ten or fifteen inches from high water mark, for nearly three months together.

The *extreme rise and fall* of the Mississippi differs greatly at different points. It is greatest from the mouth of the Ohio to Lake Providence, about one hundred and thirty-five miles below the mouth of the Arkansas. It is least from the Balize, or mouth, up to New Orleans. In the latter distance the extreme rise above extreme low water mark increases from six feet at the Balize to fifteen feet at New Orleans. From the mouth of the Ohio to Lake Providence, a distance of six hundred and twenty-five miles, the extreme rise is about fifty-five feet. Mr. Flint and Major Stoddart placed the rise at nearly sixty feet.²

Extreme low water, and extreme high water, are rarely seen in the same year. The extreme high water level is not attained by the river more than once in ten years, and rarely so often. Sixteen years elapsed from 1828 to 1844, during the whole of which time the general level of the river did not reach the mark of 1828, *by one foot*, as an average. At some points near the Arkansas that level was attained in 1833, 1840 and 1843; but in the whole distance below Vicksburg the mark of 1828 was from ten to fifteen inches above the water in either of those years. In 1844 the water from the Ohio down to Providence was generally above the mark of 1828; but below that point down to New Orleans, the mark of 1828 was from two to four inches above the highest water. The most uncommon floods are from one to three feet under the marks of 1828.

Extreme low water occurs in the lower Mississippi quite as rarely. Previous to the summer of 1838 the river had not been at extremely low stage since 1816. The most common low stages are from three to six feet above that of 1838.

The following synopsis will present a correct view of the ordinary, as well as the extreme high water mark, at different points on the lower Mississippi, viz:

² Flint's *Geog. of Miss. Valley*, p. 96, 97, V. I.; Stoddart's *Sketches of Louisiana*.

	Extreme rise.	Medium rise.	Progressive distances from the Ohio.
At themouth of Ohio,	54 to 55 feet	45 to 50 feet	00 00
At the mouth of Arkansas,	54 " 55 "	45 " 50 "	483 miles
Thence to mouth of Yazoo,	52 " 54 "	42 " 48 "	200 "
At Vicksburg,	52 " 53 "	42 " 48 "	12 "
At Grand Gulf,	51 " 52 "	42 " 46 "	65 "
At Natchez,	50 " 51 "	40 " 42 "	60 "
At Bayou Sara,	45 " 46 "	40 " 42 "	130 "
At Donaldsonville,	35 " 38 "	33 " 35 "	90 "
At New Orleans,	14 " 15 "	10 " 12 "	81 "
At the Balize,	6 " 7 "	4 " 5 "	105 "
At South East Bar,	3 " 4 "	1 " 4 "	4 "

In this respect the river corresponds with the great rivers of the Eastern Continent. The Nile, however, diminishes the ratio of its extreme floods much more rapidly towards its delta than does the Mississippi; because the former has *no tributary* in the last eight hundred miles of its course, while the latter has some *very important* tributaries within that distance above its mouth. The extreme rise of the Nile at Syene, seven hundred miles above its mouth, is forty feet; at Cairo, five hundred and fifty miles lower, it is twenty-six and a half feet.³

The extent of the rise and fall on the *upper Mississippi* differs greatly from the same in the Delta. At the mouth of St. Peters, ten miles below the Falls of St. Anthony, the ordinary rise from low to high water mark is about ten feet and rarely over fifteen feet; at Galena, the mouth of the Wisconsin, the common floods very rarely exceed twenty-six or twenty-eight feet. At the mouth of the Des Moines, three hundred and forty miles lower, the common high floods arise from twenty-five to thirty feet and the extreme floods rise seldom to more than thirty-two or thirty-four feet.

At St. Louis, forty miles below the mouth of the Illinois, and twenty below the mouth of the Missouri, the ordinary floods rise to the height of twenty-five or thirty feet and extreme floods sometimes reach thirty-five feet above low water mark. The *extraordinary flood of 1844* exceeded any former known flood by several feet for the whole distance from St. Peters down to the mouth of the Ohio. The entire rise from low water mark was twenty feet at St. Peters, twenty-nine feet at the mouth of the Wisconsin, thirty-four feet at the mouth of the Des Moines, thirty-nine and a half feet at St. Louis, and fifty feet at the mouth of the Ohio. The great flood of 1785 was only thirty-five feet at St. Louis.

³ *North Amer. Review*, No. 102, p. 189.

To illustrate the small influence which a single flood from one of the upper branches exerts upon the delta, we will adduce the facts relative to a great flood in the upper Mississippi in the summer of 1838, viz: By the middle of August the Mississippi at Natchez had subsided to within fifteen feet of extreme low water mark. From this time it continued to fall slowly but regularly until it attained extreme low water mark, about the first of November. In the meantime, about the middle of August, the whole region of the upper Mississippi and its principal tributaries above the Des Moines river was extensively inundated from heavy rains in the regions near its extreme sources, above these "Falls of St. Anthony," as well as in all the region from the sources of the Wisconsin westward to the St. Peters. This flood in the remote upper Mississippi was an extraordinary one; and in due course of time this water would be passing Natchez about the middle of September, or from the fifteenth to the twentieth of September, at which time the lower river was regularly falling at Natchez, where it was within five or six feet of extreme low water mark. Thus we see that this great flood in the remote upper Mississippi was not only insufficient to produce any rise at Natchez, even in low stage, but failed also to hold the lower river stationary by its discharge. The only effect of this northern flood upon the lower portion of the river was to retard its rapid fall when the great tributaries from the east and west, south of latitude of 40° were extremely low.

Any *great fall* of the river near the mouth of the Ohio progresses much more slowly than a *rise*. This is more especially the case when the river is just receding within its banks. In the latter case, the afflux waters diffused over the extensive low grounds, lakes and bayous must all return to the river channel as the river surface subsides. Thus an immense amount of water returns into the river, and produces the same effect in checking a fall as if it all were discharged at one point by some vast tributary in flood, or by several in succession.

In ordinary cases the Mississippi begins to fall just immediately below the mouth of any great tributary so soon as the tributary's flood is exhausted; and this fall slowly advances down the main reservoir channel, while, a few hundred miles in advance of it, the river may be still rising. The fall thus advances down

the river, at the rate of thirty or forty miles every 24 hours; or about one third the distance passed over by the main central current. This *tardy advance of a fall* in the river, has led Mr. Darby into one of his numerous errors. He supposes that the mass of waters in the channel of the Mississippi moves only as fast as a rise advances; or as the fall advances;—also, that only a small superficial stratum of water moves along with the apparent current. The great mass of water, between the banks, and above low-water mark, doubtless moves along at about one half the velocity of the floating drift-wood in the central current. The whirls, eddies and bars serve to detain a large portion of the water near the shores, while the central current moves steadily along. The afflux waters, which may have been escaping for months into the low swamps, bayous, and up the deep channels of large tributaries, and spreading through lowlands and lakes of immense extent, all hold back the momentum, until there is a tendency in the river surface to subside. Then all those redundant waters begin to move forward into the channel, from which they had escaped. Such is the vast amount of waters thus returning from some regions after a great flood that the incipient fall for more than a hundred miles below is sometimes checked for eight or ten days. This might induce others, like Mr. Darby, to suppose that the mass of water, in that distance, was moving at the slow rate of the fall.

The time required for any *extreme rise* of a flood to pass from the mouth of the Ohio to any given point below is about double the time required for the main current, indicated by the floating timber and flat-boats, to reach the same point. Thus if a flat-boat or drift-wood float one hundred miles in twenty-four hours, the main rises will advance only fifty miles in the same time. In ordinary floods the extreme rise passes from the mouth of the Ohio to Natchez in about fifteen or twenty days; although a flat-boat will reach that point, under favorable circumstances, in ten days. When several tributaries are in flood at the same time, the waters while descending, commingle imperceptibly with those in advance, so that several floods in close succession in the upper portion of the river will produce only a regular and gradual rise as low as Natchez or New Orleans. The same effect will be produced by several freshets in the large branches, when ten or fifteen days intervene between each.

When the lower reservoir is full to overflowing, the greatest flood, in either of the three great upper branches, makes but a small and almost imperceptible change in the elevation at Natchez or New Orleans. At such times the gradual rise at these points will not exceed one or two inches in 24 hours, and often much less. At such stages a flood of forty feet from the Ohio will be barely perceptible at Natchez, ten or fifteen days after its discharge.

When the lower trunk is *not full*; or when the surface of the lower river is 20 or 25 feet below high-water mark, such a freshet from the Ohio, suddenly thrown in, would produce a rise of ten feet at Natchez, in ten days afterward. But in extreme high stages of the lower river, the greatest freshet, from any moderately large tributary, is entirely absorbed and lost in the mass of waters.

We have said that there are years in which the lower Mississippi does not subside to extreme low-water mark by ten or twelve feet. This results from the fact that it is seldom that a drought extends over the whole Mississippi valley at once; for although it may be unusually dry on the sources of the eastern tributaries, from the Allegheny Mountains; it may not be so to the same extent, about the sources of the western tributaries which flow from the Oregon Mountains. Yet such a general drought did occur in the summer and autumn of the year 1838. This drought, however, was confined to that part of the great Mississippi valley which lies south of 42° latitude; for on the northern side of that parallel, on many of the tributaries there was abundance of rain. But south of it, from the western slopes and ridges of the Allegheny Mountains to the remotest branches of the Arkansas and Red river, the drought prevailed to an unusual degree. Within these limits, every river was at extreme low-water mark, by the last of September; and small streams were literally dried up. The Ohio for more than a month, was almost useless as a navigable stream; having only from 10 to 15 inches of water upon most of the bars and ripples. The lower Mississippi became so low that only small steamboats, drawing less than five feet water, could pass the shoalest bars below the Missouri,—and very often eight feet water could not be found by the pilots in the channel for 300 miles below the Ohio. At Natchez the river be-

came four or five feet lower than it had been for many years: at New Orleans it was two feet below the common low-water mark. From Donaldsonville to the Balize, a distance of nearly 185 miles, the water was *transparent*, resembling tide-water; having deposited all its sediment in the absence of any current. The same low stage occurred in October, 1845, before the advance of a flood of five feet from the Ohio, late in October.

The time and order in which the lower Mississippi becomes flooded is as follows:—In the months of September, October and November it is generally nearest low-water mark. In December it begins to rise slowly from freshets in some of the lower tributaries, as White river, Arkansas or Red river. During the month of January it continues slowly to rise; and if the winter, in the Ohio and Upper Mississippi regions, be mild and open, the lower river may be within 10 or 20 feet of high-water mark. In January, 1818, it was within three feet of that elevation. During the month of February, the river continues to rise, and is generally within fifteen or twenty feet of extreme high-water. In March the river begins to come within six or eight feet of high-water mark, swollen by the first spring floods from the Ohio and the more southern tributaries. In April the upper Mississippi spring flood comes on; also the spring flood from the Kansas, a great lower tributary of the Missouri. About the same time the spring floods of the Arkansas, White river and Red river are already discharging into the lower trunk. Sometimes each of these discharges at least two freshets by the first or middle of April. Thus in ordinary years the whole lower Mississippi is full by the first of May.

It is a maxim with the old residents on the lower Mississippi, "*that if the sand-bars are covered by water in the month of December, there will be an overflow in the following spring.*" This is explained as follows:—It requires a rise of twenty-five or thirty feet, from low-water, to cover these bars; and to produce this rise, the winter in the region north of 38° must be mild, open and rainy until January. When the regular spring floods come down, the great lower channel is partly filled, and the inundation is the more easily completed. But when the bars are naked in December, the *first* spring floods will be exhausted in filling the channel; as was the case in the flood of 1840, when the bars were naked until the first of February.

Yet there is no infallible criterion for prognosticating the extent and duration of the floods in the lower Mississippi except the actual quantity of rain which falls over the general extent drained by the great tributaries consecutively and continuously for an unusual time. Extraordinary rains upon the regions drained by one great tributary may produce extensive inundation upon that tributary; but it requires a simultaneous flooded condition of all or the greater portion of these great tributaries to produce a general inundation in the delta.

It is no uncommon occurrence for the upper Mississippi to be in flood, while the lower portion of its channel within the region of the delta is comparatively low, owing to the low stage of other tributaries.

EXTRAORDINARY FLOODS OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

It may serve still further to illustrate the character and extent of the floods of this great river, to detail some of the most noted floods within the memory of civilized man. Yet we have no historical record on this subject, which extends back more than sixty years. Tradition cannot be received as authentic history, for a minute detail of facts.

1. *The flood of 1782.* This was probably the most extensive flood ever known within the limits of the present State of Louisiana, by any living witness, at the cession of Louisiana to the United States. Judge Martin informs us, that during the prevalence of the inundation, the waters extended over all the regions lying South of Red river, through swamps and prairies to within one mile of Oppelousas village, which is in an elevated or rolling prairie. We are informed that "In Attakapas and Oppelousas the inundation was extreme. The few spots which the water did not reach were covered with deer."⁴ To have produced this effect, the water must have been at least 18 inches higher than it was in 1828. Yet it is possible, that the whole delta below the mouth of the Ohio, was not inundated in an equal proportion. An extraordinary flood in Red river may have completed the inundation below its mouth to a greater extent than above.

⁴ *History of Louisiana*, vol. 2, p. 66.

2. *The flood of 1797.* This flood caused extensive inundation, which continued from the middle of February until the first of September.⁵

3. The following year, the river was out of its banks about the middle of May; and began to recede at Natchez about the first of August.⁶

4. *The flood of 1811* was extensive and caused much injury to the plantations on the river below the Walnut Hills; but the flood of 1813 was much more extensive on the lower river. Settlements had begun to advance into the lowlands of the Tensas region, in the parish of Concordia, which then extended to Lake Providence. No levees having been made above Natchez, the whole of this parish suffered severely, and the damage was estimated at one million of dollars, including crops, cattle-stock and other property destroyed.⁷ This flood was not equal to that of 1828 by nearly one foot in the general elevation.

5. *The flood of 1815* was very destructive. It was doubtless the highest which had occurred since 1782, being probably equal to the great flood of 1828. That of 1817 was about one foot lower; but caused much injury to the new settlements which were unprotected by levees. The repeated inundations caused many persons to abandon their settlements upon the Tensas and its intersecting bayous: which were never reclaimed; but were occupied by other settlers in 1835 and 6. The upper Mississippi was extensively flooded in 1811 and 1823—overflowing the "American bottom" and many of the lowland prairies.

6. *The flood of 1823.* This was one of the most general inundations of the lower Mississippi since the flood of 1782. The waters extended from the bluffs at Natchez, the Walnut Hills and the Chickasas Bluffs, on the east, to the hills of St. Francis, the Bayou Mason, the Washita and Avoyelles, on the west; causing great destruction of crops, stock and other property; yet it was less extensive and less destructive than the following great flood five years afterwards.

The river this year did not reach its highest stage until the middle of April; and from that time until the 20th of July, it

⁵ Ellicott's *Journal*.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Old *Pittsburg Navigator*, p. 92-3.

continued at the same stage, or gradually rising, in the vicinity of Natchez and below.

In the vicinity of New Orleans, it was peculiarly destructive, owing to the extraordinary floods in Red river and the Washita. It continued high at New Orleans until the middle of July, when it began to recede slowly. As early as the middle of April, the levees above the city began to give way, and the water escaped to an alarming extent through the crevasses into the low lands. On the 20th of April the back water, which had escaped through the crevasses above the city, had covered the back-part of the suburbs; by the 10th of May, the water was in the back part of the city; and the river was getting over the levees immediately opposite the city, and at Hampton's plantation above. On the 18th of May there had been several crevasses between Baton Rouge and New Orleans. On the first of July the river at New Orleans had receded only a few inches; and on the 11th a crevasse formed twenty miles above which flooded all the back part of the city deeply, until the 25th of July; when it began to recede slowly. These facts we derive from the meteorological tables of George Davis, Esq., afterwards surveyor general south of Tennessee, and a close observer. Early in May, the upper Mississippi had overflowed all its bottoms and the "American Bottom" was entirely under water.

7. *The great flood of 1828.* This was probably the greatest flood, and the highest water, known in the lower river within the last fifty years. Whether the general inundation of the lowlands below the mouth of the Ohio was greater than 1782, I have not been able to ascertain; but it was not equal to that flood, below the mouth of Red river.

In 1828 the river had reached the top of the low banks, as early as January; and from this time it continued to rise irregularly, with occasional slight recessions, until June, when it had reached its extreme height, and began slowly to subside soon afterwards.

By the middle of June the water had receded from the plantations; and half crops of corn were made after the water retired. There were then but few public levees above Bayou Six and great damage was sustained in Northern Louisiana.

The quantity of water thrown out by the great northern tributaries was much less than subsequently took place in 1844; but the inundation south of latitude 35° , in 1828, was completed by the unusual floods which came from the Arkansas, Red river and the Washita, simultaneously with the extreme rise in the lower Mississippi. In addition to this, the whole spring of 1828, south of latitude 35° , was remarkably wet, and attended with heavy rains, which, from January until May, gave an entire depth of not less than 25 inches rain. This added to the level of the inundation by flooding the small tributaries and filling all the low swamps, which otherwise would have served as reservoirs for the redundant water.

The extreme elevation of the river surface in 1828 was about 55 feet from the mouth of the Ohio to the mouth of the Yazoo: below that it diminished to 51 feet at Natchez, and 15 feet at New Orleans. The bottoms of Red river were completely inundated, as were also those of the Washita and Yazoo for five hundred miles.

The loss of property on the river was immense, through all the lowland settlements. Thousands of cattle, horses and stock of all kinds were drowned or died of famine upon the eminences to which they had fled.

8. *The flood of 1832.* This was the next high flood. The river banks became full by the middle of March; and from that time, it continued to rise slowly until the middle of May, when it began to subside slowly at Natchez; and was again within its banks by the first of June.

This flood at its extreme height was about 20 inches under the flood of 1828, in all that portion of the river below Vicksburg: but from the mouth of the Ohio to Lake Providence, it was very little under the mark of 1828.

About the middle of February, the channel of the lower Mississippi was within six feet of extreme high water mark; and it continued gradually to rise at the rate of two or three inches per day until the great Ohio flood of 1832 began to discharge its waters. This flood, the greatest ever known in that river (being 63 feet above low water mark at Cincinnati), which continued to pour forth until the first of March, produced no perceptible effect upon the river at Natchez. This water must have reached

Natchez about the first of April; yet the only visible effect in the Mississippi at that place was a gradual and continued rise of one or two inches per day.

9. *The flood of 1836* in most places below Vicksburg was about equal to that of 1832. For five hundred miles below the mouth of the Ohio, it was nearly equal to that of 1828. The river began to reach the level of the low banks in March and continued to rise slowly until the 25th of May; when it began to subside at Natchez, where it had attained an elevation about 10 inches under the mark of 1828. From the 10th to the 25th of April, a flood of 35 feet was discharging from the Ohio. Red river and the Washita were within two feet of the mark of 1828.

As we had an opportunity of making observations upon this flood from Natchez to the mouth of the Ohio, and up the latter to Wheeling, a few memoranda may be acceptable to the reader, and may aid him in forming a general idea of the floods in the lower river.

The flood of 1836 was of shorter duration than the flood of 1832, and of much less duration than the generality of floods.

By the 10th of April the river surface was within three feet of high water mark from Vicksburg to New Orleans. From the mouth of the Ohio to Vicksburg it was rarely less than three feet below the mark of 1828. At this time the flood of 35 feet from the Ohio put the Mississippi up to the mark of 1828 for at least five hundred miles below the mouth of the Ohio. There was no extraordinary flood from the Upper Mississippi, after the Ohio flood ran out, and the river began to fall at the mouth of the Ohio, on the 25th of April: yet it continued to rise at Memphis two hundred and eighty miles below, until the 29th of April. At Point Chicot, five hundred and ten miles below the Ohio, it began to fall on the 10th of May: at Vicksburg six hundred and ninety miles below the Ohio, it began to fall on the 16th of May. At Natchez, one hundred and ten miles below Vicksburg, the river ceased rising on the 20th of May, and five days afterwards below Natchez, the river continued to rise until the 5th of June. Thus the incipient decline of the river was more than a month passing from the mouth of the Ohio to New Orleans; while a fall or decline of a foot or two was constantly a few hundred miles ahead of the rise.

The river had fallen $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet at the mouth of the Ohio, when it began to fall at Memphis: it continued to rise gradually at Point Chicot until it had fallen nearly 15 feet at the mouth of the Ohio: it continued to rise at New Orleans until it had fallen 20 feet at the mouth of the Ohio, 7 feet at the mouth of the Arkansas, and 2 feet at Natchez. It had fallen only 12 inches at New Orleans on the 15th of June. On the 5th of June it had fallen 22 feet at mouth of the Ohio; and 7 feet at the mouth of the Arkansas, 4 feet at Princeton, 15 inches at Vicksburg, 9 inches at Natchez and 1 inch at New Orleans.

The effects of the flood of 1836 were very disastrous to the whole lowland region from the mouth of the Ohio to the mouth of Red river; but peculiarly so between the mouth of the Arkansas and the mouth of the Yazoo, chiefly from extreme floods out of the Arkansas, meeting those from the Ohio and the upper Mississippi. The arable lands on the lower Arkansas were inundated to the depth of 5 or 6 feet, from the last of March to the first of May. The cotton plantations at Lake Providence and for one hundred miles above were greatly injured by the inundation which curtailed the crops one-third. Those within 20 miles of Providence, above and below, were injured by heavy deposits of sand, caused chiefly by the irruption of the river through the cut-off at Bunche's Bend. Excellent levees protected one-half of the country from Tomkin's Bend to the mouth of Red river.

The Mississippi continued to subside until the middle of August, when it was 35 feet below high water mark at Natchez. About the 20th of August the river began to rise at Natchez, and continued to rise at the rate of 15 inches per day for five days when it had risen 8 feet, from a great flood in the Arkansas. The river from the mouth of the Arkansas to New Orleans was as red and turbid as the Arkansas itself. From this rise the river slowly subsided to low water mark.

The following *three years* were characterized by uncommonly small spring floods, and extreme low water during the summer and autumn, i. e., the years 1837, 1838, 1839. The greatest spring flood in these three years fell short of the mark of 1828 by at least 6 feet.

During the summer of 1837 the river subsided to within three feet of extreme low water mark. During the autumn of 1838 it

subsided to extreme low water mark, in October; and continued at that stage until the last of January following. About the first of February, the river at Natchez began to rise rapidly from the Ohio and Arkansas floods; it continued to rise gradually until the first of March; when it had attained an elevation of 14 feet under extreme high water mark. It maintained at nearly the same stage, until the 10th of April; when it gradually subsided.

1838.—The low water this summer was caused by a remarkably dry summer and autumn over the whole region drained by the Ohio and its great tributaries, from the Great Lakes and the Allegheny Mountains to the Mississippi river. Crops of every kind failed, the grass and vegetation generally was literally burnt up by the sun, streams were dried up, springs failed, wells became dry, cattle in many places died for want of water and grass. The Ohio river was almost dried up, leaving only 10 to 18 inches on the bars, and completely interrupting navigation.

The following winter was unusually dry, the winter rains were insufficient to replenish the fountains and springs of water; rivers and small streams, throughout the Ohio region, and southwards to the Gulf of Mexico, continued to present a diminished supply of waters, so soon as transient rains had ceased. The few torrents of rain which fell in the spring of 1839 passed off, leaving the earth's surface only temporarily replenished with moisture, while deep wells continued to go dry, and many forest trees failing to derive their wonted moisture shed their leaves early in the fall, or died: large tracts of forest trees died in Oppelousas.

The Mississippi, in the spring of 1839, for 500 miles below the mouth of the Ohio was within eight or ten feet of high water mark; but at Natchez, the highest water, about the 10th of April, was 14 feet below the mark of 1828. In June the river was again at low water mark.

10. *The flood of 1840.* The river early in January, 1840, was at medium low stage, or 40 feet below high water mark at Natchez. About the 25th of January it began to rise rapidly, or at the rate of about 18 inches every 24 hours, until it had raised 15 feet; after which it continued to rise more slowly for several days. On the 5th of February it began to subside slowly, and on the 14th remained about 20 feet above low water mark; or about 28 feet below high water mark.

On the 14th February, the river at Natchez began to rise with unusual rapidity, or at the rate of two feet every 24 hours, for one week. During this time the current was rapid, angry and impetuous; while the surface was covered with driftwood. It continued to rise more slowly or at the rate of five or six inches until the last of February, when the surface was within ten feet of high water mark, or 40 feet above low water mark at Natchez.

The following memoranda taken carefully at the time will convey a more correct idea of this flood than any summary of it, viz:

1840. March 2.—River still rising at the rate of 6 or 8 inches every 24 hours, & is now within 8 feet of high-water mark, at Natchez—& 2½ feet under it at New Orleans.
- March 6.—The river is covered with drift-wood, & continues to rise rapidly for this stage of water, or at the rate of 8 inches every 24 hours, and is now only 5 feet below extreme high-water mark, at Natchez; & 2 feet below the same at New Orleans.
- March 6.—N. B. All the upper great tributaries, i. e. upper Mississippi, the Ohio, & its great branches the Cumberland & Tennessee, & also the St. Francis, White river, & the Arkansas are reported by steam-boats very high & still rising.
- March 10.—The river is still rising at the rate of 6 inches every 24 hours, which is unusually rapid for this stage of water: the river is now only 3 feet below high-water mark, at Natchez;
- March 20th.—River still rising slowly. The floods are kept up in the great tributaries by constant rains succeeding the melting snow on all the sources of those great rivers. The river at Natchez is within 2½ feet of high-water mark; & within 15 inches of same at New Orleans; & about 7 feet above the streets ½ mile from the levee.
- April 10th.—For the last three weeks there has been very little change in the river, the surface not having varied more than 4 or 5 inches from its present level, at Natchez: although in the mean time, at Princeton, 200 miles above, there had been a fall of 3 feet; and a fall of one foot at Vicksburg, and only 5 inches at Natchez, & continued for 2 or 3 days only.
- April 20th.—The river is about 8 inches higher than it was one month ago: being under extreme high-water mark, of 1828, 22 inches at Natchez, & about 10 inches at New Orleans; but at full *high-water* mark, above the Yazoo river. N. B. Cairo, at mouth of Ohio entirely under water, & the lower Ohio very full.
- April 20.—N. B. About this time, a great crevasse was made through the bank at New Carthage, La., & cut by the water to the depth of 10 feet, & 30 yards wide.
- April 25.—The river is still rising slowly or at the rate of one inch every 36 hours. It is about 18 inches under the mark of 1828. N. B. The swamps are filling rapidly below the Yazoo, & thence to Natchez on both sides, owing to deficient levees: those of recent construction, yield, & give way to the pressure of the water.
- May 1.—River continues at the same point—& probably is an inch or two higher than it was five days ago.—
- April 10.—The River has been "on a stand" for ten days. It is 15 inches under the mark of 1828, & slightly rising.
- May 15.—The river is still "on a stand," 15 inches over 1828. The levees of Louisiana are giving way above & below Grand Gulf: also opposite Rodney: the swamps are rapidly filling through the crevasses

in the levee. The old & firm levees resist the waters effectually. All the region on the west side, from Lake Providence to Rodney is beginning to suffer from the back-water filling the swamps.

May 22.—The river after another small rise of 2 inches is again "on a stand." The whole region below Providence, & for 200 miles above, is reported to be inundated equal to the flood of 1828, if not more extensively.—From Vicksburg down, the river is not quite up to that mark. N. B. A fall of several feet is reported at the mouth of the Ohio, & to have reached Memphis in a less degree. From Vicksburg down the river maintains its stand steadily, or rises slightly. A *great flood* is reported in *Red River*; & that all the low lands & swamps above Natchitoches are inundated. The upper half of Tensas, for 150 miles below Lake Providence, shows a bank from 3 to 8 feet above water.

May 25th.—The river maintains its stand, or still swells slightly, although vast quantities of water are now escaping into the swamps & lowlands. The levees recently made are giving way.—At Providence the great dike across the mouth of Providence Bayou gave way, & a vast column of water is escaping into Lake Providence, & from it into the Tensas; & the whole Tensas region, for 150 miles or more, is inundated. Other plantation levees have also given way: About the same time the levees between Grand Gulf & Rodney, on the Louisiana side were giving way, & the lower Tensas region, for one hundred miles was becoming inundated. Red River has never been known higher, unless it was in 1828.—The levee, at Hardtimes three miles above Grand Gulf, gave way, inundating the extensive lowlands & magnificent cotton plantations of Lakes St. Joseph & Bruin.

May 30th.—The river below Vicksburg is still "on a stand" or slightly rising; & is about 12 inches under the mark of 1828. The water below the mouth of the Yazoo is *very clear*, more so than I have ever seen it in this region. The Banks of the Tensas for the first 100 miles below Lake Providence are almost entirely under water—from the crevasse at Providence Bayou, & other outlets for 100 miles below. N. B. A fall of 15 or 20 feet is reported in the Mississippi below the Ohio for 100 miles; also a fall of 12 feet at Memphis; 5 feet at Helena, & 3 feet at mouth of Arkansas; & 8 inches at Lake Providence seventy-five miles above Vicksburg.—All the plantations from the mouth of the Arkansas down to Red River are very much injured by the inundation; some of the largest cotton plantations are entirely drowned out, & all are more or less injured: some will make no crop at all.

June 5.—The river is still "on a stand" or rising at Natchez & is 11 inches under the mark of 1828, & very clear. N. B. The river has fallen 2 feet at Providence, & 6 inches at Vicksburg. At New Orleans it is still slowly & gradually rising, & about 6 inches under the mark of 1828; Red river flood having increased the rise below its mouth.

The Missouri which had been low, began to discharge its flood about the last of May; but the Missouri flood is reported as only moderate.

June 10.—In the last 5 days the river had raised 2 inches at Natchez—but is now on a stand: it has fallen 10 inches at Vicksburg, & 3 feet at Providence. The highest rise at Natchez is 9 inches under 1828. N. B. The muddy water of the Missouri made its appearance at Natchez this day 10th of June. Below Red river the flood is admitted nearly as high as that of 1828.

June 15.—The river has fallen 3 inches at Natchez, & 18 inches at Vicksburg. Below Red river it had fallen 3 or 4 inches, chiefly from

the rapid fall in Red river. N. B. The Missouri water predominates.

- June 20.—The river has fallen 14 inches at Natchez; 2 feet at Grand Gulf; & 2 inches at New Orleans. N. B. The waters, in the Tensas region of swamp, extending from Lake Providence to the mouth of Red river, have subsided nearly one foot.
- June 25.—The river has fallen 3 feet at Natchez, & continues to fall rapidly, or about 8 inches every 24 hours. At New Orleans it has fallen 6 inches.
- June 30.—The river has fallen 6 feet at Natchez.
- July 5.—The river has fallen 10 feet at Vicksburg; about the same at Providence; & nearly the same at Natchez, where it now appears to be on a stand.
- July 10.—River is again falling at Natchez rapidly.
- Augt. 15.—The river has fallen 30 feet at Natchez—& 7 feet at New Orleans, & continues falling.
- Augt. 30.—River has fallen 40 feet at Natchez, & 11 feet at New Orleans.
- Sept. 15.—River has risen 5 feet at Natchez.
- Sept. 25.—River has fallen nearly to low-water mark. N. B. The Arkansas is very low.
- Octr. 20.—The Mississippi at Natchez is beginning to rise.
- Novr. 7th.—The river is still rising—Natchez bar half covered, showing the river to be about 20 feet above low-water mark.

The elevation of the flood of 1840 was about 10 inches below that of 1828 for the whole distance from the mouth of the Ohio to the Balize, except about 190 miles next below the mouth of the Yazoo. In some points, especially the first 500 miles below the mouth of the Ohio, and the portion of 340 miles below Red River, the elevation was only 6 inches under that of 1828. A second great flood from the Arkansas about the 25th of May, would have produced an elevation for the whole distance of 1,200 miles at least equal to the general flood of 1828. If the floods from the upper and lower great branches, after the middle of February, had met the lower reservoir channel *full*, as in 1828, instead of being nearly 30 feet *below* high water mark, the flood of 1840 would have been one of the highest floods; and from its duration, would have produced one of the most extensive inundations ever known on the lower Mississippi. Beyond doubt it would have produced a flood at least six inches above the mark of 1828.

But the vast amount of floods, poured out by the great branches for one month after the middle of February, was requisite to fill the channel to ordinary high water mark; by which time the supply was measurably exhausted.

Notwithstanding the levees on the west side, below Providence, restrained the great escape of water into the lowlands, until the first of May, yet by the last of that month, the whole lowlands,

from the Mississippi westwards to Bayou Mason, twenty or thirty miles, and nearly 100 miles from north to south, were filled with water nearly to the level of the river surface. As long as the levees remained entire and firm, the water in the swamp was 3 or 4 feet, and in some places 10 feet, below the river surface. But new levees gave way, and also some which were too small to resist such a high flood; by which means the swamps became inundated nearly to the level of the river.

The flood of 1840, although not one of *extreme* high water, forms a good criterion by which we may form some estimate of the vast quantity of water, which is discharged into the lower reservoir channel and also of the duration of the stage of floods. We shall therefore give a few illustrative remarks upon this flood. The *first* rise in the lower river was produced, about the first of February, by rains and melting snows, which had been abundant in the regions drained by the Ohio and upper Mississippi. This was further augmented by the spring rains which were unusual in all the region south of latitude 36°—from the Cumberland Mountain on the east to the Ozark Mountains on the west.

The *second* rise was produced by spring rains which were excessive throughout March and the first half of April, in the region of the southern tributaries, as well as north of latitude 37° in the region of the Ohio and upper Mississippi. During that time the White river, St. Francis, Arkansas, Yazoo, Washita and Red river continued full. The whole lower portion of the Ohio lowlands below the mouth of the Wabash was completely inundated; and the town of Cairo near the mouth was under water as late as the first of April. The whole of the Mississippi lowlands for 500 miles below the Ohio were entirely under water from the first of April to the 10th of May: the region below the Arkansas river was in like manner inundated until the 15th of June. The last freshet from the Ohio began to discharge about the last of April, with a rise of 40 feet, below Louisville, being the third one from that river since the first of February.

Red river and the Arkansas were full all the spring, and from April to the middle of May the Arkansas valley for the last 500 miles was inundated. The great Red river flood came out about the 18th of May when all its lower valley for 600 miles was inundated until the first of June.

Altogether the lower Mississippi was flooded to about the extent it was in 1836, but continued at high stage nearly twice as long. For the last 400 miles above the mouth, it was higher in 1840 than in 1836.

The vast amount of water which had escaped into the great Yazoo region of lowlands during several months was such as to check the fall of the river for ten days below the Walnut Hills. The river had fallen 2 feet at Lake Providence 60 miles above the mouth of the Yazoo by the first of June, and the same fall did not reach Natchez 190 miles below until the 20th of June, being held up chiefly in that distance by the returning waters from the low lands of the Yazoo region.

11. *Flood of 1841.* The flood of 1841 was nearly equal in elevation to that of 1840, but its duration was shorter, and of course the inundation was less extensive.

About the 25th of January the river began to rise rapidly at Natchez, having been up to that time quite low. It continued to rise until the middle of February, when it was within 4 feet of high water mark at Natchez.

Feby. 20th.—The river has began to fall at Natchez, & has fallen 2 feet at Vicksburg—& more above that.

March 1st.—The river has fallen 5 feet at Natchez, & 12 feet at Vicksburg.

March 10.—River has fallen 10 feet at Natchez & 15 feet at Vicksburg.

March 20th.—The river has fallen 20 feet at Natchez, & the sand-bar begins to show on opposite side.

April 10.—The river has been rising rapidly for the last 15 days, & is now within 10 feet of high-water mark.

April 20.—River still rises gradually; is now 5 feet under 1840 mark.

May 10.—River still rising—Excessive rains in the Ohio region.

May 20.—The river is rising slowly—is now 2 feet only under 1840 mark.

May 25.—Slowly rising—is 15 inches under mark of 1840—& 2 ft. under 1828.

June 1st.—The river has begun to subside at Natchez; and has fallen 15 feet at the mouth of the Ohio.

June 10.—The river has fallen regularly from 10 to 14 inches per 24 hours for last 10 days—& is now 9 feet below highest rise this spring.

N. B. The upper great tributaries are low:—The Missouri is low—& no great flood expected from it.

June 30.—The river has fallen 20 feet at Natchez.

By the first of August the lower Mississippi had subsided to ordinary low water mark, and continued very slowly to subside until the first of November. After that small rises occurred.

12. *Flood of 1842.* The river began to rise late in January, and continued to rise gradually until the first of March, when it was within 4 feet of extreme high water mark. From that time it continued to rise gradually at the rate of one inch every 48 hours until the first of April when it was within eighteen inches of the mark of 1828, from the mouth of the Ohio, down to Natchez. Below that, on account of the comparatively low stages of Red river and the Washita, the surface as low as New Orleans was 15 inches below the mark of 1828. About the 10th of April the river began to subside slowly, below the mouth of the Yazoo, while at Princeton the fall was $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet and at Columbia in Arkansas it was 5 feet, at Helena 10 feet, at Memphis 12 feet. On the 16th of April it had fallen 10 inches at Natchez, when the lower, or first, Missouri flood began to appear and caused the river to rise 3 or 4 inches, and to continue at that point for a week, when it began slowly to subside. The river at Natchez continued to decline very slowly until the 5th of May, when it had subsided only 3 feet:—from this time it fell more rapidly, and by the first of June it had fallen 20 feet, when it was checked by the upper, or second, rise of the Missouri, whose turbid waters were seen at Natchez about the 30th of May. It produced a rise of only 3 or 4 feet below Vicksburg, although a heavy flood had been reported to be coming from the Missouri, caused by the melting of immense quantities of snow on the Rocky Mountains.

13. *The flood of 1843.* During the months of January, February and March the river remained between twenty-five and thirty feet under high water mark: during the month of April it rose gradually about ten feet; and on the first of May it was about 11 feet underneath the mark of 1828; when it began to rise rapidly—or about 10 inches in 24 hours.

May 5.—River is now 7 feet under mark of 1828, & rises 2 inches per day.

May 15.—River is five feet under the mark of 1828, & rising at the rate of 2 inches in 24 hours.

May 20.—The river is 4 feet under the mark of 1828, & rising slowly. N. B. The upper Mississippi is very high: has been in the cellars of St. Louis, is all over the lower portions of the "American Bottom" in Illinois: the Ohio has been very high, & has thrown out several freshets, especially from the Wabash, Cumberland, and Tennessee.

May 25.—The river at Natchez is rising half-inch per day, is now inches under the mark of 1828.

May 31.—River slowly rising at Natchez—is now 3 feet under the mark of 1828. N. B. There have been several partial recessions of the upper

Mississippi, & for three hundred miles below the Ohio. But the different floods from the Arkansas, White & others have kept the river steadily rising below.

- June 10.—The river has been rising slowly for ten days past—from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 inch in 24 hours: it is now up to the mark of 1840—& 16 inches under the mark of 1828. N. B. The river is reported to be falling nearly down to Princeton.
- June 15.—River continues to rise slowly at Natchez—is now one inch over 1840. N. B. The levees in Washington county, Miss., & in Carroll parish, La., have given way in many places, & caused great injury to the crops. The Tensas is its whole extent has been protected by the river levees, & presents banks from 6 to 8 feet above the water.
- June 20.—The river still rises slowly: is now two inches over the mark of 1840, from Providence to Baton Rouge. The river has fallen about 10 inches above Lake Providence. Red River is now out of its banks & rising: Concordia lake is filling through the Bayou Cocodre. The upper Mississippi is again out of its banks:—the flood is equal to that of May 20th above St. Louis.
- June 25.—The river has receded one inch at Natchez; & two inches at Vicksburg.
- June 30.—The river has raised 3 inches in the last week at Natchez; & is now 5 inches above the mark of 1840; but at Vicksburg it is 2 inches above the mark of 1840. N. B. The last rise at Natchez is chiefly ascribed to frequent heavy rains in the latitude of Natchez and Grand Gulf.
- July 4.—The river has begun to recede; at Natchez it has fallen 2 inches; at Grand Gulf 8 inches; at Vicksburg 15 inches; at Providence $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet.
- July 10.—The river recedes rapidly: it has fallen 3 feet at Vicksburg; 2 feet at Natchez, & 6 inches at Baton Rouge.
N. B. The Missouri mountain flood now appears at Natchez, with its turbid waters.
- July 15.—The river has fallen 5 feet at Vicksburg; 4 feet at Natchez, & 2 feet at Baton Rouge.
- July 20.—The river has fallen 12 feet at Vicksburg; 10 feet at Natchez; 4 feet at Baton Rouge, & 2 feet at New Orleans.

From the excellent state of the levees, the flood of 1843 produced comparatively little injury below the mouth of the Yazoo, although higher than 1840. The damage on Red river from inundation was very considerable.

14. *The great flood of 1844.* This is one of the most memorable floods ever known upon the Mississippi by civilized man. It was extraordinary, whether we take into consideration the extent and duration of the flood both in the upper valley and in the delta; or the immense injury sustained by the settlements, towns and plantations both in the upper valleys and in the delta.

In this flood the Ohio river participated but little, except by means of the great floods discharged by the Wabash and moderate ones from the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers.

In the whole valley of the Mississippi, south of latitude 35° north, for six months preceding the beginning of this flood there had fallen an unusual quantity of rain, which caused all the smaller tributaries in that region to remain full, and in the best boating condition, from August until January. The lower Mississippi itself, from the constant floods, was held at nearly twenty feet above low stage during that time. The quantity of rain, which fell in seven months from June to the last of January, was equal to 68 inches, a quantity before unknown. During the same time the quantity of rain which fell in regions north of 35° was not unusual, and the colder regions were bound in snow and ice until February, 1844.

In October, November and December the rains upon the sources of Red river, of the Washita and of the Arkansas were so heavy and continued that Red river and the Washita inundated their bottoms during the months of November and December and the whole month of January. In February the Arkansas became full; White river and St. Francis were likewise in flood, and the channel of the lower Mississippi below Memphis became comparatively full early in March. Such was the river in the delta previous to the great flood.

In February, 1844, the clouds and storms of rain, which had so long deluged the south, and the regions west of the southern spur of the Cordilleras of Mexico, upon the sources of Red river and the Arkansas, began to pass northwards along the eastern bases of the Rock Mountains, and the Black Hills, which stretch out a thousand miles towards the north and east. From this time storms, hurricanes of rain, and tornadoes swept over the regions drained by the sources of the Arkansas, the Osage, the Gasconade, the Kansas and the Platte: and these great rivers continued to pour out a succession of floods, beyond all known precedent, from March until July. About the same time the great tributaries of the Mississippi above the mouth of the Missouri, from the "Coteaux des Prairies" to Lake Superior, began to send forth their floods, which filled the channel of the upper Mississippi before the last of March. The Illinois and Wabash continued to pour out extraordinary floods from March until August.

Thus the upper and lower channel of the Mississippi were filled to overflowing by the middle of April. The Mississippi continued

to rise above its banks until all the low bottoms and a great portion of the arable lands throughout the lowlands were completely inundated by the middle of May. By this time the "American Bottom" was all under water, and many of the towns were overflown. The river, in the vicinity of Dubuque and Galena upon the Wisconsin, was 26 feet above common low stage. Below the DesMoines the rise was 30 feet, and at St. Louis it was 36 feet above low water mark. In June the floods continued to augment; the Kansas and Platte again came down with floods reported to be forty feet of rise, deeply inundating the last twelve hundred miles of the Missouri bottoms, with unprecedented destruction.

The Missouri was higher than ever known by the oldest settlers or traders: its bottoms were covered with its rapid waters to the depth of 10 or 12 feet. The Illinois was likewise above all previous floods, inundating its arable bottoms to the depth of twelve or fifteen feet.

The upper Mississippi continued to rise until late in June; when the water had attained an elevation of 29 feet at Galena; 39½ at St. Louis and 50 feet at the mouth of the Ohio. The town of Kaskaskia was inundated to the depth of 10 or 12 feet, entirely ruined and deserted. Many of the other towns were inundated to an equal degree or entirely washed away. The water was from 7 to 9 feet in the stores on Front street in the city of St. Louis. The whole population from the bottoms, not only on the Mississippi, but on all the tributaries, had fled to the hills; vast numbers of stock of every kind were destroyed, and immense damage done to farms and settlements.

Steamboats penetrated through the bayous, lakes and prairies for many miles to the highlands in search of suffering families, who were taken from their watery prisons, and from famine and death. Such was the condition of the inhabitants of the arable bottoms of the Mississippi from the mouth of the Ohio 700 miles up to Galena, up the Missouri for 800 miles, up the Illinois for 300 miles, and up the Wabash for 400 miles.

The inundation had not left the bottoms as low down as the DesMoines and St. Louis before the 10th of August, when the river began to retire within the banks.

In the meantime the river below the mouth of the Ohio had continued to rise slowly, or irregularly, until the middle of August.

At Memphis it began to recede very slowly about the first of July; and a slight recession of three or four inches gradually passed down the river and reached New Orleans about the middle of August: this recession subsequently overtaken by a rise of three inches, which gradually passed on to New Orleans.

From the mouth of the Ohio to Providence in Louisiana, the flood was as high if not higher than that of 1828. Below the Arkansas for 200 miles it was certainly not under the mark of 1828, owing to the repeated great floods from that river. But below Vicksburg owing to the absence of a recurrence of floods in Red river and the Washita, in June, the level of the flood was a few inches under the mark of 1828.

MEMORANDA OF FLOOD OF 1844.

I. The Upper Mississippi.

The river from the melting of snows, and winter rains had become quite full as early as February; when the river was open from the Wisconsin & Upper Iowa down to its mouth. From February to the first of April the Upper Mississippi now continued full & gradually rising until it had reached the top of its banks.

April 1 to 20.—The river is full to overflowing in all the distance below the Falls. The Missouri, from its great lower tributaries, is full to overflowing for the last 500 miles of its course.

April 20-30.—The Mississippi from St. Peter's down is full & rising: the low bottoms from Galena & Dubuque for 300 miles below are under water: people are retiring with their effects to the hills, & deserting their homes: the water at Dubuque is 25 feet above low-water mark.

May 1 to 10.—The lower part of Galena is under water: rise 26 feet.

May 10-20.—The river continues to rise from constant rains for the last three weeks from the Rocky Mountains to the Lakes: water at Dubuque 28 feet above low-water mark: at St. Louis $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet.

June 1.—The river has been nearly at a stand for last ten days.

June 10.—River has fallen nearly 4 feet in the last week.

June 20.—The river has been rising rapidly in the last ten days by a great *Missouri* rise of 10 feet from Kansas and Platte.

June 20.—The *Missouri* is out of its banks for the last 1200 miles, to the depth of 10 or 12 feet. The *Missouri* is now 30 feet above low-water mark: it rose 7 feet in 24 hours: great destruction of property along its banks. The "Sand Hill prairies" in Ray county, *Missouri*, are surrounded by water and are covered with cattle, stock of all kinds, & by many families who have fled to them for safety: many houses have been carried off: the *Missouri* is 10 feet higher than it was in 1843, & 5 feet higher than ever known before.

June 25.—The river at St. Louis is 38 feet above low-water mark, & 4 feet above the great flood of 1785, it is 5 or 6 feet deep in the stores on Front street, above Pine: the whole American Bottom is inundated from 6 to 10 feet: *Kaskaskia* is nearly swept away, & the inhabitants have deserted it: the *Missouri* is pouring its floods across the peninsula near Mammelles, into the *Mississippi*. The *Kansas* is again discharging a flood of 40 feet, & sweeping out the *Missouri* bottoms. The Council of the City of St. Louis have appropriated one thousand dollars for the relief of the suffering poor on the river.

- June 28.—The river has reached its *highest point*, 39½ feet above low-water mark—5½ feet above the flood of 1785, & is from 7 to 9 feet deep in the stores on Front street. The river rises on a "stand." The upper rivers five hundred miles above are reported to be falling. The *Illinois* is higher than ever known—being 20 feet at Ottawa—30 feet at Peru & 38 feet at the mouth. The *Illinois* bottoms & prairies are inundated to the depth of 12 to 15 feet. N.B. The rain-gauge at Joliet, *Illinois*, shows a fall of 31½ inches rain since the first of March—of this 12 inches fell in June, & 6 inches in last 5 days. *Joliet Signal*, July 1st. The same amount of rainfall in Wisconsin Territory. See *Southport Telegraph*, June 20th.
- July 1.—The river has fallen slowly at St. Louis; & is now 2 feet below extreme rise.
- July 4.—River falls slowly—is now 4 feet below extreme rise.
- July 10.—The river continues to fall at the rate of 8 inches in 24 hours: it is now 7 feet below the extreme rise, & is upon a stand; the water is still on the pavements of Front street.
N. B. Frequent rains have raised all the upper rivers within the last ten days, although the *Missouri* has fallen 10 or 12 feet, & is now within its banks.
- July 15.—The river is falling at the rate of 6 inches in 24 hours: it is now nearly 10 feet below the extreme rise; & some bottoms are uncovered. The *Missouri* has fallen 12 feet; the upper *Mississippi* at Galena has fallen 12 feet; the *Illinois* at its mouth has fallen 10 feet, but is at extreme high-water mark at Peru.
- July 25.—The river continues to fall slowly above the *Illinois*; but below, it is kept at a stand by the *Illinois* flood.
- July 30.—The river is falling at St. Louis; it is now 14 feet below extreme rise. The *Illinois* had fallen 12 feet at Ottawa, 15 feet at Peru, & 13 at the mouth.
- August 1.—The river has raised at St. Louis 2 feet from the *Missouri*.
- August 4.—River is now on a stand—10 feet under extreme rise at St. Louis. N. B. At the mouth of Ohio it has raised 6 feet, & at Memphis 2 feet by a rise of 7 feet from the Ohio, in the last 5 days. At the mouth of the Ohio the river stands 8 feet below the extreme rise.
- August 8.—The river at St. Louis is falling—is now 12 feet under extreme rise.
- August 15.—The upper *Mississippi* at St. Louis & above has fallen 5 feet in last week. The bottoms of the upper *Mississippi*, *Illinois* and *Missouri* are out of the water, except low bottoms.
- August 20.—The river and upper tributaries have retired within their banks.

II. The Lower Mississippi.

Below the mouth of the *Arkansas*, the *Mississippi*, during the month of January, rose from medium stage to within 10 feet of high water mark as low down as Bayou Sara: below that point the difference between high water mark diminished to five feet at New Orleans. This rise was chiefly owing to a very rise in the *Arkansas* & the Ohio from the *Tennessee* and *Cumberland* rivers; and to an unusual flood in *Red* river & the *Washita* early in January. This stage of water was maintained until the 22nd of February; when it began to fall rapidly. On the 10th of March the river at Natchez was 15 feet below high water mark; and gradually rose ten feet in ten days following—

- April 1.—The river is still rising; and is now 5½ feet under mark of 1828.
April 10.—River still rising slowly—is now 3½ feet under mark of 1828.
April 15.—The river has commenced falling—is now 3½ feet under 1828.

April 20.—River falling slowly—has fallen 2 feet in last five days.

April 25.—River is rising slowly: is 5 feet under mark of 1828.

May 10.—The river has been rising at the rate of 2 inches daily for the last ten days and is now about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet under mark of 1828—& 2 feet 2 inches under mark of 1843. The *Arkansas* is very high from Van Buren to the mouth.

May 15.—The river is still rising slowly—has risen 6 inches in last five days. N. B. The *Arkansas* is out of its banks for the last 700 miles above its mouth—the bottoms, to the width of eight or ten miles are inundated from bluff to bluff; the lakes below Pine Bluffs are deeply flooded and the sawmills are four feet under water; the *Arkansas* is still rising below Little Rock and the waters are sweeping over the country towards the Mississippi for thirty miles into the latter south of Napoleon & forming cascades over the Mississippi lakes where above water thirty miles below the mouth of the *Arkansas*:—the entire rise of the *Arkansas* flood is 33 feet up to May 15th.

May 25.—The Mississippi in the last ten days has steadily been rising at the rate of one inch & a half per day from Point Chicot to Natchez, and is now 18 inches under the mark of 1828. The water is escaping rapidly into the Tensas region from the *Arkansas*, & from the Mississippi above Providence.

N. B. Red River for the last ten days has been out of its banks, inundating the whole bottom region from Shreveport to Alexandria—and much of the latter place is under water.

June 1.—The river still continues to rise slowly—having risen about 3 inches in the last five days.

June 10.—The river continues to rise steadily from Memphis to New Orleans: at Memphis the river has receded 2 or 3 inches, & the same recession continues to the mouth of the *Arkansas*: thence to Providence it is rising at the rate of one inch in 24 hours, & has entirely inundated three-fourths of all the plantations from one to six feet, in that distance; fully up to the mark of 1828.

From Providence to Vicksburg the water is above the flood of 1843, but not up to the mark of 1828. From Vicksburg to the mouth of Red River the river surface is from 10 to 14 inches under the mark of 1828, and is rising nearly one inch daily.

June 15.—River at Natchez is 4 inches above the mark of 1843, and 12 inches under 1828.

June 20.—River still rising below Providence—at Vicksburg is 4 inches above the mark of 1843 & 8 inches under 1828.

N. B. In the last ten days the *Arkansas* has been higher than ever known—having been 36 feet at Little Rock above low water mark or 3 feet above the great flood of 1833. The Red river flood having subsided—the river ceases to rise below Natchez.

June 25.—The river at Natchez is 6 inches under 1828—at Vicksburg 4 inches—and Donaldsonville 8 inches under 1828. N. B. But little injury below Bayou Sara—the plantations being protected by good levees & the timely recession of Red river.

N. B. The upper Mississippi & the Missouri with their great tributaries are reported as very full and rising rapidly:—the river at Mill's Point, Kent., is rising ten inches daily: the river at Columbia in *Arkansas* was at the highest on the 25th of June; and receded slowly afterwards. The whole *Arkansas* bottoms for 700 miles above the mouth are inundated to the depth of 10 to 15 feet: the Bayou Mason region is deeply inundated by the enormous floods escaping from the *Arkansas* through the regions southwest of Pine Bluffs; these torrents escaped eastwards over the Bayou Mason & completed the inundation of the Tensas region, sweeping eastwards towards the

- June 26.—Mississippi. As to the Arkansas, says an editor. "It has been so long overflowed that we have almost ceased to think of recording its progress. For three months it has been a turbid, destructive flood, without sufficient intervals between the *four* several rises to allow of any material subsidence of the waters." *Little Rock Banner*, June 26th. N. B. The Wabash is higher than ever known: the whole of its bottoms from Lafayette down are entirely inundated & the inhabitants are driven to the hills. It has been nearly as full for two weeks. At Lafayette it raised 14 feet in 14 hours. The oldest inhabitants remember nothing of such a constant flood in the river as we have had since the first of March last." *Tippecanoe Journal*, June 20th.
- June 30.—The river continues to rise slowly, or two inches per week, from Providence to Natchez.
- N. B. The water is from 10 to 15 inches above the mark of 1843, from Milliken's Bend to Natchez: hundreds of hands are employed in securing the levees on the Louisiana side for 40 miles above Vicksburg. The Hard-times levee gave way about 25th June, and all the plantations on Lake St. Joseph & Bruin are deeply inundated. Henderson's levee below Natchez gave way about same time, and the country south of Lake Concordia is being inundated rapidly. The river below the mouth of Red River is 8 inches under the mark of 1828.
- July 1 to 4.—The river is now at the extreme rise at Natchez, being 4 inches under the mark of 1828, and 12 inches above the mark of 1843. This is the extreme flood of 1844. N. B. The river has fallen 10 or 12 inches below the mouth of the Arkansas for 100 miles owing to the decline of the Arkansas flood:—but above the Arkansas & below Point Chicot it continues to rise.
- July 5.—The river is still rising at Memphis; and the Arkansas fall of 4 inches has reached Natchez: and the Arkansas fall has been overtaken by the Missouri rise. Another flood of 15 feet is discharging from the Arkansas. *Vicksburg Whig*, July 2nd.
- The whole Tensas & Bayou Mason region is completely inundated deeply; the arable lands being covered to the depth of 2 to 6 feet;—very few points above water.
- July 12.—"The river at Memphis has now reached its extreme rise of 55 feet and is upon a stand; it is now at the highest point ever known here by the river." *Memphis Appeal*, July 12th.
- July 15.—The river has been still rising at Vicksburg, and is now at the extreme of the rise then—it being 15 inches over the mark of 1843, & 2 inches under 1828. At Natchez a fall of one inch makes the height there 5 inches under 1828—& the same difference below the mark of 1828 continues to New Orleans. This state of the river from Lake Providence to Natchez until the 20th July.
- July 31.—The river has fallen 4 inches in the last ten days at Vicksburg, 8 inches at Point Chicot & 2 inches at Natchez: at the same time the fall at Memphis was 4 feet and at the mouth of the Ohio 12 feet.
- August 5.—A rise of 7 feet has come from the Ohio:—the fall at Memphis is 5 feet:—at mouth of White River 16 inches—at Columbia, Arkansas, 18 inches:—at Princeton 6 inches:—at Vicksburg 5 inches:— & 5 inches at New Orleans. *New Orleans Bulletin*, Aug. 6th.
- N. B. A great crevasse at Bonne Carre church, 35 miles above New Orleans occurred on the 1st of Augt. & is now 8 feet deep and 87 feet wide, throwing out a vast sluice, which is rapidly inundating the back country on the east side and defies all efforts of obstruction.
- August 15.—The river is falling in the following order, viz: St. Louis 15 feet;—at the mouth of the Ohio the fall is 15 feet;—at Memphis

10 feet;—mouth of Arkansas 5 feet;—at Lake Providence 3 feet;—at Vicksburg 15 inches;—at Natchez 8 inches;—at New Orleans 6 inches.

N. B. The water in the Tensas region has subsided 2 feet. Crevasse at Bonne Carre still open.

August 25.—The river has been "on a stand" for ten days past from Vicksburg down—caused by the discharge from the Yazoo swamp-region: the fall at Providence is 6 feet;—at Vicksburg 2 feet;—at Natchez 12 inches;—at Memphis 14 feet.

August 31.—The river has been falling rapidly for the last week;—the fall at Vicksburg is 9 feet;—at Natchez 7 feet.

September 10.—The river is fast subsiding to low water mark: it has fallen at Natchez 14 feet.

September 20.—The river is now 23 feet below the extreme rise at Natchez; 25 feet at Vicksburg;—& 27 feet at Point Chicot.

September 30.—The river has fallen 30 inches at New Orleans; & is subsiding there at the rate of 18 inches daily.

MEMORANDA OF RIVER FLOODS FOR 22 YEARS.

From a river register kept on the plantation of Samuel Davis, Esq., near Vidalia, we arrange the following synopsis of the annual floods at that point for 25 years from 1817 to 1840 inclusive:⁸

N. B. The flood of 1815 was at extreme high water mark—51 feet.
1817.—The flood this year was one of the extreme floods, being only one foot under the mark of 1815. It began to rise rapidly in March & continued to rise gradually until the first of May, when it had reached its highest mark: having remained nearly stationary for ten days or more, it began to subside slowly, having fallen at Natchez only 2 inches on the 17th of May. Subsequently it fell more rapidly & had fallen 20 feet on the 22d of June. From the last of September until December the river was more or less full; & on the 15th of December it was within 2 feet of the mark of 1817.

1818.—From January 1st to March 1st the river continued gradually falling until quite low for the season: when it commenced to rise & continued to rise until the 20th of April—when it was again within one foot of the mark of 1817. It then began to decline & receded gradually until the first of November, when it was at *extreme low water mark*.

1819.—The river rose and fell occasionally eight or ten feet, until 10th of March; after which it continued to rise regularly until 27th of May, when it was within one foot of the mark of 1815. On the 9th of June had fallen 18 inches at Vidalia—Missouri water made its appearance on the 24th of June. The river continued to fall until November 15th, when it was at extreme low water mark, & 50 feet under the extreme rise in May.

1820.—River rose irregularly until March 10th when it was only 5 feet under extreme flood of 1819—it rose & fell irregularly until 5th of April: from that time it rose & fell a few feet irregularly until early in May. Then low until the first of December.

1821.—By the 10th of January river had risen 35 feet; & rapidly fell 20 feet by the 25th day of January. In February it rose irregularly

⁸ See Table published in the *Vidalia Intelligencer*, June 18th, 1841, prepared by Prof. C. G. Forshey.

until March 1st, then it fell slowly till April 1st;—when it began to rise & reached within 2 feet of high water mark; & began to fall in April.

1822.—River rising during month of January, & channel half full by 1st of February. From that time it rose & fell irregularly until the 15th of May, when it had reached within 4 feet of high water mark. From 1st of June it gradually fell & continued low until late in November; then it began to rise & continued rising until December 23rd; when it had risen 35 feet & was within 4 feet of last spring's water. The Ohio river was very high in December.

1823.—The river fell & rose irregularly during January, having reached within about 3 feet of high water mark. In February & March the river fell & rose irregularly until the first of April after which it continued to rise steadily until the 23rd of May; when it was within 2 inches of the water mark of 1815.

The spring of 1823 in the latitude of Natchez was unusually wet; from the first of March to the last of May the rains were almost incessant. From rains, river inundation, & southerly winds driving back the waters of Pontchartrain & Maurepas, much of the region south of Iberville bayou was laid under water. Breaches in the levee caused nearly all Point Coupee to be inundated: & both banks of the river from the mouth of Red River up to the Ohio were under water with but few exceptions.

The river for several hundred miles below the Ohio began to fall about the 5th of May: but successive floods in the White River, Arkansas, Yazoo, Washita, & Red River kept the river below Arkansas up to full stage until 27th of May—when it began to subside very slowly at Natchez;—on the 10th of June it had fallen one foot: after which for ten days it fell only 5 inches, held up by the arrival of the Missouri flood, which was very great. On the 1st of July the river had fallen 20 inches, while the swamp water had fallen 6 feet. The river continued only 3 or 4 feet below the extreme rise during the whole of July. From the first of August the river continued slowly to fall, until the last of December, when it was at low stage. The upper Mississippi, the White River, Arkansas, & Washita were higher during the spring than they have been for 40 years.

1824.—The river began to rise at Natchez early in January, & by the first of February was within 8 feet of extreme high-water mark. It fell late in February 12 feet: & then rose irregularly until the 7th of May, when it was only 10 inches below extreme high water mark at Natchez & quite up to it about the Arkansas. About the 25th of May it began to fall slowly; & had fallen 2½ feet by 22nd of June. On 28th of June, the Missouri was unusually high, & holds the fall in check, so that on the first of August it had fallen only 3 feet. Continued to fall until the last of November, after which it rose 10 feet above low water mark.

1825.—Continued to rise until 9th of January & was then 6 feet under high water mark; fell 30 feet by the middle of February. On the 2nd of May the river was again reached within 1½ feet of high water mark. It began to fall slowly about the 10th of May & declined slowly until it had fallen 20 feet by the first of August.

1826.—The river was low during the month of January. Continued variable in height until 7th of March; when it began to rise rapidly, & continued nearly full until the 20th of April, when it began to fall. This year the upper Mississippi was extensively flooded—American Bottom deeply inundated.

1827.—The river was quite low, until February 8th when it commenced rising rapidly & rose 20 feet in 12 days. Continued rising until the 23rd of March; when it was within 10 feet of high water mark.

It continued more or less full until 10th of August when it was nearly on a level with the banks;—it fell a few inches by the middle of August.

- 1828.—The river banks were nearly full in January; the water continued rising gradually, until 26th of March when it reached the extreme elevation of the flood of 1823. The lowgrounds were inundated as early as 1st of March. It continued high with slight variation until the first of June. Red River had been higher than known for many years; the site of Alexandria was under water.

The river began to fall in June, & remained low from August until last of December.

- 1829.—The river continued variable from 15 to 20 feet above low water mark until the 25th of April, when it began to rise, & rose gradually until the 6th of May, when it had reached within 6 feet of the mark of 1828. After the 15th of May it continued falling until the first of July when it had fallen 25 feet. It was at low water mark or nearly during the autumn, & rose in December to within 6 feet of the top of banks.

- 1830.—The river continued to fall slowly, from the December rise until February 25th; when it had nearly attained low water mark. It then began to rise, & rose irregularly, until the 18th of May, when the river surface was only 2 feet under the mark of 1828. It remained nearly stationary until July 1st, then it began to fall, & gradually sunk nearly to extreme low water mark by the 1st of November.

- 1831.—Was within 10 or 15 feet of high water mark, irregularly, until the 15th of April. After that it rose gradually until the 5th of May when it was 27 inches under mark of 1828. It reached ordinary low water mark by December.

- 1832.—The river began to rise in January & continued to rise & fall alternately a few feet, until March—then it rose slowly until 17th of May—when it was only 20 inches under the mark of 1828. By the first of July it had fallen 15 feet.

- 1833.—The river was about 10 to 15 feet below high water mark all the months of January & February: on the 15th of March it was within 2½ feet of the mark of 1828, & rising slowly. It fell several feet in April, & in May & June it rose again nearly to high water mark. The Arkansas River has been higher than ever known before. The Mississippi began to fall towards the latter part of June, & subsided to low water mark in July.

- 1834.—The river rose during January & February within 3 feet of high water mark from which stage it varied but little until the first of May. By the first of June it had fallen nearly 30 feet. From that time until the 20th July it rose 30 feet—began to fall on 25th July.

- 1835.—The river was low in January. Afterwards it rose regularly until the 3rd of June when it was within 5 feet of high water mark. It fell in June.

- 1836.—The river was within 8 to 10 feet of high water mark from December to March. In April it rose within 18 inches of the mark of 1828 & continued full until 10th of June; when it began to fall rapidly.

- 1837.—The river was within 10 feet of high water mark in February and March. In April it rose until the 15th when it was 6 feet under the mark of 1828. It began to fall early in May.

- 1838.—The stage of the river from February to May differed but little from the last. The river fell in May early & was at low stage in June.

By the first of November it had subsided to *extreme low water mark*.

- 1839.—At no time did the river rise within 10 feet of high water mark.

- 1840.—Minutia given before.

- 1841.—Minutia given before.

1842.—Minutia given before.

1843.—Minutia given before.

1844.—Minutia given before.

1845.—The river was nearly up to extreme high water mark this year.

In January the bars were naked—the river 40 feet below high water mark—Feb. 20th river 25 feet below high water. March 15th river 10 feet below high water mark—continued to rise slowly until April 2d, when it was within $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet of extreme high water, at Natchez: it rose at New Orleans, until April 10th when it was $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet below high water. April 30th river at Natchez fallen 15 feet: May 15th rose 2 feet from flood in Tennessee & Cumberland, & upper Ohio. The Ohio within 5 feet of flood of 1832 at Cincinnati & Louisville. June 26th the *Missouri* very high & its bottoms extensively inundated—Chariton, Platte, & Kansas very high. St. Louis *New Era*, June 26th. Curb stones at St. Louis in front of Battle Row under water on 27th: upper *Illinois* very low: *Arkansas* very high. July 15, Mississippi at Natchez has raised to within 4 feet of mark of 1844.

1846.—From August to October river extremely low at *extreme* low water mark from mouth of the Arkansas to New Orleans— $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet below extreme high water at New Orleans: 51 feet at Natchez, 52 feet at Vicksburg. Immense number of snags exposed from the mouth of Ohio to Baton Rouge: bars above Natchez scarcely 6 feet under water: frequent wrecks of steamboats & *great numbers* aground.

THE FLOOD OF 1847.

The river was in medium low-water stage during the months of January & February:

March 1st.—About the first of March the river from repeated floods from the Ohio, began to fill its channel within five feet of high water mark from the mouth of the Ohio to the mouth of the Arkansas.

March 6th.—About the 6th of March the channel, from the mouth of the Arkansas to Red River, was filled within five feet of high water mark, & nearly seven feet below the mark of 1844, & rising rapidly.

March 10th.—The river is 5 feet below the mark of 1844 from Vicksburg to Natchez. River surface at N. Orleans is *10 inches below* the mark of 1844.

March 15th.—River is 3 feet below mark of 1844, & rising 2 inches in 24 hours. Continues to rise gradually & steadily at the rate of 2 inches until 25th. N. B. This sudden & great rise in the Mississippi has been occasioned, chiefly by an extra-ordinary flood in the Ohio river, from all its great branches from the sources of the Alleghany & Wabash on the north to those of the Cumberland & Tennessee on the south; while the Upper Mississippi was closed by ice about St. Louis.

March 25th.—River at Natchez is 22 inches under the mark of 1844, & rising steadily at the rate of one inch in 24 hours. From the mouth of the Ohio to Lake Providence it is up to the mark of 1844. N. B. Extraordinary flood from the Ohio in all its tributaries.

March 30th.—River at Natchez 16 inches under mark of 1844. At New Orleans 12 inches under 1844. From mouth of Ohio to Memphis the river is up to the mark of 1844. From Memphis to Providence 4 inches above 1844:—at Vicksburg 3 inches below mark of 1844.

N. B. The Arkansas, White river, & St. Francis are very high. April 7th.—The river at Natchez is 12 inches under the mark of 1844, & still rising $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in 24 hours—and at Natchez is within 8 inches under the mark of 1844:—at Vicksburg it is up to the mark

of 1844 & in Milliken Bend it is 3 inches above the mark of 1844. N. B. White river, St. Francis, & Arkansas have been very high—the Yazoo is now very high.

Above the St. Francis the Mississippi has fallen.

April 15th.—The river from the mouth of the Arkansas to Providence more than 130 miles, is 6 inches above the mark of 1844: all the plantations on the river in this distance deeply inundated—far more than in 1844. Upper Mississippi full.—From Milliken's Bend to Natchez the river is still rising steadily at nearly one inch in 24 hours. At Vicksburg the river is 3 inches above the mark of 1844:—at Grand Gulf it is 1 inch *above*:—& at Natchez 6 inches *under* the mark of 1844:—at New Orleans it is 10 inches under that mark.

April 20th.—The Ohio floods are exhausted. The Mississippi has fallen 5 feet at New Madrid:—3 feet at Memphis, & 2 feet at the mouth of the Arkansas, & 6 inches at Providence. From Milliken's Bend to mouth of Red river the river is yet steadily rising at nearly 1 inch in 24 hours. The water at Milliken's Bend is 4 inches above the mark of 1844—at Vicksburg 3 inches—at Grand Gulf 2 inches above the mark of 1844:—at Natchez it is 3 inches *under*, & at New Orleans 8 inches.

April 25th.—The river has *fallen* 5 feet at mouth of Ohio; 7 feet at Memphis, 3 feet at mouth of Arkansas—6 feet at Providence; & 3 inches at Milliken's Bend.

The river is steadily rising from Milliken's Bend to New Orleans: at Vicksburg it is 4 inches *above* mark of 1844:—at Grand Gulf 6 inches, & at Natchez 1 inch *above*: at New Orleans 4 inches *under* mark of 1844.

N. B. The Yazoo is high—Red river is comparatively low: The levees below Providence as low as Terapin Neck have given way & the whole upper Tensas region is under water including Willow Bayou & Walnut Bayou: th Arkansas having fallen rapidly, the Bayou Mason region is *not inundated*. Red river & Washita being comparatively low, the lower Tensas region is *not inundated* having banks from one to three feet above water. The upper Mississippi is full—but *not overflowing*.

May 1.—The river is falling from the mouth of the Ohio to Baton Rouge: at the mouth of the Ohio the fall is 8 feet; at Memphis 10 feet; at mouth of Arkansas 4 feet; at Providence 2 feet; at Milliken's Bend 1 foot; at Vicksburg 6 inches; at Natchez 3 inches.

N. B. Before the 26th of April, more than one-half of the plantations on the immediate bank of the river from Columbia in Arkansas down to the mouth of the Homochitto, on both sides, were deeply inundated; some entirely, & some having only a few acres above water. The more elevated alluvions were about one foot above water—but a large portion of the cultivated lands as low as Natchez were from 2 to 4 feet under water.

May 6th.—The River is falling rapidly from the mouth of Arkansas to New Orleans. Fall at Providence 4 feet:—cotton planted on inundated lands:—fall at Vicksburg 3 feet; at Natchez 18 inches—at New Orleans 6 inches.

May 8th.—The river has fallen 4 feet at Vicksburg—3 feet at Natchez, & 12 inches at New Orleans. N. B. On the 8th the *great crevasse at Algiers* took place, caused by an extensive land-slide of the bank in front of the town, carrying off the levee & many houses in the rear of it, & exposing the town & adjacent country to extensive inundation, which resisted the united efforts of the neighboring planters & the authorities of New Orleans for ten days.

The plantations below Providence are greatly relieved, & corn and cotton is planted on the lands left by the retiring waters.

May 10th.—The river below the mouth of the Arkansas is falling rapidly within its banks: entire fall 6 feet at Providence, 5 feet at Vicksburg, 4 feet at Natchez, 2 feet at Baton Rouge, & 18 inches at New Orleans.

May 15th.—The river is falling rapidly at Natchez—12 inches per day: the entire fall at Natchez is 10 feet—at Vicksburg 15 feet, & at Providence 20 feet.

May 22nd.—The River has fallen 3 feet at New Orleans, 15 feet at Natchez, 20 feet at Vicksburg, & 25 feet at Providence.

Cotton & corn upon the recently inundated lands is growing finely & promise more than half crops.

June 15th.—The river continues to fall rapidly at by the middle of June the surface at Natchez was 30 feet below highwater mark. Sand bars exposed:

June 20th.—The river has begun to rise from the Upper Mississippi:

June 25th.—The River continued to rise rapidly, at the rate of 12 to 15 inches per day—until the 8th of July when it had risen 20 feet at Natchez, & was within 10 feet of the high water mark, from the Upper Mississippi, Missouri, Illinois & Cumberland Rivers.

N. B. The Missouri has been discharging its flood from the 24th of June; & its waters were visible until the 23rd of July at Natchez.

July 24th.—The Mississippi has again fallen ten feet from the Missouri rise.

September.—The river is subsiding to low-water mark.

FLOOD OF 1848.

The river early in December, 1847, was unusually full, overflowing all the low grounds, and before the first of January, 1848, it had attained its ordinary high water mark, or about 2 feet under the mark of 1844, as far as Natchez. It continued to rise steadily and slowly until the 15th of January, when it was fully up to high water mark in its whole extent below the mouth of the Arkansas.

Jany. 31st.—Levee at Point Lookout below Providence has given way, inundating Carrol & Madison parishes as low as Ioes Bayou Willow Bayou, to the rear of Bayou Vidal & Roundaway.

About this time Harris levee 15 miles above Vicksburg gave way & completed the inundation of Walnut Bayou, & a great portion of Madison Parish west of Milliken's Bend:

Feby. 1st.—The river began to subside rapidly—& continued to recede until the 26th when the entire fall was nearly 20 feet. Repeated floods from the Ohio & Arkansas about the 27th caused another rapid rise.

March 3rd.—River within 2 feet of the January rise: & rising slowly.

March 15th.—River within 1 foot of the January rise at Vicksburg.

March 25th.—River has fallen 10 feet below the January rise.

April 10th.—The river is again rising rapidly by reason of freshets in the Ohio & Arkansas.

April 20th.—The river is now nearly up to the January rise, & within two feet of the flood of 1844.—N. B. Red river is low.—Levees begin to give way.

April 25th.—The river at Vicksburg within six inches of the flood of 1847, while, by reason of the cut-off at Raccourci Bend, the surface is up to extreme high-water mark.

May 10th.—The river is falling slowly.

June 15th.—The river has fallen 12 feet.

June 30th.—The river has fallen 30 feet.

THE GREAT FLOOD OF 1849.

This was one of the most extraordinary floods known to the oldest resident upon the lower Mississippi. In its effects it was one of the most disastrous to the agricultural and commercial interests of the whole west that has ever occurred since the first colonization of Louisiana.

Such had been the excessive and continued rains from the middle of November, 1848, until the middle of February following that the highest alluvions were perfectly saturated to the surface: ditches and wells were full, or the water was within a few inches of the surface of the earth; roads became impassable on account of the mud and water, flat lands and lowgrounds covered in water from six inches to six feet; the fields and tilled grounds were too marshy to admit of any kind of plantation hauling and plantation work of all kinds was necessarily abandoned.

Such was the condition of the elements until the middle of February, 1849, upon the whole extent of country drained by the great southern tributaries of the Mississippi from the sources of the Arkansas and Platte rivers to those of the Ohio and Tennessee.

The channel of the Mississippi river below the Ohio became full to overflowing early in January; and the river continued slowly and steadily to rise, until the last of February, when the general surface of the river from the mouth of the Ohio to New Orleans was equal to the great flood of 128, and in many places the marks of 128 were under water from fifteen to twenty inches.

At this time the great *Yazoo Swamp* was inundated to an extent formerly unknown, and the Yazoo river was above any former known flood from the joint influence of heavy winter rain and the Mississippi flood.

The levees upon the upper and lower coast of Louisiana began to yield to the pressure and the softening influence of the increasing waters. Among the first important levees which gave way in upper Louisiana was that of H. Harris in Madison parish nine

miles below William's Bend. This levee had been constructed less than two years and was insufficient to sustain so great a flood; it gave way near the last of February to the extent of half a mile, discharging a broad sheet of water from five to ten feet deep, producing extensive inundations over a large and fertile portion of the Walnut Bayou and adjacent country. On the 23rd of February at Baton Rouge the river was rising at the rate of two inches in twenty-four hours; and the planters on the lowlands who had been six weeks toiling with their levees were greatly injured by the transpiration water and hourly dreading inundation when an extensive slip of the levee occurred on the front of Lobdell's plantation, on the west bank twenty miles above Baton Rouge. The crevasse through which the water discharged was eighteen arpents wide, and a large extent of country was deeply inundated. Soon afterwards another crevasse occurred a few miles below Baton Rouge likewise inundating an extensive portion of the sugar region.⁹

The seasons of the year 1849 are truly remarkable in many particulars. It may with great propriety be termed the year of "great waters." In January the Mississippi below the Ohio was out of its banks: the winter rains were incessant in every portion of the Mississippi valley, and every great tributary was continually in flood from January until August. The rivers of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas were more or less in flood until August, and Red river was in flood to a most extraordinary degree until the last of August, inundating the whole alluvion from bluff to bluff and sweeping off the crops of corn and cotton, with the fences and buildings, on the plantations in a manner unknown before; and producing the most *disastrous inundation* of the cultivated fields from Shreveport to the Avoyelles prairie, with a general destruction of the crops of *cotton, corn and cane*. The rains were almost incessant and heavy during the month of January—probably the aggregate fall was 10 inches.

In February the rains were less frequent and heavy.

On the first of March the river had fallen fifteen feet at Memphis, four feet at Princeton, three feet at Providence, fifteen inches at Vicksburg, and seven at Natchez. Below the mouth of Red river, or the Raccourci cut-off, no fall was experienced, but a

⁹ See Baton Rouge *Democratic Advocate*, Feby. 20th, 1849.

regular, slow and progressive rise until the 12th of March, when the flood from Bayou Sara to the coast near New Orleans was twelve inches above any former known flood, not excepting that of 1828.

March 15th.—Another rise from the Ohio has raised the river to its former level, as low as Vicksburg: At Natchez the river is still six inches below the highest mark, owing probably to the influence of the Rac-courci cutoff; below Bayou Sara the river continues to rise slowly. The levies begin to yield to the continued action of the water, & crevasses begin to cause great alarm.

April 1st to 15th.—The river continues nearly at its highest point from the mouth of the Arkansas to Rodney: from Bayou Sara to New Orleans. The river is upon a stand & sometimes rising at the rate of $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in twenty-four hours.

April 20th to 25th.—The river for the last ten days has been gradually rising from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 inch per day, and is now *up to its highest rise in February*, in nearly the whole distance from the Arkansas to the mouth of Red River. The levee at *Tarrapin Neck* ten miles above Milliken's Bend gave about the 20th inundating a large portion of country in the region of Willow Bayou & near the mouth of the Roundaway, to Tensas.

About the same time the Harris Levee below Milliken's Bend, & Culbertson's threw out such vast quantities of water as to complete the inundation of the Walnut & Brushy Bayous & a part of the Roundaway. Thus from the 20th to the 30th of April nearly one half of Madison Parish was wholly submerged. The river at New Carthage was 7 inches above the flood of 1847, & 13 inches above that of 1844.

April 28th.—The river is 4 inches above the February rise, as low down as Natchez:

April 30th.—The river still slowly rising at Natchez & thence to New Orleans.

N. B.—During the month of April, the levies softened by the long continued action of the water, began to yield at various points below the Ohio & especially on the coast below the mouth of Red River.

On the 17th of April many plantations on the Arkansas side in the neighborhood of Memphis had been overflowed by the unusual flood, which was particularly disastrous in the Bend known as the Devil's Elbow, thirty miles above Memphis. The finest plantations were left covered with lagoons & ponds by the retiring waters.¹⁰

Other levees gave way on the Mississippi side, producing extensive inundation of some of the splendid plantations above Lake Providence, among them those of Dr. Duncan of Natchez.

On the coast below Red River, breaches in the levees were frequent. Among them may be named that on the plantation of Mr. Swaim one mile above Morganza, which discharged a body of water 300 feet wide and five feet deep, with great rapidity into the lowlands leading to the Atchafalya.¹¹ This crevasse occurred on the 23rd of April.

Two important crevasses occurred on the Lafourche: one on the right bank, which was doing great damage as early as the 14th of

¹⁰ *Memphis Eagle*, April 17th, 1849.

¹¹ *Pointe Coupee Echo*, April 22, 1849.

April, and a second which on the 21st occurred one mile below Thibedauxville, which discharged a large body of water into the lowlands.¹²

May 1st.—The River is falling below the mouth of the Arkansas; has fallen six inches at Providence, & two inches at Milliken's Bend:

May 5th.—River has fallen one foot at Providence, six inches at Milliken's Bend, & four inches at Vicksburg.

May 10th.—River has fallen 12 inches at Vicksburg & 4 inches at Natchez:

May 15th.—River has fallen 2 feet at Vicksburg & 12 inches at Natchez, & nothing at Bayou Sara.

May.—Below Bayou Sara the river has attained its greatest elevation, estimated at sixteen inches above the flood of 1844 at New Orleans.

The levees on the coast have given way extensively under the protracted pressure of the flood. The coast from Baton Rouge down to the mouth has suffered more from high water than at any former flood: the plantations & crops are greatly injured by the transpiration water even where the levees have been preserved entire, as the surface of the river is from 3 to 6 feet above the growing crops.

On the 9th of May the crevasse at the *English Town* occurred on the west bank eight miles below Algiers, upon the plantation of M. Morier. The breach which at first was 60 feet wide, soon increased to 80 feet, & the pent up waters swept over the low grounds with the roar & swiftness of a mill-dam, completely spreading over the cultivated fields as far as the eye can reach. The beautiful plantations of the bend known as the "*English Town*" are mostly four feet under water.¹³

On the 10th of May the levee of M. Lauve fifteen miles above the city New Orleans, on the east bank gave way forming a most destructive crevasse, discharging a vast body of water, 80 feet wide & from 5 to 10 feet deep into the lowlands in the rear of the city.—

The city was thrown into consternation. Three hundred from the adjacent plantations were soon upon the ground with unavailing efforts to arrest the destroying flood.

Next day the city sent a steamer with the city engineer, numerous laborers & 50 bales of hay for the use of the hands in filling in the spiling. All efforts failed to arrest the torrent of water sweeping down upon the city. On the 17th the crevasse had enlarged from 80 to 130 feet in width, & from 5 to 13 feet in depth; the whole country above & below the city was completely inundated, & the water was fast encroaching upon the back part of the city. The inhabitants were compelled to escape to higher points of safety.

The city authorities were active in their efforts to arrest the progress of the flood, & made large appropriations for closing the crevasse, which resisted every effort & plan of operation until about the 20th of June, when the river had subsided nearly four feet from the extreme rise. Successful means were then put in operation, & the crevasse was effectually closed on the 25th of June, after having resisted every effort for forty-five days.

The back part of the city had been deeply inundated, causing much individual suffering & great pecuniary losses.

During the period of its continuance the crevasse had increased to — feet in width & from twelve to seventeen in depth.

May 20th.—The river is falling as low as Baton Rouge; has fallen 5 feet at Providence, 3 feet at New Carthage, & 2 feet at Natchez.

May 25th.—The river continues to recede slowly—has fallen 4 feet at New Carthage & 3 feet at Natchez; above Vicksburg the fall is checked by the floods from Arkansas & White River.

¹² *Thibideauxville Minerva*, April 14th & 21st, 1848.

¹³ *Picayune* May 11th, 1849.

- June 1st.—The river continues to fall slowly:—the fall at Natchez is 4 feet, at Baton Rouge 2 feet, & at New Orleans 10 inches.
- June 10th.—River slowly recedes, being checked by Arkansas & other tributaries in flood: the fall at Natchez is 4 feet, at Baton Rouge 3 feet, at New Orleans 18 inches.
- June 15th.—River subsides more rapidly: fall at Natchez 5 feet— at Baton Rouge 4 feet—at New Orleans 2½ feet.
- June 20th.—River continues to subside—fall at Natchez 6 feet, at Baton Rouge 5 feet, at New Orleans, 4 feet. Efforts to close the Laue crevasse resumed on 17th they having been abandoned for ten days.
- June 25th.—The River continues to recede;—has fallen 4½ feet at New Orleans: The *crevasse effectually closed*, on the 25th by the united efforts & skill of Messrs Dunbar and Lurgi, resident engineers for the city.
- July 1st.—The River has been checked in its fall by a flood from the Arkansas & Missouri rivers.
- July 15th.—The river again rising—& continued to rise until the 5th of August when it attained an elevation of 4 feet below the highest rise of April as low as Natchez.
- August 20th.—The river is 15 f. below the April rise at Vicksburg. But below Bayou Sara it is still out of its banks—owing to the *great flood* in Red River.
- Septemb. 30th.—The River at Vicksburg has subsided to ordinary low-water mark: & below Bayou Sara is within its ordinary banks.
- Novr.—28th.—The river remained at ordinary low-water stage until Nov. 28th when it began to rise at the rate of ten inches per day:
- Decr. 6th.—The river has risen 12 feet at Natchez.
- Decr. 20th.—The river has risen 330 feet at Natchez—& is within 5 feet of the lowest banks as high as Vicksburg, & about 7 feet under high water mark.

N. B. Since Novr. 15th there has been deluges of rain in all the region between 33° & 39°, north latitude from the southern ranges of the Rocky Mountains eastward to the Alleghanies: & all the streams within this extensive region have been overflowing all the month of December.

Red River was out of its banks before the middle of Decr. & from that time the whole lower valley from Shreveport to Alexandria was extensively inundated until late in January—Alexandria in imminent danger. The Arkansas & the Ohio were inundating all their lowlands as early as the 20th of Decr.

White River, St. Francis, Washita, Tennessee, Cumberland, the Yazoo, Big Black, Pearl, Tombigbee & Alabama also in flood. The Upper Mississippi above St. Louis low & partly closed with ice until Jany. 8th.

Flood of 1850.

The Tennessee and Cumberland valleys have been extremely inundated all the latter half of December. The Ohio has been uncommonly high during same time.

January 1st.—The river from the mouth of the Ohio to the Balize is within a few feet of high water mark—& over many portions of the low banks. At Vicksburg it is five feet under the mark of 1844.—At Natchez 6 feet—at New Orleans 4 feet under same mark, & rising rapidly. The upper Mississippi low & covered with floating ice, & the back water from the Ohio extending twenty-five miles above Cairo, until January the 8th.

N. B. The roads in West Tennessee wholly impassable by reason of incessant rains & overflowing water courses.

January 12th.—The valley of *Red river* extensively inundated, Alexandria threatened with inundation & the river continues to rise. The Mississippi from Vicksburg to Natchez is within 5 feet of the mark of 1844, & within 18 inches at New Orleans, owing to the Red river flood.

About this time a crevasse occurred at Bonne Cave Church 30 ms. above New Orleans, inundating an extensive country as far as Metairie Ridge.

January 15th.—Crevasse at Pointe Coupee in Mamel's levee, & others occurring at other points producing extensive inundation in this parish.

The town of Bayou Sara partially inundated—water extending to the bluffs of St. Francisville. People of Bayou Sara retiring to the hills.

The Ohio is out of its banks—up to the kirk stones of Water street in Louisville, & rising one inch per hour: weather warm—cloudy & raining. *Louisville Courier*, Jany. 15th.

January 17th.—Great apprehensions of an extensive inundation on the Ohio. The Cumberland river has 30 feet of water on Harpeth shoals & is rising rapidly: The Wabash, Tennessee, Arkansas, & Yazoo all high & rising.

January 18th.—Another crevasse occurred at Lauve's plantation just below the one of 1849—& was caused by the slipping of thirty feet of levee.

January 20th.—The River at New Orleans is within 12 inches of the highest rise in 1849; & 4 inches under the stage when the Lauve crevasse occurred in 1849. The greater portion of the country from Bonne Cave Church to Metairie Ridge is under water. N. B. On 22nd Red river had commenced falling at Alexandria—but commenced rising at rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in 24 hrs and rose 18 inches by 30th Jany. & still rising at that rate. Alexandria protected by levee—the banks generally are under water. Alexandria would be under water if not protected by levee. Above Shreveport steamers report the river rising fast, & constant rains. The Sabine has overflowed its banks. *Picayune* of 11th Febr. 50.

January 24th.—The city engineer reports to the Council of 2nd Municipality that the levees along Felicity Road, Solee Street, Claiborne Street, Canal: & the New Canal are of sufficient height & strength to protect the city in case of a crevasse above.

January 25th.—River at New Orleans within 9 inches of highest mark of 1849; at Plaquemines it is only 6 inches under that mark. The town of Plaquemines in danger of entire destruction by river. A crevasse fifty feet wide occurred seven miles below Algiers on the 29th of January.

Jany. 30.—The River at Vicksburg is 3 feet under the highest mark of 1849 & continues to rise steadily $\frac{1}{2}$ inch & inch in 24 hrs: at Natchez it is 1 foot under mark of 1844 & the same at New Orleans, or 18 inches under the mark of 1849.

N. B. From the 15th to the 30th of January the rains have been constant & heavy over the whole region east & west of the lower Mississippi from Georgia westward to Texas & chiefly between the parallels of 30° & 35° north latitude: On the 31st of January it was intensely cold at St. Louis & Pittsburg: the Mississippi at St. Louis was low & covered with ice. A heavy storm at St. Louis: The Ohio was falling at Pittsburg with 18 f. in channel.

February 5th.—The River at Vicksburg is within 2 feet of the highest mark of 1849, & is rising 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in 24 hours: rains incessant.

At New Orleans the river is within 10 inches of the highest mark of 1849, & Red river is falling rapidly.

The weather intensely cold at Louisville & Pittsburg: Mercury at Zero of Fahrenheit, & Ohio falling rapidly.

February 10th.—The River is within 15 inches of highest mark of 1849; at Vicksburg & rising $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 inch per day.

February 15th.—River at Vicksburg 7 inches under the mark of 1849, & still rising rapidly.

February 16th.—Crevasse below Thibedauxville has inundated Bayou Blue & westward to Terrebone.

February 20th.—The River at Vicksburg 6 inches under mark of 1849 & rising $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches per day: at Natchez & Grand Gulf: At New Orleans 10 inches under mark of 1849.

A crevasse occurred on the plantation of Mr. Cain, two miles below the mouth of Fausse Riviere in West Baton Rouge, discharges through a break 10 arpents wide in a new levee made through sandy land: the breach cannot be closed: great injury sustained by plantations in Pointe Coupee parish.

A crevasse at Racourci nearly a quarter of a mile wide was doing immense damage: also one at Fisher's Store—& one at Van Winkle's nearly opposite Port Hudson.

February 25th.—The River is up to the mark of 1849 at Vicksburg, New Carthage & rising 1 inch in 24 hours: At Natchez it is 6 inches under the mark of 1849.

The Harris Turnpike levee near Tarrapin neck gave way, completing the inundation of the upper portion of the Tensas region.

March 1st.—The River continues to rise steadily, & is within 4 inches of the mark of 1849 at Vicksburg & 2 at Natchez.

March 5th.—The River has attained the highest mark of 1849 at Vicksburg, & 2 inches above it at Natchez, 7 inches above it at Bayou Sara & continues 7 inches below it at New Orleans.

N. B. A fall of 10 feet at Cairo, 7 feet at Memphis, 3 feet at mouth of White River, & 5 inches at Providence, is reported by steamers from St. Louis.

March 10th.—The River is on a stand at Providence & so continued until 16th March: it began to *recede* at Vicksburg on the 6th; at Natchez on the 8th, at Pointe Coupee on the 9th.

March 12th.—Crevasse 60 feet wide & 10 feet deep on the plantation of Mrs. Lee 3 miles above Rodney, inundates all the region from St. Joseph to Lake Concordia.

March 15th.—The River has receded 6 inches at Providence, also the same at Vicksburg, & Natchez; also the same at Baton Rouge & New Orleans consequent upon a *fall in Red River*. The secession at New Carthage at the same time was 8 inches, at Grand Gulf 10 inches, & at Rodney 12 inches, influenced by sundry crevasses respectively in the levees of Messrs Tarlton, Parkins, Dorsey, Bouth, Bondurant, & Mrs. Lee; by the united influence of which the almost entire inundation of Tensas parish was completed.

N. B. The Ohio River, filled by a sudden freshet of 25 feet rise at Pittsburg, & 35 feet at Cincinnati continues to discharge its flood into the Mississippi from the 5th to the 30th of March, Cumberland and Tennessee high—diminishing the fall in the latter 6 feet at Cairo, 4 feet at Memphis, & 1 foot at Montgomery's Point, & holding the river upon a stand 8 days at Providence, 5 days at Vicksburg, & three days at Natchez. The River at New Orleans, by reason of the great crevasse at Bonnet Cave & several other crevasses above, did not attain the highest mark of 1849,—by 10 inches. At Providence also the river did not attain the highest rise of 1849, influenced, it is supposed by the great discharge of water

through & into the Yazoo Pass & the moderate flood of the Arkansas at the greatest swell of the Mississippi: The escape of water through the Pass, & at other points on the East bank of the Mississippi, together with the incessant rains, caused the whole Yazoo Region to be more deeply inundated than ever known.

The immense discharge of water through the Point Lookout plantation below Providence, into the *upper* Tensas country, caused that whole region from the source to the mouth of the Tensas River to be deeply inundated from December to May. This inundation was augmented by the crevasse in the Harris levee at Tarrapin Neck, & the Harris levee below Milliken's Bend: which occurred about the last of February. The lower Tensas Region, from St. Joseph to the mouth of Tensas is now almost wholly inundated.

March 20th.—The River continues to recede slowly in the whole course from Memphis to New Orleans; with a general and uniform fall of about 15 inches below its highest rise; & varying but little at any point in this whole distance.

March 22nd.—Red River has fallen 18 inches in the past week, & continues to fall slowly.

March 26th.—The Arkansas River is very high & still rising.

March 27th.—The crevasse at Fausse River is 10 arpents wide, & carries destruction to the planters of Grosse Fete.

March 28th.—The Mississippi recedes slowly, having been held up by a protracted flood from the Ohio, & its great tributaries the Cumberland & Tennessee—& by the Upper Mississippi & Arkansas.

March 30th.—The river is again rising at Memphis, & thence to Natchez it is slowly swelling. The Ohio above the falls in medium full stage: Cumberland & Tennessee very high, and rising rapidly:—

April 5th.—The river from Memphis to Providence is rising rapidly—from Providence to Natchez it rises $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in 24 hours—& is now generally about 12 inches under the highest rise of March, for the entire distance from the Arkansas to the mouth of Red River: Arkansas falling as low as Little Rock.

Red River has fallen several feet at Shreveport:

April 10.—The River swells slowly & steadily below the Arkansas, & thence to New Orleans is 10 or 12 inches under the highest March rise.

April 11.—The river rose from 2 to 3 inches from Lake Providence to Baton Rouge by the excessive rains.

N. B. The rains have been excessive in all the lower valley & as far as Texas on the west & South Carolina on the east, from the middle of March to middle of April.

April 15.—The River continues to rise slowly but steadily from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in 24 hours in all the distance from the Arkansas to mouth of Red River, & as far as New Orleans, being generally 8 or 10 inches under the March rise.

April 20th.—The River has fallen 10 f. at New Madrid; 7 feet at Memphis; & 3 feet at mouth of Arkansas; having receded & six inches at Providence, & 1 inch at Natchez.

N. B. The whole of Tensas region from Lake Providence to Trinity a distance of 200 miles, by water is completely under water:

“The New Orleans Weekly *Picayune* of 9th of April says:

GREAT DESTRUCTION.—The Cumberland river was receding rapidly on the 29th ult., and will soon be within its banks. Hundreds of once productive farms, comprising thousands upon thousands of acres of fine cultivable land, have been under water, and no crops can be planted on them this year. Fences have been swept away, live stock drowned, buildings submerged—in a word, the Cumberland valley has suffered immense damage.

nine tenths of all the cultivated lands are submerged to the depth of from 2 to 6 feet: great loss of cattle & stock of all kinds has been incurred by the inhabitants: great distress & scarcity prevails, & cholera is frequent: the water of inundation extends from 50 to 60 miles in width to the high lands of the St. Francis & White Rivers & eastward to those east of the Yazoo.

The region south of Red River on the Atchaplalaya & westward to the Teche is extensively inundated as far as Franklin: the inundation is far more extensive than any since 1828: the people have abandoned their homes, their domestic stock & cattle are mostly drowned, scarcity of food & great distress prevails; but few persons are able to secure a dry spot around their domicils; & every species of movable property is under water or afloat.

April 25.—The fall of 6 inches at Providence is checked up by a great flood from the Arkansas & the lower great tributaries of the Ohio; the river below Providence for 300 miles is kept nearly at a stand for 10 days, within 6 or 8 inches of the March rise. Levees begin to yield & crevasses multiply in every section from Providence to New Orleans. Crevasse at St. James on right bank 54 miles above New Orleans, is 160 yards wide: Crevasse at Horganza on right bank, 12 miles above Bayou Sara is 250 yards wide. Crevasse at Bonnet Cave left bank 30 ms. above New Orleans, discharges one fourth of the river producing a fall of 12 inches at the city.

April 30.—The River continues to rise slowly in all the distance from Providence to New Orleans: with variations of a few inches at particular points in the vicinity of the crevasses. The general surface being from six to ten inches under the highest March rise. The inundation of the whole country between the Mississippi & the Washita is gradually extending: the inundation on the lower Tensas & Black River is more extensive than at any period since 1828—the Washita is over a large portion of the village of Harrisonburg: the inundation of Tensas parish completed by crevasse in McCall's levee 2 miles above Mrs. Lee's.

White river & its great branches have inundated their valleys to an unusual extent, & with extensive destruction of property: Cumberland & Tennessee higher than ever known: Upper Mississippi at Falls of St. Anthony very high: The Arkansas high.

May 5th.—The River had fallen 10 feet at New Madrid & 7 feet at Memphis when heavy floods discharged by the Cumberland, Tennessee & Arkansas suddenly arrested the fall, & produced a gradual rise in the river from Memphis to Baton Rouge.

May 10th.—The river steadily rising from the mouth of the Ohio to Natchez: at Memphis the water is above the highest March rise; at Providence it is within 2 inches of the March rise, 2 inches at Vicksburg & 7 inches at Natchez.

Red river rising rapidly.

May 15th.—The river steadily rises & is at Providence 2 inches under the March rise—3 inches at Vicksburg 6 inches at Natchez & 4 inches at Bayou Sara.

Levees continue to give way & crevasses multiply.

The Ohio is falling rapidly.

May 20th.—The river continues to rise steadily from Helena down to Natchez: is now 3 inch under March rise at Memphis—3 inch at Helena 1 inch at Providence; 1 inch at Vicksburg & 3 inches at Natchez: & is falling slowly at Memphis. Levees giving way in divers places between Providence & Natchez; & the inundation extending over the remainder of the plantations heretofore partially secured. The June rise of the Missouri has reached St. Louis.

- May 25th.—The river continues to rise slowly as low as Natchez & is above the highest March rise, and is nearly on a stand from Providence to Baton Rouge, but is falling rapidly above the mouth of the Arkansas: the fall 7 feet Cairo & 5 feet at Memphis, & six inches at Providence. The Ohio has fallen rapidly only 4 f. in channel at Louisville.
- May 30th.—The river continues steadily to rise, & is from 2 to 3 inches above the March rise at Vicksburg. The fall is checked up one week by Missouri rise fall at the mouth of the Ohio is 10 f. at Memphis 7 f. Columbia 3 f.
- June 5.—The river has fallen 18 inches at Providence, 6 inches at Vicksburg & 3 inches at Natchez. The inundation of Concordia parish is completed by 2 new crevasses at Hendersons & at Lumo, 30 miles apart. Bayou receded $\frac{1}{2}$ inch—on 4th $\frac{1}{2}$ inch—on 5th $\frac{1}{2}$ inch—6th 1 inch.
- June 10.—River falling slowly 2 to 3 inch in 24 hrs. as low as New Orleans: Checked up by the Missouri rise—June flood. The fall is 10 feet at mouth of Ohio; 7 feet at Memphis; 3 feet at Point Chicot: $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet at Providence: 1 foot at Vicksburg; feet at Natchez. Crevasse in Grand Lake in Parish of Point Coupee parish 150 yds. wide—carrying destruction to the whole Attakapas country to Berwick Bay.
- June 15.—River is falling rapidly from the Ohio to New Orleans—2 to 3 inch in 24 hrs. *Missouri flood.* The fall is 15 feet at Memphis, 10 feet at Point Chicot—7 feet at Helena—3 ft. at Providence—2 ft. at Vicksburg— $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet at Natchez. The water recedes fast from the inundated fields.
- June 20th.—River has fallen 15 f. at Columbia 10 f. at Providence, 6 feet at Vicksburg, $3\frac{1}{2}$ f. at Natchez and at Bayou Sara 12 inches.
- June 25.—The river has fallen 20 f. at Memphis, 10 f. at Vicksburg, 6 f. Natchez 8 f. at Baton Rouge 6 f. New Orleans 5 f.
- July 1.—River is falling rapidly from Providence to Red River—fall at Natchez 7 ft. at Baton Rouge 5 f. New Orleans 4 feet;
- July 6.—River is falling rapidly from Providence to Red River—fall at Natchez 8 f. at Baton Rouge 6 f. New Orleans 5 f.
- Augt.—During this month the lower Mississippi has been generally over the sand bars, & not less than 20 feet *above low water* mark. The floods have been from the Arkansas, the Missouri, & Upper Mississippi. The latter from the Falls of St. Anthony has been *very high* from freshets in all the upper branches in the Minnesota Territory.
- Augt. 31.—The weather is *quite cold* in the vicinity of St. Peters—& the river falling as low as Galena.
The Illinois is rising from LaSalle down—in fine navigable condition. (N. O. *Picayune* Sept. 16, 1850).
Heavy rain storms floods from Georgia to Alabama & E. Miss. 25 to 29th, Savannah river now 25 f.
- Septembr. 15.—The Missi from Vicksburg to Natchez rising—& 25 f. above low water mark few bars perceptible—15.
- Septembr. 20.—The river within 30 f. of high water mark—20 feet above extreme low water.
- Oct. 1st.—The river is 35 f. below high water mark—15 above low water at Natchez & 5 f. at Memphis.
- Oct. 15.—The river is 40 f. below Sand bars show pretty large—10 f. above low water.
- Oct. 25.—River gradually falling & now about 5 feet above *low water* mark at Natchez and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot at N. Orleans: banks beginning to slide in many places. The River is *lower than it has been since 1840.*
- Oct. 28.—Kentucky river lower than known for many years—Red River &

- Arkansas very low—*Picayune* Oct. 28th—Wabash never known so low. *Ida* Turnip fall vegetables entire failure.
- Nov. 1st.—Hot day & dusty—smoky—hazy.
- Nov. 10.—The river has fallen 18 inches in one week. $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet above *extreme low-water at Natchez.*
- Nov. 15.—River falls slowly—is 3 f. above extreme low stage at Natchez.
- Nov. 20.—River still low—is 3 f. above extreme and 12 inches at N. O.
- Nov. 25.—River still low. Arkansas at Fort Smith lower than for many years—also at Little Rock. Ohio moderately low—Upper Missi. & Illinois rising.
- Nov. 30.—Missi at Natchez rising slowly—5 f. above extreme low water
- Nov. 30.—Missi at Natchez rising slowly—5 f. above extreme low water—At N. O. 3 f. above L. W.
- Dec. 3.—Missi rising slowly at N. O. & falling slowly at Natchez 6 f. Ohio at Louisville rose 6 f. & falling, Cumberland at Nashv had risen & fallen 2 f. above L. W.
- Dec. 10.—Missi rising slowly at Natchez is 6 or 8 f. above extreme low water.
- Dec. 12.—River rising 6 inches in 24 hr.
- Dec. 14.—River rising 1 foot in 24 hr.
- Dec. 21.—Rising 2 f. in 24 hrs. for six days until 22nd—21st Red R. rising—is navigable or rapid—On 21st had risen 15 f. in 7 days at Natchez.
- Dec. 25.—River rising slowly—at Natchez is—& is about 25 f. below extreme h. w. 22 f. below h. w. m. Cumberland in good navigable condition 8 f. on rapid.
- Dec. 29.—Rising slowly—2 f. below h. w. m. at a stand.
- 1851, Jany. 3.—River Rising from Arkansas & Ohio.
- Jany 7.—River Rising from 15 f. under h. w. m. at Natchez.
- Jany. 10.—River falling rapidly—Upper rivers low—freezing up.
- Jany. 18.—River falling rapidly—fallen 10 f.—& 25 f. under h. w. m.

THE PROGRESS OF NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE ON
THE WATERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER AND
THE GREAT LAKES. A. D. 1700 to 1846.¹

BY JOHN W. MONETTE.

The Mississippi river was discovered in 1673 by Father Marquette and M. Joliet; and subsequently explored by M. de la Salle and his companions in the year 1682. As early as the year 1700, Jesuit Missionaries in company with *voyageurs* and *couriers du bois*, traversed the Illinois and Wisconsin rivers, and had visited the Wabash also. At this early period, missionary establishments had been made, settlements had been formed, and trading posts had been established, upon the Illinois and upper Mississippi, at old Kaskaskia. It has also been shown that the French traders and their *couriers du bois*, previous to the year 1725, had explored most of the tributaries of the upper Mississippi; and especially those on the eastern side; including nearly all those which serve to form a water communication from Upper Canada and the western lakes to the Ohio and upper Mississippi river. From Louisiana they had explored the Red river, the Arkansas, the Yazoo, the Missouri, and also the Cumberland and Tennessee, south of the Ohio, and the Wabash on the north.

Before the year 1745 they had explored and established settlements and trading-posts upon nearly all the northern tributaries of the Ohio, from the sources of the Wabash eastward to the Allegheny river; and upon all its principal tributaries; as well as upon all the southern tributaries of Lake Erie, from the Sandusky

¹The editor of these *Publications* has in his keeping Dr. Monette's private copy of his *History of the Mississippi Valley*. It contains a large number of erasures, annotations and corrections, including in many places the addition of valuable facts in manuscript notes and the omission of others of less importance. On the margins of this work are found many entries as follows: "rewritten," "omitted," "revised," "see Ms. text," etc. In each case the carefully prepared manuscript texts are pasted in their proper places. The contents of the second volume and the manuscripts of Dr. Monette show that he intended to add three new chapters to it upon the publication of the second edition of the work. The following contribution was intended to constitute chapter 18 of this volume.—EDITOR.

eastward to Presque Isle. They held & occupied all these regions until the year 1758; when the French dominion upon the Ohio was overthrown by the armies of Great Britain.²

During the French occupancy of the valley of the Mississippi, primitive navigation was carried to a remarkable degree of perfection in all the western waters. Yet it was the navigation necessarily incident to savage life. A few scattered settlements of civilized men in a wide and boundless wilderness, must of necessity fall into all the customs, manners and usages of the native savages; and hence the common light craft of the Indians, made of birch bark, were used for traversing the rivers and small lakes and for coasting around the larger; frail barks, which could be carried on men's shoulders from one river to another, from one lake to another, and over one rapid after another, in their long and toilsome journeys. As settlements advanced, and the use of iron implements was introduced, the trunk of a tree could be excavated and canoes of a larger size came into use. As trade and commerce increased in the rude staples of the wilderness, French mechanics constructed the pirogue and the barge for the transportation of large quantities of furs and peltries and the rude merchandise for the supply of the remote tribes.

Soon after the French settlements had extended upon the western lakes, their enterprising traders and missionaries explored the remote tributaries of the Mississippi and Missouri and traversed the most distant regions, in quest of trade and adventure.

The rivers were the great highways of nature, given for man's use; and canoes, pirogues and barges were human conveyances, in which to traverse the liquid highways. These were their only mode of conveyance for heavy freight, in all their explorations, and in many of their military expeditions against their enemies; whether the red skins of the west, or the pale faces of the English provinces. As the more perfect workmanship of the boat-builder and the ship carpenter advanced by way of Canada, or Louisiana, keel-boats and barges were seen among the rude fleets of the west. Such was the rude commerce upon the lakes and the numerous tributaries of the Mississippi, in the first dawn of civilization in the valley of the Mississippi.

As early as 1742 keel-boats and barges had been introduced upon

² See Book [*Hist. of Miss. Valley*] 2nd and chaptr. 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th.

the Mississippi, and were plied in their long and toilsome voyages, from Mobile and New Orleans, to the Wabash and Illinois country; and Fort Chartres, Kaskaskia and Vincennes, military as well as trading expeditions were despatched against the hostile tribes of the lower Mississippi. As trade and population began to increase in the Illinois country, and in lower Louisiana, vessels of this kind began to multiply in all the settlements; yet for travel and exploration, for trade and intercourse with the remote tribes, the canoe was an indispensable requisite. Nor were they less indispensable in military invasions and hostile incursions. At Detroit, which became the grand depot of the western trade of Canada, hundreds of canoes and pirogues formed the fleets which lined the banks of that beautiful river, and brought into the port of Detroit the collected furs and skins of the west. During the Chickasaw war, from the year 1736 to 1740, hundreds of these vessels were used to convey troops and military stores up the Tombigby, and also up the Mississippi, in the grand invasions of the Chickasaw country. In 1753, M. Contrecoeur, the French commandant from Canada, by way of Presque Isle and French Creek, descended the Allegheny river to its mouth with a thousand Frenchmen and Indians, conveyed in three hundred canoes and thirty barges.³ In these he conveyed also his military stores and the field-pieces which afterward defended the old "Fort Duquesne."

On the Ohio and Mississippi keel-boats and barges were the principal means of transport between the Illinois and Wabash countries, and the city of New Orleans and Mobile in the south. These vessels heavily freighted descend the river with but little labor, generally floating with the current. In the ascending voyage they are propelled with great labor against the rapid current by means of oars, setting-poles, or by the slow process of cordelling. In ordinary deep channels upon the Ohio the barge or keel may be propelled by eight or ten sturdy barge-men against the strongest currents; but on the Mississippi the toil is greatly increased by reason of the deeper channel and the more rapid current. Large barges ascending the Mississippi against the powerful current require the labor of fifteen or twenty men; and the setting-pole is often useless by reason of the depth of water; where oars, sails and cordelling along the wooded shore become the only resort.

³ See Book 2nd & chap. 3rd [*Hist. of Miss. Valley.*]

The latter operation requires at least two canoes or skiffs, alternately advancing with a head-line, which is secured to a tree or other stationary object, while a capstan or windlass in the bow is constantly drawing in the line and advancing the boat towards the stationary object. Oars, setting-poles, or head-lines were used alternately as the depth of water might require. By the combined operation of wind, oars, head-lines and setting-poles, a large freighted keel or barge, with a full complement of sturdy boatmen, might advance against the strong current of the Mississippi at the rate of ten or twelve miles per day; but more commonly the daily advance, in high stages of the river, was from six to eight miles. The voyage from New Orleans to the Illinois or Wabash settlements required from eighty to one hundred days.

On smaller rivers, where the current is less deep and rapid, the head-line is rarely used, except at particular rapids, which are impracticable to the oars and setting-poles. In shallow water, not more than eight or ten feet in depth, the setting-pole is the most certain propeller; and is always used when the depth of water does not preclude its use. The boatmen alternately traverse the sides or the barge or keel, upon the "running-board," setting their poles near the bow, and running towards the stern as the boat advances under their vigorous strides.

The keel-boat men and the barge men of those days, as well as during the subsequent barge navigation under the Anglo-Americans, were a hardy race of men, fearless of danger, and inured to exposure and privation of every kind. But exposures and dangers were their pastimes. During the day, they toiled at the oars or pole, under a vertical sun, or in the pelting storm, unmoved from their post. At night they stretched themselves upon the deck, covered with a single blanket, and exposed to the chilly winds, and heavy dews, unharmed. During sixty and sometimes ninety days from New Orleans, they toiled against the impetuous current, before they reached the Illinois country or *Au Poste St. Vincent*.

Such was the early navigation of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers for more than half a century, under the French of the Illinois country and Louisiana; and such it continued, nearly as long, under the Anglo-Americans of the United States.

In these remote and semi-savage regions, where roads and wagons were unknown, and where the liquid highways of nature

were the great avenues of commerce and intercourse, boat-builders and shipwrights were mechanics indispensable to their prosperity. Hence boat-yards were early established at all important points upon the tributaries of the Ohio and Illinois. The necessities of the western pioneers created a demand for these mechanics; and the high wages offered and the prospects of wealth and independence in the glorious west were not likely to deter the anxious emigrant of France from a voyage across the Atlantic. Hundreds had flocked from the populous circles of France to the St. Lawrence, and spread along the western lakes to the upper Mississippi and Ohio; while their kindred and friends had braved the burning suns and pestilential vapors of Louisiana to reach the same destination by a more direct route. Thus during the French dominion in Louisiana and New France, boats, barges, pirogues and canoes multiplied in countless numbers upon all the tributaries of the Mississippi and of the Mobile rivers, no less than upon the St. Lawrence and the lakes of Canada.

As the settlements increased in number and population, the means of transport multiplied, and an interchange of commodities brought on a rude state of trade and commerce. The furs, the peltries, the hides, the corn and flour of the Illinois and Wabash found their easy way down the Mississippi to New Orleans and Mobile. Here they were exchanged for money, or for rice, indigo and tropical fruits from the Indies, and for the wares and fabrics of France. The products of the Illinois country were valuable in France and she could well supply all the necessities for frontier life and Indian trade. Hence a commerce and intercourse sprung up mutually advantageous to the mother country and her colonies.—The trade of the Illinois and Wabash countries as early as the year 1720 had become an important item in the commerce of New Orleans and Mobile. Although agricultural products entered into the trade from these countries, for the first quarter of the eighteenth century, yet the chief exports consisted in articles pertaining to the fur-trade and peltries. As an evidence of the progress which had been made in agriculture in this region before the close of the second quarter that century, it is recorded, that in the year 1746, these countries exported to New Orleans and Mobile, for the lower settlements, not less than 800,000 lbs. or two thousand barrels of flour, contained

in 4000 sacks.⁴ The quantity shipped to Lower Louisiana this year was greater than had been usual in former years, to supply the deficiency caused by an entire failure of the rice and other crops of grain in Louisiana of the previous year. From this time, as well as previously, the settlements of lower Louisiana, as well as the ports of Mobile and New Orleans, were annually supplied with large quantities of pork, bacon, hides, leather, tallow, beeswax, bears-oil and lumber of all kinds. These generally descended, in barges, during the months of December and January, which returned in February and March, freighted with rice, tropical productions and fruits; with tobacco, indigo and European fabrics, suited to the Indian trade and their own necessities or fancies. Such continued the trade on the Mississippi up to the war of the American revolution.

The Anglo-American commerce, between the Ohio region and the city of New Orleans, began about the beginning of the war of the revolution. The commonwealth of Virginia had an extensive western frontier to defend, against the combined operations of British and Indian warfare; situated in a remote region, and beyond a vast wilderness, of lofty mountain ranges. To supply her western posts with stores and munitions of war by carrying them over the mountains, through a trackless wilderness, was next to impossible. The sagacious eye of Patrick Henry saw the advantages to be derived from the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and resolved to supply the posts on the Ohio and upper Mississippi with military stores, freighted up the river from New Orleans. The Spanish government had felt a secret joy at the revolt of the British provinces and could not refuse to lend a casual aid. In the fall of 1776 Colonel Gibson and Captain Linn of Virginia were despatched to New Orleans for military supplies for Fort Pitt. In the following spring they returned to Wheeling, with three keel-boats, containing besides other supplies, one hundred and thirty-six kegs of powder.⁵ The following year Captain Willing was despatched with two keel-boats to New Orleans, with a company of fifty men, to procure supplies for the force, under Colonel George Rogers Clark, destined for the reduction of Kaskaskia and other British posts upon the upper Mississippi.—Dur-

⁴ Martin's *Louisiana*, vol. I. *Old Pittsburg Navigator*, p. 360, Ed. 1814.

⁵ See Hall's *Statistics*, p. 219.

ing the whole war the western posts were supplied chiefly in the same way, by stores freighted in a succession of keel-boats from New Orleans to the upper Mississippi, Wabash and Ohio rivers as far as Fort Pitt.

From the close of the war of the revolution, the Anglo-Americans began to urge their claim to the rightful navigation of the Mississippi. From this time flat-boats, or Kentucky arks, came into general use for the downward trade. These boats were easily made and served to convey articles of western produce to a ready market in New Orleans. At the same place the flat-boat, or ark could be sold for the lumber it contained; and the crews could "work their passage" up to "the falls," upon the first ascending barge or keel-boat. The flat-boat was first designed to convey emigrants from Fort Pitt and the Monongahela to Kentucky, and to afford themselves and their live-stock a shelter from the pelting storm and a covert from the Indian rifle as they floated down the Ohio. Hence they were called "Kentucky-flats" or "arks." They did not lose this name when they arrived freighted with Kentucky produce at New Orleans. Hundreds of this kind of boats, soon afterward descended the Mississippi, freighted with the annual products of the new settlements in Western Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky, as well as from the Cumberland settlements of Tennessee. Although from various regions, and from different rivers, yet in New Orleans they were all "Kentucky-flats;" and all western people, with the Spaniards, were Kentuckians.

The Kentucky ark made one downward trip, and its term of service had expired. To carry on the upward trade and intercourse, the barge and keel were indispensable. Barges and keels became the regular packets and conducted the chief upward travel and commerce. Descending for their upward cargo, they were freighted with western produce, to be left in exchange. Although New Orleans was a foreign post, in a foreign province, the Anglo-Americans forced their produce into the market.—The first barge packet on the Ohio, used by the Anglo-Americans, was the "Mayflower,"^a built by Captain Jonathan Devon, an old shipbuilder from Rhode Island who came out with the first New England colony, which settled at the mouth of the Muskingum in April, 1788.

^a See Book V., chap 10 [*Hist of Miss. Valley*]"Extension of first white settlements across the Ohio," etc.

This colony, under Rufus Putnam, had advanced as far as the Youghiogheny, when the dangers from Indian hostility was such that they wintered upon the Yough; when Captain Devon built a fine covered and decked row-galley, which afforded the colony shelter and protection from the Indian rifles as they descended to the place of their contemplated settlement. This was the "May-flower," which for years afterward served as a covered packet for occasional trips from Marietta to Wheeling and Pittsburg.⁷

In January of 1794, the first regular line of packet-barges was established at Cincinnati, to run in the Pittsburg trade. The line consisted of four covered and armed barges, adapted for passengers and freight. Each packet, provided with portholes and two swivels, made its upward and downward trip in one month. Hence one arrived and another departed from Cincinnati every weeks.⁸

Barges made regular trips to New Orleans and back to Louisville or to Cincinnati; but these trips required six months for the downward and upward voyage; and only two were made in one year by the same boat.⁹ Yet the line of inter-communication was kept up by a succession of boats owned by enterprising men. The same year Mr. Thos. Powers, the Spanish emissary from New Orleans, charged with the intrigue of separating the western states, arrived at Cincinnati in a splendid barge, with a full crew of Spanish boatmen, professedly on a trading voyage.¹⁰ Other Spanish emissaries had arrived at other points lower down on the Ohio, by the same mode of conveyance, in their previous intrigues with the disaffected in Kentucky.

The trade and intercourse between New Orleans and upper Louisiana, during the Spanish dominion, from the peace of 1783 until the final surrender of Louisiana to the United States in 1804, had been regular and uninterrupted. Spanish barges were common upon the upper as well as upon the lower Mississippi; and extensive commercial houses at St. Louis, St. Charles, Kaskaskia and others towns upon the river conducted the trade.

The commerce of the Ohio region descending the Mississippi passed beyond the limits of the United States to the Spanish port of New Orleans, in virtue of commercial treaties with Spain. The

⁷ See *Burnet's Letters*, p. 15.

⁸ Hall's *Statistics of the West*, pp. 22-34.

⁹ *Burnet's Letters*, p. 151.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

exports from the United States by this route agreeably to the Custom-house register, at Loftus' Heights, from January 1st until June 30th of 1801, were conveyed in four hundred and fifty flat-boats, twenty-six keels, two schooners, one brig and seven pirogues. The cargoes were composed of such articles as entered into the principal trade of the western settlements, comprising their surplus productions, of Western Pennsylvania; Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio.¹¹

Ship-building had been early introduced into the west. A brigantine of sixty tons burden had been built in 1679 upon Lake Erie by the intrepid LaSalle.¹² From that time, however, we have no account of any sea-vessel upon the waters of the western lakes or the Ohio, until the advance of the Anglo-Americans, eighteen years after the close of the war of the American revolution. In the year 1800, among other articles of western manufacture for the New Orleans market, a mercantile house at Pittsburg and another at Marietta had determined to build small sea-vessels and float them down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers on the spring flood. The first vessel of this kind, built on the Ohio, was the schooner "Amity," of 120 tons burden destined for the "friendly" port. It was built by John A. Tarrascon, who had established a shipyard at Pittsburg. The schooner was completed in the spring of 1801, when she was freighted with flour and sent to New Orleans. From that port she sailed for the Island of St. Thomas in the West Indies. During the following summer the same enterprising man completed another larger vessel of 250 tons burden.

¹¹ The aggregate articles comprised in the cargoes of these several vessels and boats were as follows, viz:

Flour,	93,033 bbls.	Cordage,	196,000 lbs.
Tobacco,	882 hhds.	Whiskey,	565 bbls.
Peltry,	45 packs.	Peach-brandy,	29 bbls.
Do.,	1,980 lbs.	Cider,	30 bbls.
Bear-skins,	657	Beer,	71 bbls.
Deer-skins,	5,347	Iron,	1,770 lbs.
Do.,	25,000 lbs.	Nails,	112 bbls.
Pig-lead,	56,900 lbs.	Lard,	94 bbls.
Hemp,	30 bales.	Butter,	44 kegs.
Do.,	22,746 lbs.	Cotton,	4,154 bales.
Bacon,	57,692 lbs.	Window-glass,	22 boxes.
Pork,	680 bbls.	Onions,	30 bbls.
Beef,	43 bbls.	Soap,	26 boxes.
Apples,	2,340 bbls.	Mill-stones,	10 pair.

¹² See Book I., chap. 2 of this work [*Hist. of Miss. Valley*].—"Exploration of the Mississippi by LaSalle."

This was the "Pittsburg," which was likewise freighted with flour and sent to New Orleans. From that port the Pittsburg was despatched for Philadelphia, sailing three thousand miles to reach the commercial emporium of the state to which she belonged. From that port she sailed to Bordeaux in France; from which she returned freighted with wines, brandies and French manufactures to Philadelphia.

This enterprising man continued to carry on his shipyard for several years, during which time several other vessels were built and sent to sea by way of New Orleans. Among these was the brig "Nannino," of 250 tons burden, built in 1802; also the ships "Louisiana" of 300 tons, and the "Western Trader" of 400 tons, both built in the year 1803.¹³

Marietta was not behind Pittsburg in this novel trade of the west. In 1801, Captain Jonathan Devon, the old ship-builder from Rhode Island, also opened a shipyard near Marietta. The first vessel constructed here was the "Muskingum," of 230 tons; the second was the "Eliza Green" of 150 tons. These vessels were laden with western products and floated down the river to New Orleans. In 1804 the same architect built the "Nonpareil," a beautiful schooner of 70 tons; which freighted in like manner was ready for the next spring flood. In the spring of 1805 she descended to New Orleans, herself and cargo both for sale. Her cargo like the surplus products which were annually sent to New Orleans, consisted of the various staples of the west; but chiefly of 200 barrels of flour, 50 barrels of kiln-dried meal, 4000 pounds western cheese, 6000 pounds bacon, 100 sets of puncheon hooks and a few grindstones.¹⁴

The Spaniards were jealous of their Republican neighbors, and although the commerce of the Ohio region had been forced upon them, they had not failed to embarrass it with heavy exactions and occasional confiscations. After many years of vexatious exactions, with temporary relaxations and indulgences from the changing policy of Spain, the close of the year 1803 found Louisiana a Territory of the United States and New Orleans an American port. The long restrained commerce and enterprise of the Ohio valley, with force peculiar to the Anglo-American character, soon

¹³ *American Pioneer*, v. 2, pp. 90-91.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

burst forth and covered the Mississippi with hundreds of Kentucky flats, floating their rich cargoes of western produce, on every spring flood, to the free and wealthy port of New Orleans. The articles of trade were as various as the wants and productions of a new and fertile country, forced by the enterprising energies of a hardy agricultural people. Flour, pork, beef, bacon, whiskey, apples, onions, butter, lard, bagging and rope, corn and potatoes, lumber and horses were among the chief exports. Yet these were only a portion of the many western products and manufactured articles sent to New Orleans annually from the great Ohio region.

The amount of western trade annually increased and soon became almost incredible for quantity and variety. This surplus product of the west was not only such as supplied the demands of New Orleans and the rich settlement on the lower Mississippi, but it furnished hundreds of ship-loads to the ports of the West Indies and Europe. As the west had no general port-registry of its commerce, the amount of the annual exports can be shown only by approximate estimates. This commerce of the west had increased until the declaration of war with Great Britain in 1812. The flat-boats with their cargoes had been ready to descend the rivers at every flood from the last of October, until the first of June. During this period, the Ohio was generally in good boating order, for at least five months and commonly free from obstructions by ice. As a fair specimen of the western trade to New Orleans in the season of 1810 and 1811 we refer to the partial register of a commercial house in Louisville. By this register it appears that not less than one hundred and ninety-seven flat-boats, four keel-boats, passed the falls of the Ohio in two months; or between the 24th of November, 1810, and the 24th of January, 1811.¹⁵ This period com-

¹⁵ In the old *Pittsburg Navigator*, Ed. 1814, we find the following abstract, viz:

COMMERCE OF THE OHIO.

We have been obligingly favoured with a transcript from the books of Messrs. Nelson, Wade, and Greatsinger, for two months, viz. Nov. 24, 1810, to Jan. 24, 1811, 197 flat, and 14 keel boats, descended the falls of Ohio.

Cargoes of the above registered boats.

18,611 bls. flour.	4,433 do. cheese.
520 do. pork.	59 do. soap.
2,373 do. whiskey.	300 do. feathers.
3,759 do. apples.	400 do. hemp.
1,085 do. cider.	1,434 do. thread.

prised less than half the boating season, and the most interrupted portion of that season; and in all probability, the number of boats descending subsequently until the first of June was not less than three hundred flats and twenty-five keels. This would give the entire number for the whole season, at about five hundred flat boats, and forty keels, all well freighted. The articles of which their cargoes were composed may be estimated by the subjoined abstract for the cargoes of the boats actually registered.

The trade from the Missouri and upper Mississippi up to this time had consisted chiefly of lead, furs and peltries. This trade had begun as early as the year 1720 and had continued with a gradual increase up to the beginning of the war of 1812. St. Louis, an old French post, had been a principal depot for the fur-trade of the upper Mississippi, from the time of M. Laclede in 1764.¹⁶ In the year 1805, soon after the occupancy of upper Louisiana by the Federal Government, the annual value of the Missouri fur trade was about seventy-eight thousand dollars, and from this amount it had not varied for fifteen years, or since the year 1790. Twenty-seven per cent upon the annual value was deemed the

721 do. do. royal.	154,000 do. rope yarn.
43 do. do. wine.	681,900 do. pork in bulk.
323 do. peach brandy.	20,784 do. bale rope.
46 do. cherry bounce.	27,700 yds. bagging.
17 do. vinegar.	4,619 do. tow cloth.
143 do. porter.	479 coils tarred rope.
62 do. beans.	500 bushels oats.
67 do. onions.	1,700 do. corn.
20 do. onions.	216 do. potatoes.
20 do. ginseng.	817 hams.
200 gross bottled porter.	4,609 do. bacon.
260 galls. Seneca oil.	14,390 tame fowls.
15,216 lbs. butter.	155 horses.
180 do. tallow.	286 slaves.
64,750 do. lard.	18,000 feet cherry plank.
6,300 do. beef.	279,300 do. pine do.

ALSO,

A large quantity of potter's ware, ironmongery, cabinet work, shoes, boots and saddlery—The amount of which could not be correctly ascertained.

Taken from the Pilot's books, at Louisville, Ky., this 8th Feb., 1811.
By Jas. M'Crum.

¹⁶ See Book 4th, chapt. 1st [*Hist. of Miss. Valley*].

average profit of the American Fur Company, who conducted this trade.¹⁷

Lead had been wrought and exported from the lead mines of the upper Mississippi early in the French dominion, and the amount has increased annually up to the present time. But it was not until after the close of the war in 1815 that the Anglo-American genius and enterprise began to reach this region and to disclose the inexhaustible mineral treasures here concealed. Since that time the lead trade has been one of the most important items in the commerce of the upper Mississippi and has given employment to thousands of laborers and support to hundreds of families who have no other dependence.

About the same time, the commerce of the Ohio region began to increase in an astonishing degree. The western portions of Virginia and Pennsylvania began to multiply their sources of trade and commerce with the advancing settlements, and with New Orleans, in proportion to the increase and security of their own population. Kentucky and Ohio were already populous states, inhabited by the same enterprising people, who continued to swell the tide of western commerce, which was gradually pouring into New Orleans. The number of flat-boats from the Ohio region soon amounted to nearly two thousand annually¹⁸ and their cargoes were distributed by the commercial fleets to all parts of the world, but especially to the Atlantic ports of the United States and to the West India Islands.

Still the commerce from New Orleans was comparatively small, by reason of the difficulties of the upward navigation. A few

¹⁷ In the *Pittsburg Navigator* of 1814, pp. 342-3, is the following abstract showing the amount of each article comprised in this trade for the year 1805, viz:

1. Beaver skins,	12,281 lbs.	@ 1.20,	.... value	\$14,737 00
2. Fox skins,	802	@ 50 each,	....	401 00
3. Bear skins of all colors,	2,441	@ 2.00 "	....	5,082 00
4. Cow skins,	189	@ 1.50 "	....	283 50
5. Deer skins on the hair,	6,381	@ 50 "	....	3,190 50
6. Otter skins,	1,267	@ 4.00 "	....	5,068 00
7. Raccoon skins,	4,248	@ 25 "	....	1,062 00
8. Bison skins, or Buffalo robes, .	1,714	@ 3.00 "	....	5,142 00
9. Dyed deer skins,	96,926	@ 40 "	....	38,770 40
10. Bear's grease, or oil,	2,310 galls.	@ 1.20 "	....	2,572 00
11. Tallow & fat,	8,313 lbs.	@ 20 "	....	1,662 20

The annual value at St. Louis, \$77,971 00

¹⁸ See *Hall's Statistics*, p. 247.

cargoes only were brought in barges and keels from the lower Mississippi to the Ohio region. About forty barges and keels were engaged in this trade. But to move the freighted barge up the strong current of the Mississippi and Ohio for fifteen hundred miles was no small labor, and it required months to complete the trip. The supercargo who reached the falls with his charge, in three months, from New Orleans, was deemed an enterprising and energetic man. Four months were often required to complete the trip. The same barge with a good crew could make the downward and upward trips in six months. The freight of the largest barges was only 60 or 80 tons; and fifteen or twenty hands were required to make the upward trip. Of course the expense was great, and cheap, heavy articles doubled their first cost before they reached their destination.

As late as the year 1817 the commerce upward and downward between New Orleans and St. Louis on the upper Mississippi, was conveyed in 21 keel-boats and barges. These made one and sometimes two trips in the year, and the whole tonnage was one thousand tons.¹⁹

At this time dry goods and even hardware and queensware could be transported in wagons from Baltimore and Philadelphia, across the mountains, to Pittsburg or Brownsville, for less money than the cost of water transport by way of New Orleans. For many years the west had been supplied with merchandise by this overland carriage. Hundreds of transport wagons made their monthly trips, from the Atlantic ports to the upper Ohio; but the expense so increased the cost of goods, to the western people, that they were continually impoverished as a community. New Orleans itself was an inland port, more than one hundred miles from the sea; to reach which sea vessels had to toil from five to twenty days against the strong current of the river, whose channel varied its course towards every point of the compass. The voyage across the Atlantic was scarcely more difficult and protracted than the ascent of the river to New Orleans.

Pittsburg had early been an important point of embarkation to emigrants, and was the depot for supplying the settlements of Kentucky and Ohio with such articles of trade and commerce as were brought across the mountains. It also early became a manu-

¹⁹ See Bowling's speech in Congress, Jan. 16th, 1844.

facturing town, from which the settlements on both sides of the Ohio, for six hundred miles, below, were supplied with rude western fabrics and manufactures. Upon the Monongahela and upon the Youghiogheny and at Pittsburg were erected the first iron works in the Ohio region, and from this section of the country proceeded the first iron implements and utensils which were to cultivate the fertile plains northwest of the Ohio.

The older settlements of the Ohio region had already become a great agricultural community, and the people required the more elegant manufactures of the Atlantic States and of Europe, for which they were able to exchange any amount of the products of their rich soil and the toil of their hardy freemen. But although the western products could easily be transported to any portion of the globe, by way of New Orleans, great difficulty was encountered in supplying the west from Europe or from the Atlantic ports. A sufficient number of wagons could transport the required supplies across the mountains to the Ohio river; but the expense incurred consumed the whole proceeds of the husbandman and doubled the first cost of the goods in the Atlantic ports. While the people of the west received small prices for their products, which were easily carried to a foreign market, they in return paid exorbitant prices for articles received in exchange.

No people can survive long, and prosper, where the balance of trade is strongly against them. Such was the state of the west; and without relief, they were doomed to suffer under the unequal values of agricultural and mechanical productions.

At this time the genius of Fulton was about to open new sources of prosperity to the whole west; to break down the barrier raised by the impetuous current of the Mississippi, and turn the tide of commerce up the river, and from the wealth of Europe and the Atlantic States, into the very heart of the remote west. Nature made the west on a magnificent scale; its immense navigable rivers, affording the most extensive inland navigation in the world, opened a theatre for the immortal Fulton. Never was the genius of man more nobly employed, than when Fulton applied the force of steam to the navigation of the western waters. This was all that the west required to make it the noblest and richest country on earth. Washington broke the chains that bound Americans to a foreign country: Fulton extended the channels of intercourse and

multiplied the ties which bind a great nation together.²⁰ In no region of the globe can the inhabitants derive equal advantage from steam navigation. The hundreds of large rivers and the thousands of tributaries seem formed by the hand of nature to exhibit the triumph of steam in the exaltation of the American republic.

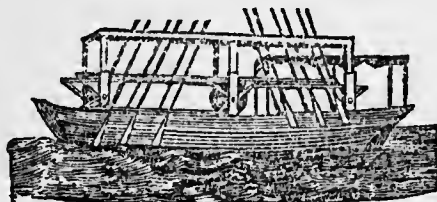
John Fitch, a native of Connecticut, a watchmaker by trade, who had emigrated to Kentucky in the summer of 1780, having made a pre-emption settlement in 1778, was the first American to conceive of the application of steam to the navigation of the western waters. Upon the banks of the Ohio, contemplating the extent and magnificence of the river, its great length to the ocean, and the boundless extent of fertile country watered by it, he mentally exclaimed: "A great and good God has not provided such a country and such rivers without giving to man the power of reducing them to his use. This can be done, only by enabling him to overcome the currents by *some newly invented mode of navigation.*"²¹

The power to effect this object was abundantly supplied on every hand; both above and below the surface of the earth. Coal, wood, iron and water were the materials to generate the power; and that power was *steam*. Having reflected much upon the subject, after hearing of Watts' steam-engine in England, he declared his conviction: "If Watt can propel mills by steam, I can navigate boats against the stream by the same power." Pursuing the idea, his whole mind became absorbed in the enterprise. Being poor and destitute, he sought pecuniary aid in Philadelphia. Thence he subsequently made a visit to England; and from Watt himself, learned the art of generating and applying the power of steam. Five years afterward, aided with funds from William Bingham, Esq., he completed a "paddle-boat," which was launched upon the Delaware, and made one trip from Philadelphia to Bordentown.²² Such was the first attempt to propel boats by steam in America. The paddles were attached to cranks, which were moved by machinery connected with the piston-rod. The annexed sketch exhibits the form of this boat.

²⁰ See Hall's *Statistics of the West*, p. 217.

²¹ See *American Pioneer*, v. 1, pp. 33-34.

²² *Amer. Pioneer*, v. 1, pp. 34-35 & 6.



[Fitch's Paddle-Boat.]

The inventor subsequently substituted "paddle-wheels," and made other improvements in the machinery, but want of funds and public neglect prevented the completion of his designs. Deeply grieved at the cold indifference shown by men of means and enterprise, he declared that he had "*fully tested the powers of steam, and that it would yet succeed.*" He lamented his inability to carry out his plans; and in answer to their doubts, as he deposited a sealed manuscript of his plans and his labors, he exclaimed to his incredulous hearers, "But this, gentlemen, will be the mode of crossing the Atlantic in time; and although *I* may not live to see it, *some of you may see* the time when steam will be preferred to all other modes of conveyance; it will be the means by which the Mississippi will be ascended." In this he saw with the eye of prophecy, not only through the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but his intellectual vision penetrated more than half a century into futurity and beheld the "Great Western" as she triumphed over the dangers of the ocean.²³ But his short-sighted hearers, in the goodness of their hearts and in a tone of deep sympathy, as they turned away, said, "Poor fellow! what a pity! he is crazy!" Such is the fate of genius. But *John Fitch* was truly, as he once announced himself to John Brown, a member of Congress from Kentucky, "*The inventor of steamboats, from which the whole union, and Kentucky especially, would derive great advantage.*" But nearly forty years were to elapse before the genius of Fulton was to fulfil this prediction, by the full development of the magic power of steam upon the impetuous Mississippi.

The subject of steam navigation on the western waters did not slumber after the death of John Fitch. The *desideratum* was felt by all; and all were anxious for the application of some power, other than the physical strength of man, to enable them to over-

²³ The British steamer *Great Western* crossed the Atlantic in 1837. See Buckingham's *Travels*, p. 458.

come the river currents and to develop the unparalleled commercial resources of the western waters. In March 1801, a public meeting was called in Cincinnati, by "a company of persons," in order to witness the plan and operation of "a machine capable of propelling a boat against the current, with considerable velocity, by the power of steam, or *elastic vapor*," in order that "persons may have an opportunity to judge of the propriety of the undertaking." They were desired to attend "and to subscribe towards enabling the proprietors to complete the machine, and to offer such aid for that purpose as may be found to be merited."²⁴

Again in April following, Samuel Highway and John Pool, in a publication, proposed "to bring into *immediate use*, with the aid of voluntary subscriptions from those public spirited persons, who may feel disposed to patronize *so important a discovery*," a mechanical project, constructed for propelling boats against "the stream of rivers, tides and currents, by the *power of steam*, or *elastic vapor*."

Yet suspicion, of the utter impracticability of the successful application of this new agent, seemed to deter men from embarking their money in the enterprise; although the proprietors agreed to require no advance until its "success should have been fully tested and the boat should have made a voyage from New Orleans to Cincinnati:"—upon failure of which, all obligations for the amounts subscribed should be void.

In August following, "Edward West of Lexington, Kentucky, exhibited to the citizens of that place the specimen of a boat worked by steam, applied to cars." A spectator observes, "The application is simple, and from the opinion of good judges, will be of great benefit in navigating the Mississippi and Ohio rivers." Such was the early efforts in the west to supercede human labor by the more potent agency of steam, in opening the commerce of the country.

A great revolution in the political condition of the west had commenced, and the great Valley of the Mississippi, heretofore shut out from commerce, was soon to become the granary for the starving millions of Europe, and the storehouse which was to give life and being to her swarming operatives.

For years Fulton had been engaged in the project of propelling

²⁴ See Cincinnati, 1841 pp. 177 to 180 of *Hist of the Miss. Valley*.

boats by steam, against the impetuous currents of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Many who had examined his models deemed the object practicable; but the mass of superficial observers looked upon his efforts as the offspring of a distempered mind, a mere chimera of the brain, from which no beneficial result could spring. But the genius of Fulton surmounted every obstacle and urged his new agent to the vindication of its powers. "*The triumph of steam will yet be seen on the Mississippi,*" said the persevering philosopher; "and carriages, driven by steam will yet cross the mountains, with a rapidity surpassing the best stages on turn-pikes." Many of his incredulous hearers lived to see his prediction verified in the majestic steamer plowing the turbid waters of the impetuous Mississippi, and in the rapid car driven with the speed of a race-horse through the mountain defiles.²⁵ Before twenty years had elapsed railroad cars driven by steam were in operation west of the mountains;²⁶ and steamboats were traversing the Mississippi river upon all its eastern tributaries, and upon the great northwestern lakes.

It was in the summer of 1812 that the first steamboat was built upon the western waters. This was the "New Orleans," built at Pittsburg, a presage of future intercourse and commerce. It was a vessel of 350 tons, owned and constructed by Robert Fulton, who had embarked his whole fortune in the enterprise. Early in December, 1812, this vessel left the port of Pittsburg, and descending the Ohio and Mississippi, arrived at New Orleans on the 24th of December, after a prosperous voyage of about eighteen days. For more than a year, she ran as a packet from New Orleans to Natchez, until she was wrecked upon a snag near Baton Rouge.²⁷

The *second* steamboat on the western waters was the "Comet" of 25 tons, built at Pittsburg by Daniel French and owned by Samuel Smith. This small boat made a trip from Pittsburg to Louisville, in the summer of 1813. The following spring she descended the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. Here she took the place of the "New Orleans," in the trade between Natchez and New Orleans.

The *third* steamboat, built also at Pittsburg, belonged to a com-

²⁵ Hall's *Statistics of the West*, p. 229.

²⁶ The Pontchartrain railroad was in operation at New Orleans in March, 1831. See *New Orleans Directory* for 1840.

²⁷ Hall's *Statistics of the West*, p. 230; also *Emigrant's Guide*, pp. 60-62.

pany in New York and New Orleans. Fulton himself was the builder. This was the "Vesuvius" of 340 tons. In the spring of 1814, she left Pittsburg for New Orleans, in command of Captain Frank Ogden.—No steamer as yet had attempted to ascend the Mississippi above Natchez. The bank of the river for nearly seven hundred miles above that place was a dense wilderness, almost uninhabited, and the current of the river was strong and impetuous. Yet it was determined to make an effort to stem the current with the Vesuvius. On the first of June she departed on her upward voyage, in which she toiled for more than two weeks, until she grounded upon a sand-bar, nearly seven hundred miles from New Orleans.²⁸ The river continued to recede and left her perched high and dry upon a sand bar, until the early part of December following, when the winter flood setting her afloat, enabled her to return to the city of New Orleans in command of Captain Clement. She was soon after pressed into service by General Jackson, in resisting British invasion. Unfortunately she was soon afterward grounded upon the batture near New Orleans. At a subsequent date she ran as a packet between Natchez and the city of New Orleans, until sent into the Louisville trade, and was condemned in 1819.

The *fourth* steamboat on the western waters was the "Enterprise" of 45 tons, built at Brownsville on the Monongahela, by Daniel French and owned by a company of that place. She made two voyages to Louisville in the summer of 1814, under the command of Capt. Israel Gregg. On the first of December she took in a cargo of ordnance stores at Pittsburg, and sailed for New Orleans in command of Capt. Henry M. Shreeve. She arrived at New Orleans on the 14th of December after a voyage of thirteen days. She was soon despatched by General Jackson, up the river in search of two tardy keel-boats laden with small arms for the troops. After an absence of six days and a half, she returned with the arms on board. In the meantime she had traversed about six hundred and eighty miles, having ascended forty miles above Natchez. On the 22nd December she commenced transporting troops and military stores for the defence of New Orleans, in which service she was actively employed until after the 8th of January following. She was subsequently used as a cartel despatched to the British commander in the Gulf of Mexico. This was the first

²⁸ Hall's *Statistics*, p. 231; also Atwater's *Ohio*, p. 249.

steam-boat ever used on the western waters to expedite the military movements, for national defence, and the immense advantages of such conveyance can never be overlooked in future.

The "Enterprise" continued to run as a packet between New Orleans and Natchez for two years afterwards, during which she made nine entire voyages: It was now determined to attempt a voyage to Pittsburg on the Ohio, a distance of more than two thousand miles, against an impetuous current. This voyage had never been made by steam, and the "Enterprise" was destined to lead the way and to astonish the west with the transcendent powers of steam. On the 6th of May 1817, she left the port of New Orleans, and on the 30th of the same month arrived at Shippingport below the "falls of the Ohio." The voyage had been made in twenty-five days, and this was the *first arrival* of a steamboat from New Orleans.²⁹ In honor of the commander and to commemorate the event, which had been accomplished by his perseverance, the citizens of Louisville gave him a public dinner with every demonstration of gratitude. The Enterprise continued her voyage to Pittsburg soon afterward.

The same voyage in keel-boats and barges had rarely been accomplished in less than three months. New Orleans was virtually two months nearer Pittsburg, and Captain Shreeve was acknowledged the father of steam-navigation on the Mississippi.

The *fifth* steamboat on the western waters was the "Ætna," of 340 tons, and owned by the same company which built the Vesuvius. She was built at Pittsburg during the year 1814 and set out on her first voyage to New Orleans in March, 1815, under the command of Captain A. Galé. After discharging her cargo at New Orleans, she also entered the Natchez trade; when she made about eight voyages, or entire trips.

During the following year, 1816, a number of small steamboats were on the stocks at Pittsburg owned by different individuals and companies; all emulous of the glory of success; and each endeavoring to introduce such improvements and modifications in the machinery, as was most likely, in their opinion, to attain that object. Among those, which were in progress of building this year, was the "Buffaloe" and "James Monroe," under the superintendence of Mr. Latrobe, at Pittsburg; the "Washington" of 400 tons, at Wheeling under the superintendence and control of Captain

²⁹ Hall's *Statistics*, p. 231.

Shreeve; the "Franklin" of 125 tons, built at Pittsburg by Messrs. Shiras and Cromwell, with one of George Evans' engines; the "Oliver Evans," of 75 tons, built by George Evans; the "Harriet," of 40 tons, built at Pittsburg and owned by Mr. Armstrong of Williamsport, Pennsylvania. All of these were finished and sent to New Orleans before the spring of 1817, there to be sold; or to be employed in the lower trade, where the impetuosity of the current was less, and where success was more certain.

As late as the year 1816, the practicability of navigating the Ohio by steam successfully, as well as the Mississippi, above Natchez, was deemed doubtful. Those who augured favorably were viewed as too sanguine, if not visionary. The difficulty encountered by the best boats, in ascending the strong ripples or rapids on the Ohio, as well as the strong currents of the Mississippi above Natchez, induced many close observers to decide that steam might overcome the difficulties of the Mississippi *below Natchez*, but above that point, and on the Ohio, "*a more happy invention would be required.*"³⁰

This delusion was soon dispelled by improvements in the machinery which gave double power to the engine and accelerated its motion. The plan of the Washington, built for Captain Shreeve, was nearly the same with those which subsequently came into general use. This boat had descended to New Orleans in the autumn of 1816, and returned to Louisville during the winter. In March, 1817, she set out from Louisville and made the voyage to New Orleans and returned in forty-five days. This trip settled the problem of steam navigation on the western waters, and first convinced the despairing public, that steam boat navigation "would yet succeed upon the Mississippi." New life and new enterprise at once overspread the whole western country and opened a new era to western commerce.

In 1817 the "Despatch" of 25 tons was built at Brownsville, on the plan of French's patent, by the same company which had built the "Enterprise" in 1814. This vessel made several trips from Pittsburg to Louisville, and finally descended the Mississippi to New Orleans, whence she returned to Shippingsport in 1819.

Up to this time the great object in view in constructing these boats was for the reception of freight, and with but little provision for the convenience of passengers.

³⁰ Hall's *Statistics*, p. 229.

Until this time twenty barges comprised the principal facilities for the public transport of merchandise and heavy freight from New Orleans up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers to Louisville, as the general depot for the upper settlements and Pittsburg. These barges made each one and sometimes two trips to New Orleans and back during the year; and the whole amount of their upward freight did not exceed two thousand tons per annum.³¹ The whole number of keel-boats on the upper Ohio, employed in the domestic trade, at this time did not exceed one hundred and fifty, each averaging about thirty tons burden and making under favorable circumstances two trips from Louisville to Pittsburg in one month.

The more capacious barge of the Mississippi made its voyage from New Orleans to Louisville in one hundred days, under favorable circumstances.³² Hence the upward trade from New Orleans to the "Falls of Ohio" did not exceed forty barge-loads per annum.

Such was the upward commerce of the Ohio region, from New Orleans in the early part of the year 1818, before the successful introduction of steam navigation on the Mississippi, in the absence of the immense advantages about to be introduced by the perfection of the steam engine, and the adaptation of steamboats to the comfort and conveyance of passengers.

"The General Pike," built at Cincinnati in 1818 and designed to run as a packet between Maysville and Louisville by way of Cincinnati, is said to have been the first boat on the western waters, whose construction was designed for the convenience of passengers. She was a large Ohio boat, measuring one hundred feet keel, twenty-five feet beam; but drawing only $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet water. She was provided with a cabin 40 feet long and 25 feet wide, besides fourteen state-rooms.³³ These were all on the lower deck, and upon a level with the boilers and the engine.

The same year the Federal Government caused four steamboats to be built in the west for the purpose of exploring the head waters of the Missouri in what was known as the "Yellow Stone Expedition."

Of these the "Calhoun" of 80 tons was built at Frankfort, Kentucky; the "Expedition" of 120 tons, and the "Independence" of 50

³¹ Hall's *Statistics*, p. 238.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 236.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

tons, were built at Pittsburg; the "Western Engineer," constructed under the superintendence of Major S. H. Long, of the U. S. Topographical Engineers, was built at Pittsburg. The last boat ascended the Missouri as high as the Council Bluffs, about six hundred fifty miles above St. Louis.

Others were built by private individuals or by companies, for a certain trade and intercourse, or to run as packets between particular ports or trading towns on the Ohio, or on the Mississippi. The proprietors and engineers of each new engine to be constructed were emulous of improving the model and the workmanship; and thus improvements were daily introduced for increasing the power and the motion of the engine.

The condition and progress of steam navigation in the west near the close of the year 1818, is concisely noted by an eastern paper of Virginia, in the following extract:

"It is astonishing to perceive the rapid multiplication of these convenient vehicles of intercourse between places connected by water-courses. Not only almost all the principal rivers on the seaboard possess the advantages resulting from steamboats: but they have also found the way into the western waters and great northern lakes; where their utility has exceeded the views of the most sanguine calculations. * * But New Orleans surpasses them all. To that port alone no less than *twenty steamboats* trade regularly; and conveying the riches of the fertile regions watered by the Mississippi, the Missouri and the Ohio, to that great mart of the western world."³⁴

Up to his time great impediments to the success of steam navigation had resulted from the low state of the arts in the western country and the imperfection of machinery. The mechanic arts, both in wood and iron, at this early period had just begun to attain their present perfection. The introduction of steamboats gave birth to new trades and new manufactures which were entirely unknown before. In the machinery and construction of a steamboat we find the labor of several distinct trades; co-operating to perfect the vessel. All these trades, before unknown, had to advance from infancy to maturity manhood before the present models of steamboats were attained. New classes of men and new sources of wealth and employment necessarily sprung into existence to supply the new wants of this novel species of navigation. Wood-yards had been unknown on the Ohio and Mississippi, and each boat in making her trip was at first obliged to lie to at certain points until her crew could supply her with fuel from the forest.

³⁴ See the *Petersburg Republican*, Va., September, 1818.—Also the *Mississippi State Gazette*, Natchez, Sept. 23d, 1818.

There were no pilots who had explored the river so as to know with certainty the depth of each channel, the shallowness of each sand-bar and the concealed snags in each bend. The river channels were to be explored; while the boat proceeded slowly and cautiously to permit the leadsman to sound the depth. Years elapsed before many pilots had become familiar with every channel, every sand-bar, every island chute, or every concealed snag and tree which endangered the vessel.

Many, whose enthusiasm had prompted them to invest all their means in the noble invention, in hopes of realizing large estates, lost everything by the accidents of steam and the dangers of the river before steamboat navigation had become a science and the dangers had become avoidable. A hundred new means of expending money and of distributing commerce among the western wilds sprung up by the magic influence of steam.

During the next ten years the number and perfection of steamboats increased in a most astonishing degree. The Ohio and the Mississippi became literally covered with steamboat fleets before the year 1830; and before another five years had elapsed, they were seen on every deep tributary of the Mississippi, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Falls of St. Anthony; upon the impetuous and changeful current of the Missouri, and upon the Yellow Stone itself, more than three thousand miles from New Orleans. They were seen in great numbers upon all the great lakes, between Canada and the United States; and making their regular trips from Green Bay and Chicago to Cleveland and Buffalo, and from Ontario to the St. Lawrence.

The velocity of boats had been continually increased, by improvements in the machinery or in the form and construction of the boat. In 1820 the best boats ascended from New Orleans to Louisville in fifteen or twenty days; the downward trip was made in six days less. Some required fifteen days to make the downward trip, and thirty on their return. Ordinary boats made the trip from the "Falls" to New Orleans and back in thirty or thirty-five days.

In the spring of 1824 some boats of extraordinary speed made the trip from New Orleans to Louisville in twelve days, the shortest time in which any upward voyage had then been made. In three years afterwards the best boats made the upward voyage in nine or ten days—and the downward in six days. In 1830 the or-

dinary trip, up from New Orleans to Louisville, was nine or ten days; and five years afterwards a boat which could not make the trip in eight days was deemed a tardy boat.—Still the construction of the boat and the perfection of the machinery added to the speed. In 1838-9 several boats had reached Louisville in six days from New Orleans; and brag-trips, by crack-boats, had been made in five days and a half running, exclusive of stoppages and delays. In 1840-2 the best boats could make the trip from New Orleans to Natchez, a distance of 285 miles, in 22 hours, with a velocity of more than twelve miles per hour against the current of the Mississippi. The same boats would run from New Orleans to St. Louis on the upper Mississippi in four days and a half, against the impetuous current, above Natchez; or at the rate of nine miles per hour the whole distance of nearly 1200 miles. Ordinary boats in 1840, with a full cargo of freight, made their trips at the rate of ten or twelve miles per hour, down the stream; and from six to eight miles per hour against the current, above Natchez. Some superior running boats traversed the river at the rate of twelve or fifteen miles per hour, against the current below Natchez, and at twelve miles per hour above that point to St. Louis. The same boats, in the downward trip, swept along at the rate of eighteen miles per hour. In May 1844, the J. M. White made the trip from New Orleans to Natchez in twenty hours and thirty minutes, a distance of 285 miles.⁸⁵ The same boat from New Orleans reached St. Louis in four days and a half, and Louisville on the Ohio in five days and a half. The best Ohio packets make the trip from Louisville to Pittsburg in two and a half or three days.

The number of steamboats in active operation upon the Ohio and Mississippi in 1829, according to the estimate of Morgan Neville, Esq., was over two hundred with a tonnage of about 3,500 tons; and many had been lost or destroyed by accidents to which all steamers are liable.⁸⁶ In 1832 no less than eighty different steamboats arrived at the port of St. Louis, having an aggregate of 9,520 tons burden, by measurement. The total number of steamboat arrivals during the year, at St. Louis was not less than five hundred, and the aggregate tonnage about 19,447 tons.

In January 1834, an official list of steamboats, from an authentic

⁸⁵ See *Natchez Gazette*, May 8th.

⁸⁶ Hall's *Statistics*, p. 235.

source, gave the whole number, then in the trade of the Mississippi at two hundred and thirty, having an aggregate tonnage of 39,000 tons. Of these about one third were boats which averaged over 200 tons each, and many as much as 300 tons. About one third of the number varied from 90 to 120 tons each.³⁷ Of these, about twenty-five of the larger class were engaged in the trade between Louisville, Cincinnati and New Orleans; seven between Nashville, on the Cumberland river, and New Orleans; four between Florence on the Tennessee river and New Orleans; four in the trade between St. Louis and Louisville; about eight between St. Louis and New Orleans; seven in the cotton trade on the lower Mississippi.—Besides these there were more than fifty distributed on the waters of the Ohio above the falls, upon the Mississippi above St. Louis.³⁸ More than thirty were engaged in the tributaries of the lower Mississippi, upon the Arkansas and White river; upon the Red river and the Washita; upon the Yazoo and Tallahatchy, and upon the lakes and bayous of Louisiana. At the same time there were twenty-five steamboats on Lake Ontario and the upper St. Lawrence; twenty-one upon Lake Erie and the other western lakes.³⁹

Up to the close of the year 1835, the whole number of steamboats which had been built upon the western waters had increased to the astonishing number of seven hundred and five.⁴⁰ Bowmansville, Pittsburg and Wheeling had been the principal points for the construction of steamboats and steam engines, until the year 1820, when foundries, forges, furnaces and all the mechanism for the construction of these important vessels began to spring up at Cincinnati, Louisville and other points on the lower Ohio. Within five years afterwards, or in 1825, Cincinnati and Louisville rivalled Pittsburg in the perfection, beauty and number of splendid steamboats, which had been launched at each of these places. Since then, these cities have almost monopolized this branch of the mechanic arts. In the year 1831 there were about twenty-five steamboats built at Pittsburg and in its vicinity: the same year twenty-five were built at Cincinnati and in its vicinity.⁴¹

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

³⁹ Darby's *Emt. Guide*, pp. 59 & 63.

⁴⁰ Hall's *Statistics*—in catalogue, pp. 252 to 263.

⁴¹ In speech of Mr. Bowling in House of Reps. U. S., Jan. 16, 1844.

Since that period the construction of steam engines and of steamboats has become an important business at many points below Louisville. St. Louis and Alton on the upper Mississippi, already begin to rival Cincinnati and Louisville in their favorite art. Nashville upon the Cumberland, and Florence upon the Tennessee, have their own shipwrights, foundries, forges and iron works.

Ten years afterward, or in 1845, the city of St. Louis had become the great western emporium for the building of steamboats of superior model, construction and machinery. The most magnificent steamboats in all the west were built at St. Louis after the year 1844.

The losses sustained by those who invested funds in this kind of uncertain stocks have been disastrous indeed. "Taking the period of two years from the autumn of 1831 to that of 1833, we have a list of sixty-six boats gone out of use. Of these fifteen were abandoned as unfit for service; seven were lost by ice; fifteen were burned; twenty-four were snagged and sunk; five were destroyed by the collisions with other boats. Deducting fifteen as un-seaworthy, we have fifty-one, lost by accidents peculiar to the trade in the short space of two years.⁴² This too was at a time when the improvements in the machinery and the knowledge of the river had in a great measure diminished the hazard of this species of investment. The annual loss of boats by snags or other accidents peculiar to the trade maintains nearly the same average. In the year 1839, the number of boats lost, chiefly by snags, was forty-one; in 1840, forty boats were in like manner lost, and twenty-nine in 1841.⁴³

The building of steamboats and the furnishing of them with boilers, engines and furniture of every description, has given employment to a vast number of mechanics, artisans, laborers and employees; as well as to traders, merchants and manufacturers. Hundreds of families in the Ohio region have been supported from the labor requisite to supply the necessities of this branch of trade. This too is only a small item in the advantages resulting to the western people at large, from the active employment of these commercial conveyances. When a steamboat is in active service, she gives employment to her complement of officers and

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

men to the number of twenty on many smaller boats, and often to more than fifty on the larger. These comprise the officers, pilots, firemen, engineers, stewards, cooks, blacksmiths, carpenters and others. Each of these are receiving daily wages, which they distribute in various ways at all the ports and towns from Pittsburg to New Orleans. Besides these, the boat circulates all her income, in a hundred ways, and at every point upon the rivers, in the purchase of wood, boat-stores, provisions of all kinds, repairs and contingencies.

Each boat of 200 tons burden and over is estimated to spend in all these outlays at the rate of about one hundred and forty dollars per day during six months in the year. Those of 120 to 200 tons expend in like manner, about ninety dollars per day for about nine months in the year. In this way the steamboat trade contributes to circulate among the western people not less than four millions of dollars annually. Of this nearly one third is for fuel; an article which abounds on every river and water-course, and which in the absence of this species of navigation was almost without value. At the same time it promotes the rapid opening of the country, by creating a demand for what would otherwise encumber the fields and plantations of the emigrant and settler. Thus the settler upon the navigable waters of the Mississippi derives a profit from the clearings of his land, which otherwise would be done at a heavy cost for labor.

The entire number of persons in the west who derive a support, either directly or indirectly, from the building and running of steamboats in 1832 was estimated at 90,000 souls. The number has been greatly increased since that time. The entire number of persons dependent upon the resources in 1840 must have exceeded one hundred and ninety thousand persons.

The political and commercial changes effected in the west by this magic power have not been surpassed by any known in the annals of history. It has not only augmented the amount of imports into the west, but it has reduced their cost in an equal degree, and at the same time, it has increased the demand and the price of their surplus products at home. It has contributed more than any other single cause to the rapid advance of population into the western states; and has made them at once, populous republics. Freight from the Atlantic ports to the Ohio formerly cost from five to

eight dollars per hundred weight; now the same may be delivered at Louisville or Cincinnati, by way of New Orleans, for less than one hundredth part of that amount.⁴⁴

Steamboats more than any other human invention have contributed to people the great tributaries of the Mississippi. Millions of enterprising and hardy pioneers, now distributed upon the innumerable branches and sources of this great river and of the northwestern lakes, received their conveyance hither by the hundreds of steamboats which have traversed all these waters for the last twenty-five years. Without them the west would still have been a vast wilderness; over which a few naked savages would have roamed sole masters. But the immense numbers of native and foreign emigration, which have poured into the west, through the agency of steamboats, have made the west what it is; a great republican empire. One of these emigrating columns has advanced from the north and east by way of the great lakes and the Ohio river, and the other has advanced up the mighty flood of the Mississippi itself.

The steamboats upon the western rivers differ materially from those which are in use upon the Atlantic tide waters. The former are constructed for throwing the strong currents and traversing narrow and tortuous streams. They are therefore made long and narrow—with a capacious hold for freight, also a lower or freight deck and an upper deck commodiously arranged into spacious cabin rooms and numerous private state-rooms for passengers.

Those which run chiefly on the lower Mississippi are large and seldom rate less than three hundred tons. It is not uncommon to find their cabin from eighty to one hundred feet in length and from fifteen to twenty feet wide; besides from fifteen to thirty state-rooms with double berths.

The amount of freight which is sometimes transported upon these floating palaces is almost incredible. The large boats in the cotton trade frequently descend the river with twenty five hundred, or three thousand bales, of cotton, weighing each four or five hundred pounds. The boats are then filled to repletion in every part; on the guards and bow it is built up into a solid wall, with cotton bales, like bricks, until the cabin and decks are concealed from view and shut out from the light of the sun. The whole resembles a vast

⁴⁴ Hall's *Statistics*, p. 239.

floating battery, such as once protected New Orleans from the violence and plunder of a ruthless invader. In January, 1846, the splendid steamboat *Maria*, from St. Louis, arrived at New Orleans with the enormous load of 4058 bales of cotton.

The commerce of the Mississippi valley previous to the introduction of steamboats, has already been stated in general terms. At that time the population did not exceed two millions of souls in the valley of the Mississippi; two years afterwards, the census of 1820, gave it at 2,624,963 souls, including the state of Alabama. The census of 1830 showed that the population had increased to 4,231,950 souls; or had nearly doubled in ten years.⁴⁵ The next ten years presented nearly the same proportionate increase, and the census of 1840 gives the population of the same region at nearly seven millions and a half of souls.⁴⁶ The year 1845 will give to the valley of the Mississippi, probably not less than ten millions of souls. During this time the commerce of the same great region has increased in an equal ratio. The whole amount of trade furnished by the entire west, up to the year 1820, when steamboat navigation was effectually established, is almost inconceivable. The amount can only be imperfectly estimated. At that time the principal exports passed by way of New Orleans; the records of this port therefore will give a general approximate estimate of the entire surplus product of the great valley. But this record does not embrace, the annual export of more than fifty thousand large hogs from Kentucky and Tennessee driven across the mountains to South Carolina and Georgia, nor the annual average of nearly five thousand horses and mules driven to the same market, and about five thousand beeves, shoats and sheep driven to the same market for slaughter.⁴⁷ Nearly an equal number of cattle, horses and mules were annually driven across the mountains toward Baltimore and Philadelphia. Nearly five thousand horses and mules are annually driven by land from the upper Mississippi and Ohio

⁴⁵ See Darby's *Emigrant's Guide*, p. 54.

⁴⁶ See *Census of U. States* for 1840.

⁴⁷ In the year 1835 there passed from Kentucky, on the wilderness road alone, leading to South Carolina, as noted by Mr. James Renfus the following number of animals for the southeastern market: viz 4,716 horses:—1,951 mules:—2,485 stall-fed beeves:—2,887 shoats:—1,320 sheep:—& 69,187 hogs for slaughter. (See Hall's *Statistics*, p. 275.) The author himself witnessed the passage of more than 30,000 large hogs on this road within one week in the month November, 1824, in traveling towards Lexington, Ky.

regions to Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, besides great numbers transported on boats down the river.

Besides these outlets for live stock, since the year 1835, the agricultural exports from the west, to the northeastern states, by way of the lakes and by the great Ohio and New York canals and by the different railroads, are almost beyond calculation. The amount of western produce from the Ohio and lake regions which seeks the northern route to New York and other Atlantic ports is now almost equal to that which descends the Mississippi from the same regions.

We have said steamboats were early introduced upon the lakes. Commerce is wonderful in regulating its own channels, much more effectually than legal enactments can direct them. The lakes by nature, were destined to hold an important rank in the scale of commerce in the United States. This had been perceived by General Washington, at the close of the war of the revolution. As early as 1753 and 1775, he had seen the opening commerce of the French, from Canada and the lakes, to the waters of the Ohio. The portage route from Cuyahoga to the Muskingum was already known. After mature reflection, in 1784, General Washington expressed his conviction that unless Virginia and Maryland were prompt to open a canal communication from the Kenhawa across to the Potomac, the western trade would assume the northern route, through the Cuyahoga and Lake Erie.⁴⁸ In his letter to Mr. Jefferson he predicted that if the states of Virginia and Maryland delayed to connect the lakes and the Ohio by a canal with the Chesapeake Bay, "the Yorkers would remove every obstacle from the northern route, so soon as the northwestern posts were surrendered by Great Britain, and they would then introduce sea-vessels upon the lakes."⁴⁹

The Yorkers had introduced these vessels upon all the lakes as early as 1810. But it was not until the year 1818 that the first steamboat appeared upon Lake Erie. It was the "Walk-in-the-Water;"—his vessel was lost in a storm in the autumn of 1821.

⁴⁸ See *Statistical Register*, Louisville, Ky., May, 1844, pp. 9, 10, & 20, 21, 22—also Spark's *Writings of Washington*, vol. 9, pp. 31-2; also 64-66; also 326-7.

⁴⁹ *Statistical Register*, p. 22.

Next were the "Superior," the "Henry Clay," the "Enterprise" and the "Pioneer," which were more fortunate.⁵⁰

The shores of Lake Erie had already become lined with settlements; Cleveland and Buffalo were the lake ports for the northern route, from the west to the city of New York. The great New York canal had been opened and the Hudson river to the Atlantic ocean. The enterprise of the west was awakened and the "Ohio canal" was commenced, which was to connect the Ohio river, through Lake Erie, with the great commercial emporium of the United States. This canal was to intersect the lake at Cleveland and the Ohio at Portsmouth, having great lateral branches.

Cleveland and Buffalo had been depots for supplies destined for the northwestern army and places of rendezvous to the troops moving westward for further operations upon the western frontier. Their harbors were shallow and afforded but little protection from the storms which are often so terrible on the lakes. Nature had failed to give it depth and art seemed inadequate to the task.

Many efforts had been made and money had been appropriated in vain for improving the "Harbor of Cleveland." It was still shallow and the moving lake sands rendered the mouth of Cuyahoga changeable and uncertain. Although Cleveland had been made a port of entry as early as the year 1805,⁵¹ it was still comparatively unimportant as a commercial port. To open a free commerce between the Great New York Canal and the interior of Ohio, it was necessary that the harbor of Cleveland should be opened for sea-vessels.⁵²

Congress had now made an appropriation of ten thousand dollars for opening the mouth of the Cuyahoga; Maj. T. W. Maurice, of the United States corps of Engineers, having arrived, made a survey of the harbor and commenced the construction of piers for deepening the channel.

Thus commenced the noble design of the present harbor of Cleveland, in which the old channel of the Cuyahoga has been closed and a new one opened by the projecting pier. Aided by the munificence of the Federal Government, the design of deepening

⁵⁰ *American Pioneer*, v. 2, p. 32.

⁵¹ *American Pioneer*, v. 2, p. 32.

⁵² *Amer. Pioneer*, v. 2, p. 28.

Cleveland harbor, after great labor and expense, was accomplished in the year 1837, ten years from its commencement.

In this work, as in all others wherein genius outstrips common mind, it was deemed a useless and pernicious undertaking. Such was the opposition from those who deemed their interests in jeopardy, that the engineer barely escaped forcible interruption, in a project which was at once to ruin the mariner and the dull prospects of Cleveland. To add to the opposition, just as the western pier was complete the moving sands of the lake closed the old channel, and the schooner, "Lake Serpent," which lay in the harbor, was inclosed by a bar of sand, through which a channel was dug for her escape. The enraged captain, as he left, denounced the pernicious project, and wished no richer boon than a lease of life until the contemplated plan should succeed. Had his wish been granted, the next year would have terminated his existence. The same autumn saw the pier sufficiently completed to open the flood-way through the bar east of the pier: on the 22nd of October the floods of the Cuyahoga came and opened a channel direct to the lake. When the floods subsided, there was two feet of water in the new channel, and the depth increased continually. The old channel, now deserted by waters, was soon closed by a bank of sand; and the following spring the "Lake Serpent" returning from her cruise, entered the harbor with ease.⁵³

It was not until the spring of 1828, that the eastern pier was begun; but from that time the work progressed gradually for nine years and at an aggregate cost of seventy-seven thousand dollars. Since its first completion much labor has been expended to render it more durable and permanent.⁵⁴

The erection of these piers in the harbor, with the concurrent construction of the great "Ohio Canal," has made Cleveland a great commercial port. In the year 1840 its population had increased to six thousand persons; and such had been the increase of its commerce that during the year 1840, there were thirteen hundred and forty-four sea-vessels "inward bound," that passed the piers; besides one thousand and twenty arrivals of steamboats, many of which belonged to this port.

⁵³ *Pioneer*, vol. 2, p. 31.

⁵⁴ *American Pioneer*, v. 2, pp. 30-31.

The tonnage of sea-vessels which thus entered was 120,960 tons; and of the steamboats 357,000 tons.⁵⁵ During the same year the exports were estimated at *five millions of dollars* in value; and consisted in part of 2,100,000 bushels of wheat and 500,000 barrels of flour.

Such was the commerce of one lake-port in one year; a fair indication of the fertility and of the growing population of the Great West.

The commerce of the lake continued to increase steadily up to the present time. A report from the Bureau of the Corps of Topographical Engineers shows that the lake trade between Chicago and Buffalo exceeded one hundred millions of dollars in January, 1845.

From a detailed account of the trade of the port of Cleveland given in the *Cleveland Herald* of January 13th, 1805, the tonnage belonging to that port in 1844 amounted to 11,738 tons.

The arrivals during that year, exclusive of steamboats, were fifteen hundred and sixty; and departures, exclusive of steamboats during the year, according to the same account, was valued at \$11,195,702.

The steamboat arrivals during the same time were no less than twenty-four hundred. The number of men employed as mariners in this trade of this port was six hundred and eighty-one.⁵⁶

The following year, according to the *Buffalo Commercial*, the number of vessels built and put in commission upon Lake Erie, during the year 1845, was forty eight, with an aggregate measurement of 10,207 tons and a cost of \$659,000.00 The number of steamers built between Buffalo and Chicago in four years, subsequent to 1841, was thirty-one; besides eight propellers and one hundred and forty salt vessels, with an aggregate tonnage of 30,802, and at a cost of \$1,880,000.

The number of vessels upon the lake, in the trade from Chicago to Buffalo, with their tonnage and value, is set forth as follows, for the year 1845, viz:

60	Steamers,	21,500	tons,	\$1,500,000
20	Propellers,	6,000	"	350,000
50	Brigs,	10,000	"	2,200,000
270	Schooners,	42,000	"	
<hr/>		<hr/>		
400		80,000		\$4,050,000

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 323.

⁵⁶ *National Intelligencer* of Jan. 21st, 1845.

Ten steamers, twelve propellers and twelve sail-vessels were still on the stocks. At the same time, there was a large number of vessels of the same character employed in the trade of the lower lakes and rivers connected with Lake Ontario and cut off from communication with the upper lakes.⁵⁷

The value of the entire *lake trade* annually has been estimated for 1845, as before observed, at not less than one hundred millions of dollars; and this amount is annually increasing. The whole internal trade and commerce of the western states, including the western rivers, is not less than three hundred and fifty millions annually, including the lake region. Such has been the population and commercial importance to which the west has attained in fifty years.

The introduction of steamboats, successfully upon the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, may be dated from the beginning of the year 1818, when this species of transport began first to exert an influence upon that period, the trade of New Orleans has increased in a most extraordinary manner, and such as has never been known in the past history of the world. Nothing has had so great influence in producing this rapid change, as the cogent power of steam; not only in overcoming the impetuous current and turning the tide of commerce up the river, but in expediting travel and intercourse throughout the whole west, and giving an impetus to manufactures, which unaided centuries could not have effected.

The city of New Orleans itself has been virtually removed from her inland position, and has been made one of the best maritime cities in all the South, concentrating in itself all the export trade of the great Valley of the Mississippi; while it has attracted the commerce of a great portion of Europe, and has become a centre of commerce to all parts of the globe. It has already, in less than thirty years, become what Havana once was, the entrepot between Mexico and the world; at her wharves are exchanged the commerce of two continents, whence it radiates to the whole world.

We have heretofore remarked that the whole upward trade of New Orleans in 1817 was conveyed in twenty barges, of about one hundred tons burden each, and each making from one to two trips to the "falls of the Ohio" in the year, besides two or three barges, which plied between New Orleans and St. Louis, on the upper

⁵⁷ See *New Orleans Bulletin* of Jan. 31st, 1846.

Mississippi. The whole of the upward trade from New Orleans to the Ohio region and the upper Mississippi scarcely exceeded seven thousand tons.

The downward trade conveyed chiefly in four thousand flat-boats was estimated at the value of fifteen millions of dollars, besides the products of Mississippi and Louisiana, consisting of about fifty thousand bales of cotton and fifteen thousand hogsheds of sugar for foreign and American exports.

At the same time the aggregate exports of the city, drawn from the whole valley of the Mississippi did not exceed twenty millions of dollars in value. The entire number of vessels arriving in the port from United States and from foreign countries had rarely exceeded five hundred and fifty per annum.

But as population and enterprise advanced westward into the valley of the Mississippi, as steamboats opened the avenues of travel and intercourse and spread emigration upon all the thousand streams which are tributary to the Mississippi, from the eastern half of the valley, trade, agriculture, manufacture, arts and commerce extended and poured into New Orleans, the emporium of the west, the rich products of industry and arts for the trade of the world.

Ten years from the introduction of successful steam-navigation upon the Mississippi, the whole west was a scene of active enterprise; before which time the forest and the desolate prairie sprung up into populous settlements, manufacturing towns, and commercial cities, whose trade, commerce and general intercourse covered the Ohio and the Mississippi with the rich products of the western world. These were gathered from the remotest tributaries of the Ohio on the east and from those of the Missouri, Arkansas and Red river on the west, and transported in every direction by hundreds of magnificent steamers, traversing every river and every deep stream between the Allegheny ranges on the east and the Rocky mountains on the west. Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Louisville on the Ohio, Nashville on the Cumberland and St. Louis and the upper Mississippi immediately rose into importance, as commercial and manufacturing towns, which controlled and concentrated the wealth and industry of the western country, only to pour it into the depot of New Orleans to seek its

transit to the ports of Europe and the world. Thus New Orleans soon became one of the most important exporting cities in the United States.

The receipt and export of cotton in 1825 had increased to more than 207,000 bales: the receipts of flour for the same year was 140,000 barrels: the arrivals of western pork at the same time exceeded 17,000 barrels; besides large quantities of bacon. The same year the receipt of Kentucky bagging was 6,200 pieces, and 4,800 coils of rope: the arrivals of corn were about 75,000 barrels; and an immense variety of other articles in large quantities.

The quantity of sugar received and exported to different parts of the United States in the year 1829 was 29,951 hogsheads and 773 barrels, besides molasses to the amount of 12,648 hogsheads and 6,544 barrels. The product of the sugar crop in 1830, was 54,430 hogsheads and 2,742 barrels of sugar, besides 23,540 hogsheads and 16,029 barrels of molasses.⁵⁸ The product of the sugar crop of 1844, favored by a fine season, increased enterprise and the application of steam to the process of manufacturing yielded 200,000 hogsheads of sugar, with a diminished proportion of molasses.

In ten years most of these articles had increased ten-fold in quantity. In 1834 the receipts of cotton exceeded 370,000 bales; that of flour 320,000 barrels; that of Kentucky bagging and rope was more than 23,000 pieces, and as many coils of rope; the receipts for pork the same year were 114,000 barrels. Such was the ratio of increase in the western trade with New Orleans. From 1834 the subsequent ratio of increase was still greater for the next ten years, up to the year 1844.

The number of steamboats engaged in the trade increased in a like proportion. In 1834 the number in active service on the western waters was two hundred and thirty; with an aggregate measurement of 30,000 tons. In 1842 the number was four hundred and fifty, exclusive of nearly two hundred lost and unfit for service.⁵⁹

Besides the immense freight conveyed by these boats to and from the city, the downward trade comprised about four thousand flatboats annually, all freighted with the surplus productions of the west, with an aggregate tonnage of 28,000 tons.

⁵⁸ Hall's *Statistics of the West*, p. 282.

⁵⁹ See Hall's *Statistics of the West*, which contain an alphabetical list of the steamboats built, destroyed, & in commission until 1836, pp. 212 to 264.

Such had been the increase of commercial importance in the city of New Orleans, that in 1840 the permanent population amounted to more than one hundred and two thousand souls besides nearly half that number of transient persons; during the winter and spring. Subsequently the increase of population was more rapid; and the census of 1845 gave the city a population of not less than one hundred and thirty thousand persons besides strangers and transient persons.

The commerce of New Orleans has increased with the ratio of increase in the population upon all the great eastern tributaries of the Mississippi, as well as upon the regions which extend from its western bank for six hundred miles up the Missouri, up the Arkansas, and up Red river, for a thousand miles. This city, being the great emporium of western trade and commerce, extends its commercial importance, with the expanding settlements, and the increasing resources of the great valley of the Mississippi, which are annually developed to the enterprise of agriculture, arts and manufactures.

The growing number of arrivals and departures of steamboats of every form and size, which traverse the most distant portions of this great continental thoroughfare indicates the increasing resources and the expansion of the interior trade and commerce; while the annual increase in the number of arrivals and departures of sea-vessels is a just criterion of the expansion of the foreign export trade supplied through this great commercial depot.

The steamboat arrivals and departures at the port of New Orleans for the year 1830 was seven hundred and twenty-eight; besides which there were no less than eleven hundred and twenty sea-vessels of every kind and size. Six years afterwards the commerce of the city had increased the number of steamboat arrivals and departures for the year 1836 to fifteen hundred and sixty-one; while the sea-vessels of every kind, in their arrivals and departures, numbered fourteen hundred and ninety. The annual increase in the number of arrivals and departures of each of these descriptions of vessels was gradual and progressive for the next four years; when the steamboat arrivals and departures for the year 1840 was no less than twenty-one hundred and eighty-seven, the arrivals and departures of sea-vessels in the same time was sixteen hundred and forty-two. Thus

the interior trade and intercourse had one-third more than the export trade and foreign commerce. The same proportional increase continued for four years later, when the steamboat arrivals and departures for the year 1844 amounted to twenty-five hundred and seventy; although the number of arrivals and departures of sea-vessels did not exceed sixteen hundred and eighty-six.⁶⁰

The extent and variety of the interior trade can scarcely be conceived, except from the tabular statements given of the annual receipts, of a few leading staple articles, which indicate the immense receipts and exports of this great commercial city. The articles of cotton, tobacco, sugar and molasses, corn, flour and pork are the heaviest receipts and exports; but these constitute only a few of the endless diversity of products which are annually transmitted from the remote regions of the great Mississippi valley.⁶¹

⁶⁰ See annual statements of the New Orleans Price current.

⁶¹ See Summary of Exports and Imports from 1837 to 1841.

A. Summary of Exports and Imports from 1837 to 1841
ANNUAL STATEMENT OF THE NEW-ORLEANS PRICE-CURRENT

EXPORTS OF COTTON AND TOBACCO,

FROM THE PORT OF NEW-ORLEANS FOR TEN YEARS—COMMENCING 1ST SEPTEMBER AND ENDING 31ST AUGUST.

WHITHER EXPORTED.	BALES OF COTTON.										HHDS. OF TOBACCO.									
	1840-41.	1839-40.	1838-39.	1837-38.	1836-37.	1835-36.	1834-35.	1833-34.	1832-33.	1831-32.	1840-41.	1839-40.	1838-39.	1837-38.	1836-37.	1835-36.	1834-35.	1833-34.	1832-33.	1831-32.
GREAT BRITAIN.....	430610	504768	300787	423204	350700	237089	259243	287877	228082	274023	20605	9136	8748	9969	10458	14428	5634	8112	4875	8845
FRANCE.....	193091	240490	127767	183303	133530	133140	141872	162910	81754	70635	6812	6606	1770	4378	3778	1137	1460	3006	85	580
NORTH OF EUROPE.....	9836	23742	1496	7560	6431	17989	4580	9536	3553	4208	8040	6005	2654	2408	6760	5526	4943	4462	3887	7047
SOUTH OF EUROPE.....	36394	57754	9425	13992	13172	12083	6904	1384	1690	6387	5945	5002	4806	2890	3516	1694	1881	1542	447	1388
COASTWISE.....	160847	122566	137784	106254	85136	90194	124392	59625	95445	63501	13505	13634	12574	15410	11389	18951	19583	10788	14343	17090
TOTAL—	821238	949820	579179	783313	568069	490495	539991	491026	410524	363704	54607	40486	30852	35535	35921	41034	33901	25210	23637	35056

EXPORTS OF SUGAR AND MOLASSES,

FROM NEW-ORLEANS, FOR FIVE YEARS—(UP THE RIVER EXCEPTED) FROM 1ST SEPTEMBER TO 31ST AUGUST.

WHITHER EXPORTED.	1840-41.										1839-40.										1838-37.									
	SUGAR.					MOLASSES.					SUGAR.					MOLASSES.					SUGAR.					MOLASSES.				
	Hhds	Bbls	Hhds	Bbls	Hhds	Hhds	Bbls	Hhds	Bbls	Hhds	Hhds	Bbls	Hhds	Bbls	Hhds	Hhds	Bbls	Hhds	Bbls	Hhds	Hhds	Bbls	Hhds	Bbls	Hhds	Bbls	Hhds	Bbls	Hhds	Bbls
New-York.....	18759	822	5496	17081	18556	608	3511	15105	9911	290	7884	3884	12993	75	4397	8536	9069	53	5108	8322	53	9069	53	5108	8322	53	9069	53	5108	8322
Philadelphia.....	6726	431	1062	4394	8622	134	962	3078	4516	120	373	53	9417	..	782	725	5395	10	437	467	10	5395	10	437	467	10	5395	10	437	467
Charleston, S. C.....	1716	387	1063	3722	722	83	117	1969	670	30	863	2844	1745	81	891	3189	1717	171	246	2887	171	1717	171	246	2887	171	1717	171	246	2887
Savannah.....	387	3	906	2705	931	12	69	451	1812	49	450	398	49	..	353	162	755	36	52	155	..	755	36	52	155	..	755	36	52	155
Providence and Bristol, R. I.....	422	114	1832	7275	8405	442	1267	5543	5943	170	1734	391	4987	..	227	1828	4439	120	281	3318	..	4439	120	281	3318	..	4439	120	281	3318
Baltimore.....	7388	43	1832	7275	8405	442	1267	5543	5943	170	1734	391	4987	..	227	1828	4439	120	281	3318	..	4439	120	281	3318	..	4439	120	281	3318
Norfolk.....	664	43	987	3139	1923	179	89	1698	137	146	231	705	1039	118	266	1678	681	..	8	1592	..	1678	681	..	8	1592	..	1678	681	..
Richmond and Petersburg, Va.....	1620	64	91	165	372	815	33	8867	1816	146	..	2949	60	116	257	2018	1005	157	..	3987	..	2018	1005	157	..	3987	..	2018	1005	157
Alexandria, D. C.....	374	45	..	4778	2914	1567	51	1710	457	691	232	1542	397	1271	15	94	218	1024	..	1290	..	218	1024	..	1290	..	218	1024	..	1290
Mobile.....	1360	782	1124	6317	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847
Apalachicola and Pensacola.....	660	782	1124	6317	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847
Other Ports.....	304	1296	1424	2601	234	1880	1942	1704	490	1273	1867	1495	227	1916	1610	2441	70	588	223	1542	..	588	223	1542	..	588	223	1542	..	588
TOTAL—	40538	4092	11284	48104	45396	6505	8637	42397	23815	2793	13115	20432	36351	3898	10214	27748	25108	2168	6256	27693	..	25108	2168	6256	27693	..	25108	2168	6256	27693

MONTHLY ARRIVALS.

OF SHIPS, BARKS, BRIGS, SCHOONERS AND STEAM BOATS, FOR FIVE YEARS FROM 1ST SEPTEMBER TO 31ST AUGUST.

M O N T H S .	1840-41.						1839-40.						1838-39.						1837-38.						1836-37.					
	Ships....	Barks.....	Brigs.....	Schrs.....	Total.....	S. Boats.	Ships....	Barks.....	Brigs.....	Schrs.....	Total.....	S. Boats.	Ships....	Barks.....	Brigs.....	Schrs.....	Total.....	S. Boats.	Ships....	Barks.....	Brigs.....	Schrs.....	Total.....	S. Boats.	Ships....	Barks.....	Brigs.....	Schrs.....	Total.....	
September.....	31	7	18	20	75	83	16	2	17	18	52	62	22	3	13	18	56	57	18	7	9	24	58	30	5	19	21	75	76	
October.....	55	13	23	37	128	166	49	6	21	40	116	133	42	9	23	31	105	59	20	7	19	35	61	36	3	20	23	82	117	
November.....	68	18	27	39	152	204	54	18	26	38	136	153	81	15	46	56	197	117	20	12	35	61	163	38	5	28	41	107	168	
December.....	108	39	55	76	282	381	89	22	57	65	243	241	69	17	47	63	196	163	64	11	45	48	168	204	61	14	67	51	163	
January.....	100	32	43	65	240	341	86	26	53	91	269	198	67	18	50	103	247	161	44	9	54	64	171	198	20	7	57	91	184	
February.....	87	15	21	67	190	267	38	14	36	64	132	219	53	25	44	84	206	179	33	9	41	59	142	195	45	22	58	63	188	
March.....	76	23	32	43	174	233	27	13	26	110	176	241	57	18	56	98	229	185	48	4	58	75	185	186	21	12	44	63	145	
April.....	53	15	32	31	103	219	34	11	60	69	170	207	49	19	37	79	184	186	44	16	37	72	169	150	47	19	43	52	151	
May.....	40	10	22	31	103	208	30	13	37	60	140	133	8	6	15	41	70	144	48	11	65	73	195	144	69	15	45	49	178	
June.....	24	10	14	30	78	141	32	9	30	23	97	108	16	9	19	47	91	76	12	6	27	29	74	138	7	8	22	38	74	
July.....	12	10	16	20	58	92	29	9	18	24	68	75	15	2	10	34	61	53	12	9	20	23	64	35	16	1	21	23	61	
August.....	14	0	14	35	69	67	18	10	18	34	80	75	15	2	10	34	61	53	12	9	20	23	64	35	16	1	21	23	61	
T O T A L.—	595	191	325	532	1642	2187	553	177	435	622	1846	1973	461	146	407	716	1740	1563	472	111	480	570	1612	1538	408	102	445	540	1489	1561

B. Summary of Imports and Exports from 1841 to 1845

EXPORTS OF COTTON AND TOBACCO, from New-Orleans, for ten years—commencing 1st Sept. and ending 31st August.		HHDS. OF TOBACCO.											
		WHITHER											
		EXPORTED.											
		1844-45.	1843-44.	1842-43.	1841-42.	1840-41.	1839-40.	1838-39.	1837-38.	1836-37.	1835-36.	1844-45.	1843-44.
GREAT BRITAIN.....		365,988	527,675	679,498	421,450	439,310	504,768	309,787	483,904	350,700	237,089	125,531	295,523
FRANCE.....		125,020	116,896	186,675	138,272	183,831	240,690	137,767	128,806	133,530	133,140	90,113	111,104
NORTH OF EUROPE.....		33,035	17,907	50,882	21,207	98,361	23,742	14,660	75,600	64,311	17,969	19,051	20,175
S. OF EUROPE & CHINA.....		92,405	52,855	435,413	235,046	363,984	57,754	13,992	131,721	129,853	143,439	75,538	94,450
COASTWISE.....		14,215	17,695	134,182	99,832	16,847	122,666	137,734	105,264	85,136	90,194	17,033	13,008
TOTAL.....		984,616	895,375	1,088,870	740,287	821,288	949,320	579,179	738,813	589,639	490,495	686,739	812,499
EXPORTS OF SUGAR AND MOLASSES, from New-Orleans, for five years, (up the river excepted) from 1st Sept. to 31st Aug.													
		WHITHER EXPORTED.											
		1844-45.	1843-44.	1842-43.	1841-42.	1840-41.	1839-40.	1838-39.	1837-38.	1836-37.	1835-36.	1844-45.	1843-44.
New-York.....		40,442	67,941	98,775	34,822	114,221	217	1882	157,441	315,499	708	72,851	28,030
Philadelphia.....		21,892	14,221	24,181	11,570	84,778	607	854	42,141	144,474	100	12,838	9,031
Charleston, S. C.....		4,462	95	.....	6,810	15,092	.....	.....	5,427	10,840	100	63	3,986
Savannah.....		782	10	.....	2,883	463	.....	.....	1,254	240	.....	164	318
Providence and Bristol, R. I.....		.....	.....	14,732	10,511	217	.....	475	63	.....	.....	578	108
Boston.....		6,682	543	21,241	14,221	217	.....	1,001	978	4,949	212	58	411
Baltimore.....		12,564	480	547	10,943	5,492	42	586	5,231	8,600	683	1,162	843
Norfolk.....		4,900	208	98	6,029	1,590	.....	.....	2,039	910	23	847	364
Richmond & Petersburg, Va.....		201	.....	95	84	280	.....	.....	1,531	237	.....	216	56
Alexandria, D. C.....		2534	683	76	5218	3,257	17	.....	332	530	.....	675	192
Mobile.....		838	102	.....	1,735	1,070	548	.....	3313	759	102	3313	759
Apalachicola and Pensacola.....		760	280	391	881	42	22	112	2,476	565	303	2,294	517
Other Ports.....		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	766	102	100	800	1,989
TOTAL.....		104,501	105,611	170,941	94,415	343,395	1,544	34,09	429,262	680,441	23,801	123,066	68,011

EXPORTS OF FLOUR, PORK, BACON, LARD, BEEF, LEAD, WHISKEY AND CORN, for three years, from 1st September to 31st August.

DESTINATION.	1844-45.										1843-44.										1842-43.																	
	FLOUR, Barrels.	PORK, Barrels.	BACON, Hhds.	LARD, Kgs.	BEEF, Barrels.	LEAD— Pigs.	WHISKY Barrels.	CORN— Sacks.	FLOUR, Barrels.	PORK— Barrels.	BACON, Hhds.	LARD— Kgs.	BEEF— Barrels.	LEAD— Pigs.	WHISKY Barrels.	CORN— Sacks.	FLOUR, Barrels.	PORK— Barrels.	BACON, Hhds.	LARD— Kgs.	BEEF— Barrels.	LEAD— Pigs.	WHISKY Barrels.	CORN— Sacks.	FLOUR, Barrels.	PORK— Barrels.	BACON, Hhds.	LARD— Kgs.	BEEF— Barrels.	LEAD— Pigs.	WHISKY Barrels.	CORN— Sacks.						
New-York.....	74802	50046	15655	119967	5805	330345	2502	30451	43823	210755	5104	324776	9112	204834	2216	44367	101336	63275	6859	203057	1140	225077	5402	160707	63275	6859	203057	1140	225077	5402	160707	63275	6859	203057				
Boston.....	75990	79017	727	134474	5922	135489	600	81341	109410	1742	210773	5891	111614	780	276284	81955	60278	1350	116475	561	112670	5594	5594	534	2873	60278	1350	116475	561	112670	5594	5594	534	2873				
Philadelphia.....	3608	17242	834	39275	874	88810	1256	500	11939	1217	25831	383	12361	631	6881	1343	12339	6881	1343	12339	6881	1343	12339	6881	1343	12339	6881	1343	12339	6881	1343	12339	6881	1343	12339			
Baltimore.....	1038	2533	9982	24	4422	4382	2255	3986	8924	237	2455	33536	2775	1494	137	2806	3441	20	26663	128263	25607	1038	2533	9982	24	4422	4382	2255	3986	8924	237	2455	33536
Charleston.....	1100	1088	13315	1827	78	22495	67513	43718	9259	10424	13327	569	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764		
Other Coastwise ports.....	43859	5903	5559	13315	1827	78	22495	67513	43718	9259	10424	13327	569	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764		
Cuba.....	23787	529	190	89097	206	9096	29314	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764	387	504	100764		
Other Foreign Ports.....	53891	8178	150	38815	8961	126242	495	279121	108997	20491	157	151382	15162	154955	544	53516	82916	10885	2310	238891	1906	135556	135	183814	10885	2310	238891	1906	135556	135	183814	10885	2310	238891				
TOTAL.....	779137	181409	12082	408338	23969	707430	32300	220236	300082	389179	24852	372270	35386	600320	42127	204231	338772	159774	23383	737729	4424	542172	42136	672316	159774	23383	737729	4424	542172	42136	672316	159774	23383	737729				
TOTAL..... In the above, the Corn, &c., via the Fortcharleston Railroad, are included. Merchandise are not included.																																						

In the above, the Exports to Mobile, &c., via the Pontchartrain Rail Road, are included. Vessels reported in the clearances as having Provisions and Merchandise are not included.

MONTHLY ARRIVALS OF SHIPS, BARKS, BRIGS, SCHOONERS AND STEAM BOATS, for five years, from 1st Sept., to 31st August.

MONTHS.	1844-45.					1843-44.					1842-43.					1841-42.					1840-41.									
	Ships.....	Barks.....	Brigs.....	S. Boats.....	Total.—	Ships.....	Barks.....	Brigs.....	S. Boats.....	Total.—	Ships.....	Barks.....	Brigs.....	S. Boats.....	Total.—	Ships.....	Barks.....	Brigs.....	S. Boats.....	Total.—	Ships.....	Barks.....	Brigs.....	S. Boats.....	Total.—					
September.....	28	9	12	8	55	129	92	7	14	27	70	104	16	7	9	15	47	124	15	8	6	17	46	59	31	7	18	20	76	83
October.....	69	16	14	6	105	165	55	13	28	53	114	178	53	10	27	35	105	145	58	16	34	47	118	157	68	13	23	37	120	186
November.....	74	25	23	23	145	163	117	36	33	39	242	294	124	21	30	35	224	183	70	17	34	41	178	231	68	18	23	37	136	220
December.....	88	38	37	23	186	286	81	43	49	57	280	364	67	28	41	45	195	206	72	24	34	41	178	231	68	18	23	37	136	220
January.....	118	48	57	43	266	353	103	53	47	178	229	347	124	28	41	45	195	206	72	24	34	41	178	231	68	18	23	37	136	220
February.....	62	44	56	42	204	272	73	32	37	182	278	340	67	28	41	45	195	206	72	24	34	41	178	231	68	18	23	37	136	220
March.....	93	44	62	43	242	281	69	33	39	172	270	340	67	28	41	45	195	206	72	24	34	41	178	231	68	18	23	37	136	220
April.....	62	34	48	34	184	245	46	29	33	150	202	260	60	25	32	35	160	227	51	26	35	41	182	235	80	15	21	31	65	220
May.....	38	34	48	34	154	202	46	29	33	150	202	260	60	25	32	35	160	227	51	26	35	41	182	235	80	15	21	31	65	220
June.....	32	12	6	14	54	163	29	16	16	32	130	168	37	16	38	44	156	175	35	18	21	18	134	183	50	10	22	31	43	143
July.....	23	8	1	1	33	104	10	6	12	10	37	128	24	6	17	23	72	127	17	6	9	11	17	103	14	6	10	16	20	58
August.....	18	3	10	11	42	99	16	4	8	13	41	103	12	6	17	23	60	94	10	6	9	13	38	81	14	6	10	16	20	58
TOTAL.....	718	297	351	316	1682	2330	865	256	376	389	1686	2570	679	283	532	524	2018	2324	599	198	279	327	1403	2138	595	191	325	532	1043	2187

**COMPARATIVE ARRIVALS,
EXPORTS AND STOCKS OF COTTON AND
TOBACCO, AT N. ORLEANS, FOR THIRTEEN YEARS,
FROM SEPTEMBER 1. TO AUGUST 31.**

YEARS	COTTON—BALES.			TOBACCO—HHDS.		
	<i>Arrivals</i>	<i>Exports</i>	<i>Stocks.</i>	<i>Arr'ls.</i>	<i>Exp'ts.</i>	<i>Stocks.</i>
1843-44	910854	895375	12964	82435	81249	4859
1842-43	1089642	1088870	4700	92509	89891	4873
1841-42	740155	749267	4428	67555	68058	2255
1840-41	822870	821288	14490	53170	54667	2758
1839-40	954445	949320	17867	43827	40436	4409
1838-39	578515	579179	10908	28153	30852	1294
1837-38	742720	738313	9570	37588	35555	3834
1836-37	605513	588999	20678	28501	35821	3857
1835-36	495442	490495	4586	50555	41634	10456
1834-35	536172	530691	3649	35059	33801	1821
1833-34	467984	461026	4082	25871	25210	717
1832-33	408893	410524	616	20627	23637	1296
1831-32	345646	358104	9778	31174	35056	4646

The value of the receipts and exports, which pass through this great emporium of the west, can scarcely be ascertained by approximate estimates from the port-registers, which must always fall short of the actual amounts. The aggregate tonnage of the Mississippi trade, comprising the collective freight of every arrival, and departure of the numerous steamboats and the four thousand flat-boats annually descending the river, by a committee of congress in 1843, possessing the best and most ample means of information, was estimated at two millions of tons. The same committee estimate the value of the whole internal trade upon the waters of the Mississippi, for the interchange of commodities, to be not less than seventy millions of dollars annually; while those commodities shipped to New Orleans for export are not less than fifty millions more.⁶²

Thus the entire downward trade of the Mississippi annually is estimated at \$120,000,000; the upward or return trade of foreign goods, or of those taken up the river from New Orleans and other parts of the Union is estimated at near \$100,000,000. Thus the value of the entire commodities transported on the Mississippi and its tributaries, according to the best estimates, does not fall short of \$220,000,000 annually.

⁶² See Report of Mr. Barrow in the Senate of United States, Feb. 7-9th, 1843. Also extract from it in the *National Intelligencer*, April 8th, 1843.



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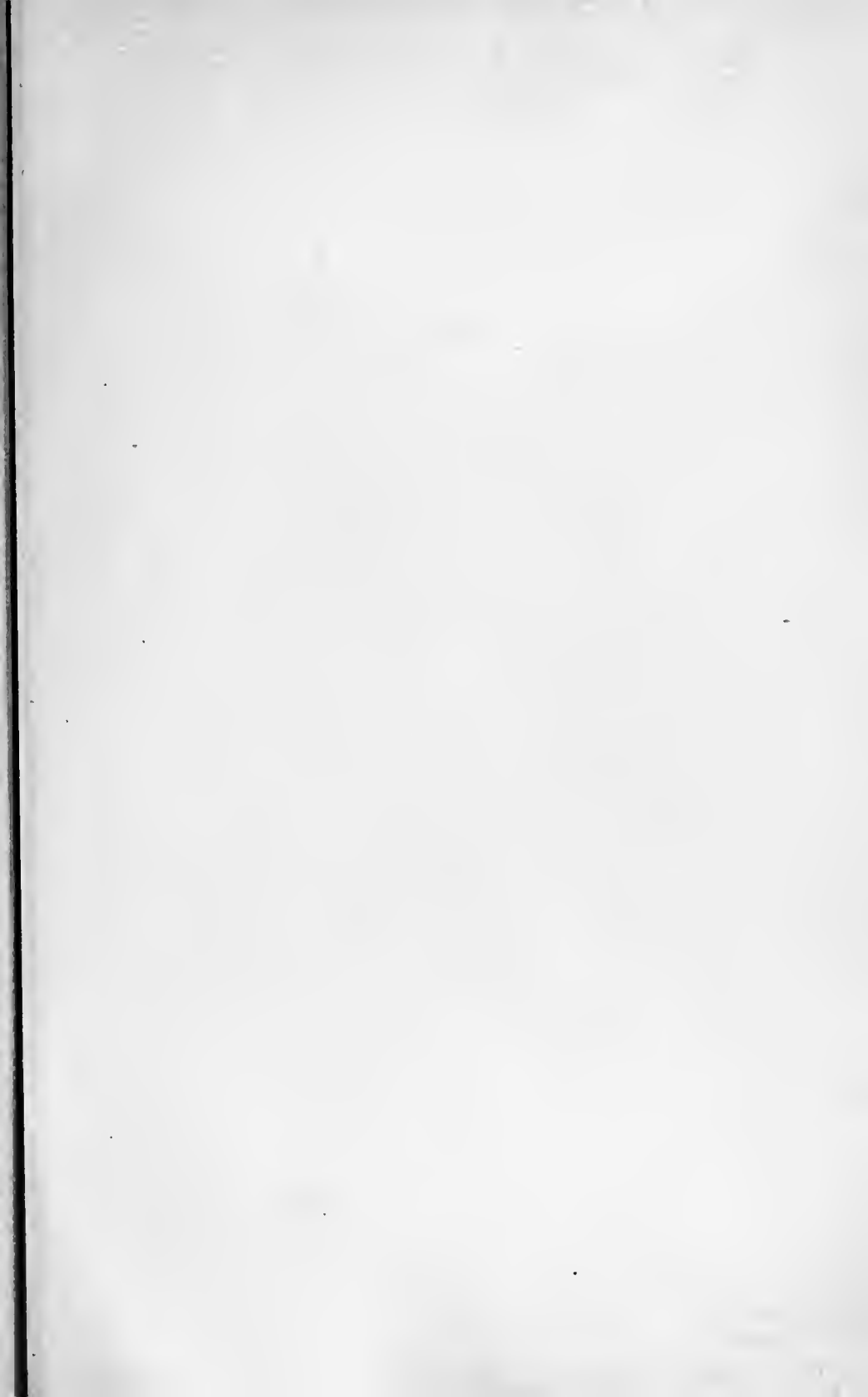
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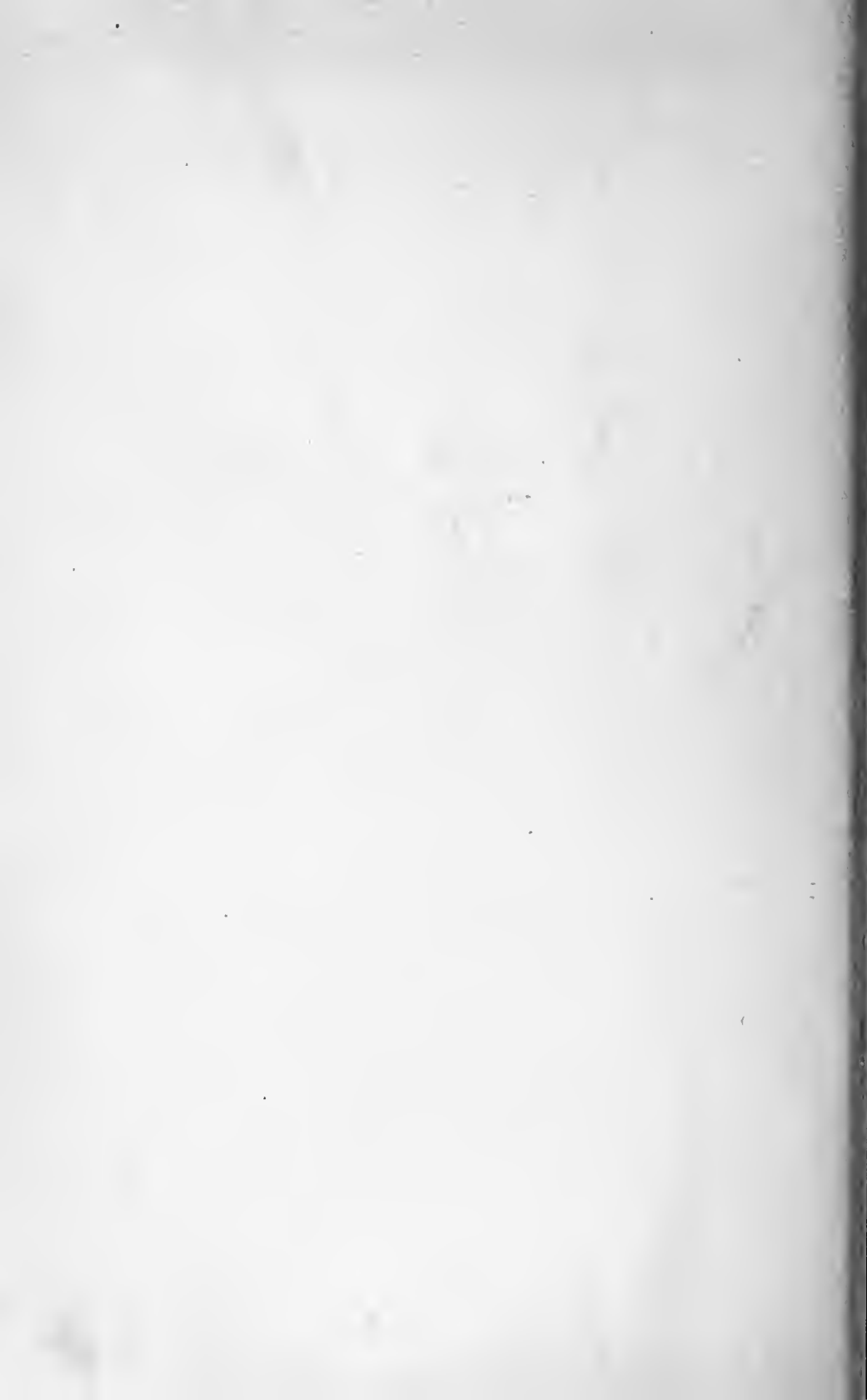
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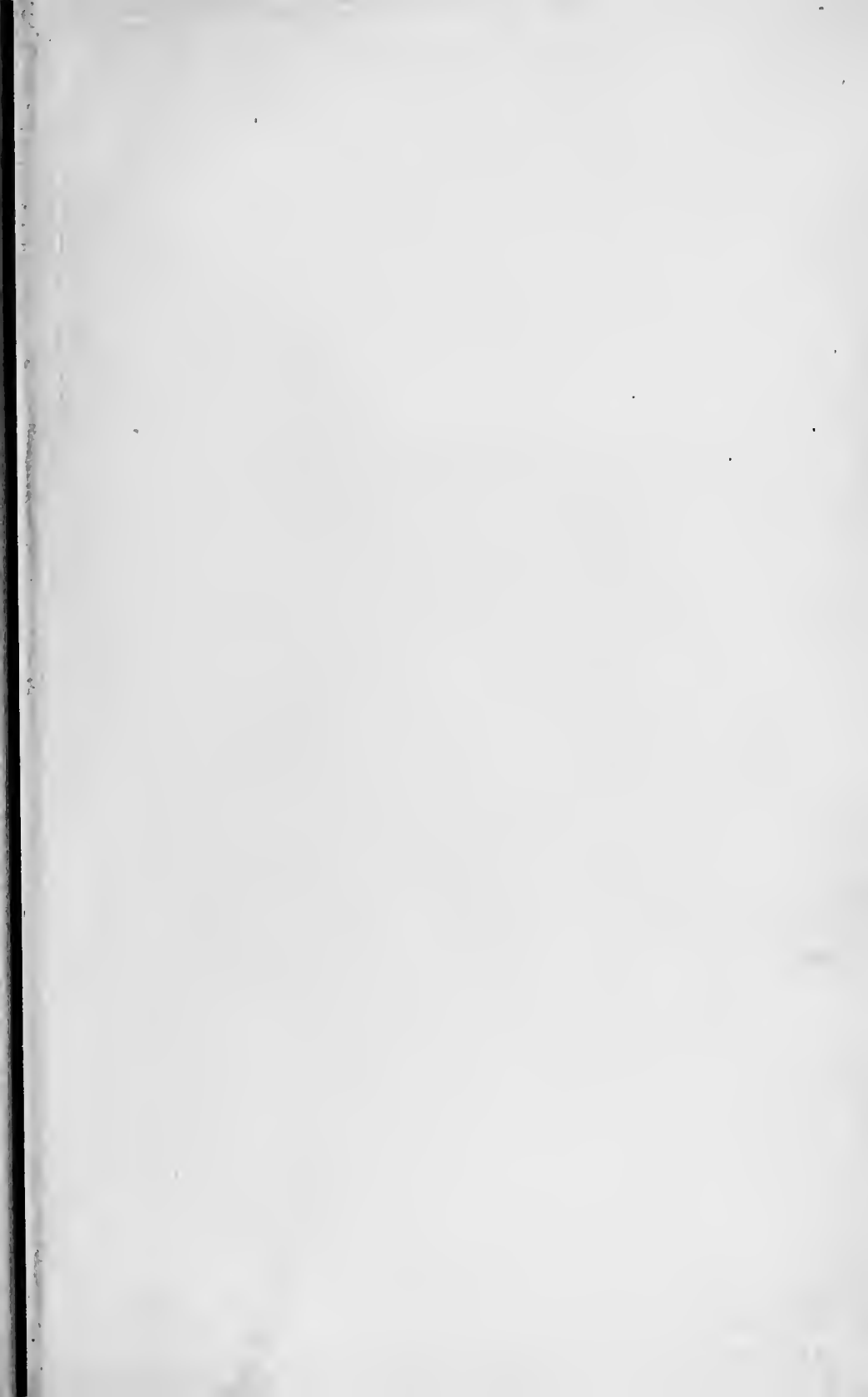
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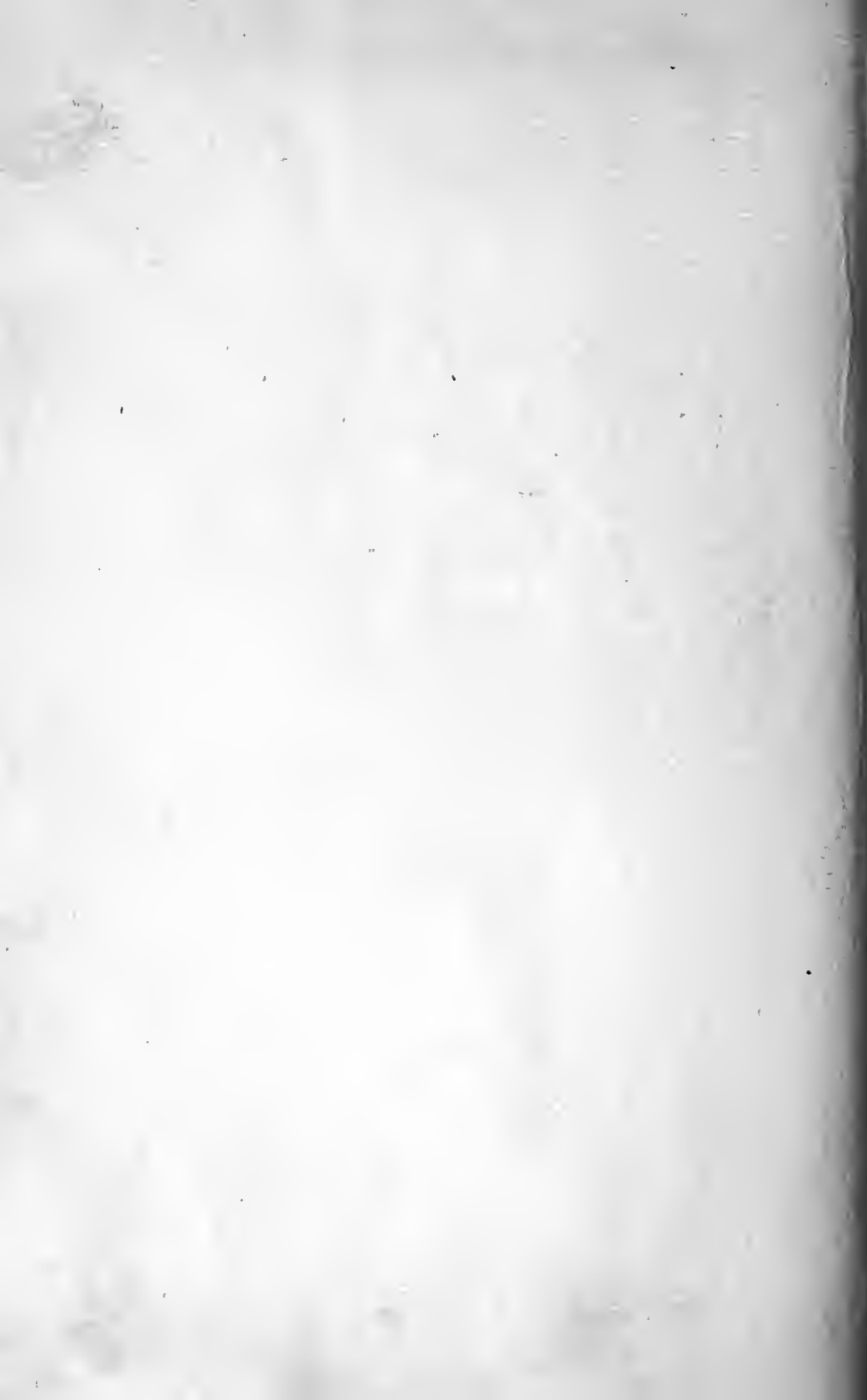
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